Public Law 86-449
86th Congress, H. R. 8601
May 6, 1960

AN ACT

74 STAT. 86.

To enforce constitutional rights, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Civil Rights Act of 1960". Civil Rights Act of 1960.

TITLE I

OBSTRUCTION OF COURT ORDERS

SEC. 101. Chapter 73 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof a new section as follows: 62 Stat. 769.

"§ 1509. Obstruction of court orders

"Whoever, by threats or force, willfully prevents, obstructs, impedes, or interferes with, or willfully attempts to prevent, obstruct, impede, or interfere with, the due exercise of rights or the performance of duties under any order, judgment, or decree of a court of the United States, shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

"No injunctive or other civil relief against the conduct made criminal by this section shall be denied on the ground that such conduct is a crime."

SEC. 102. The analysis of chapter 73 of such title is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"1509. Obstruction of court orders."

TITLE II

FLIGHT TO AVOID PROSECUTION FOR DAMAGING OR DESTROYING ANY BUILDING OR OTHER REAL OR PERSONAL PROPERTY; AND, ILLEGAL TRANSPORTATION, USE OR POSSESSION OF EXPLOSIVES; AND, THREATS OR FALSE INFORMATION CONCERNING ATTEMPTS TO DAMAGE OR DESTROY REAL OR PERSONAL PROPERTY BY FIRE OR EXPLOSIVES

SEC. 201. Chapter 49 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof a new section as follows: 62 Stat. 755.

"§ 1074. Flight to avoid prosecution for damaging or destroying any building or other real or personal property

"(a) Whoever moves or travels in interstate or foreign commerce with intent either (1) to avoid prosecution, or custody, or confinement after conviction, under the laws of the place from which he flees, for willfully attempting to or damaging or destroying by fire or explosive any building, structure, facility, vehicle, dwelling house, synagogue, church, religious center or educational institution, public or private, or (2) to avoid giving testimony in any criminal proceeding relating to any such offense shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

"(b) Violations of this section may be prosecuted in the Federal judicial district in which the original crime was alleged to have been committed or in which the person was held in custody or confinement: *Provided, however*, That this section shall not be construed as indicating an intent on the part of Congress to prevent any State, Territory, Commonwealth, or possession of the United States of any jurisdiction over any offense over which they would have jurisdiction in the absence of such section."

President Signs Rights Bill Into Law, Praises Measure as 'Historic Step'

By GARNETT D. HORNER
Star Staff Writer

President Eisenhower today signed into law the hard-fought civil rights bill which he described as "an historic step forward in the field of civil rights."

One of the major provisions of the legislation authorizes Federal courts to appoint referees to help assure the rights of Negroes to vote.

Mr. Eisenhower said in signing the measure that "with continuing help from all responsible persons, the new law will play an important role in the days ahead in attaining our goal of equality under law in all areas of our country for all Americans."

Attorney General Rogers and Deputy Attorney General Lawrence E. Walsh watched the President sign the bill, the first major piece of legislation enacted during this session of Congress.

President's Summary

A statement issued by the President summarized the provisions of the new law in these terms:

"The new act is concerned with a range of civil rights problems.

"One title makes it a crime to obstruct rights or duties under Federal court orders by force or threat of force. That provision will be an important deterrent to such obstruction which interferes with execution of Federal court orders, including those involving school desegregation.

"Provision also is made to assure free public education to all children of armed forces personnel in the United States were local public school facilities are unavailable.

Cites Right to Vote

"By authorizing the FBI to investigate certain bombings or attempted bombings of schools, churches or other structures, the act will deter such heinous acts of lawlessness.

"The new act also deals significantly with that key constitutional right of every American, the right to vote without discrimination on account of race or color.

"One provision, which requires the retention of voting records, will be of invaluable aid in the successful enforcement of existing voting rights statutes.

"Another provision authorizes the use by Federal courts of voting referees. It holds great promise of making the 15th Amendment of the Constitution fully meaningfull."

The President's statement noted that this is only the second civil rights measure passed by Congress in 85 years. He said the new law, like the 1957 law, was built on recommendations of the administration.

Congress passed the legislation April 21 after months of struggle, marked by one week of around-the-clock Senate sessions.

Stubbornly resisting Southerners battled the bill by every possible means. While they were unable to defeat the legislation, they squeezed out of it a number of features sought by the Eisenhower administration or by Northern Democrats—notably broad authority for the Attorney General to seek injunctions in civil rights cases and a permanent commission to fight race discrimination in employment on Federal contracts.

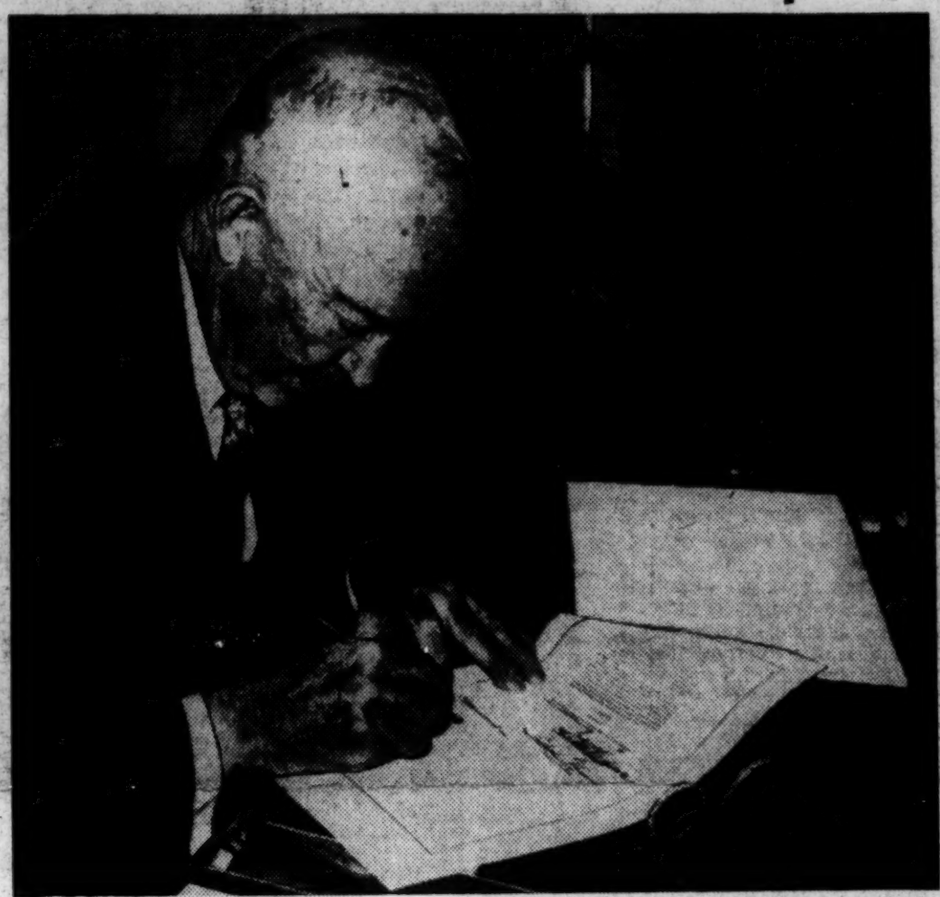
Key Voting Provision

The heart of the measure is the new procedure to help Negroes, or other minorities, fight discrimination against them at the ballot box. Teamed in this effort will be the Justice Department, Federal Courts and the referees.

The bill provides for the Attorney General to file suit, asking courts to find there is a pattern of discrimination against the exercise of voting rights.

After such a finding, court-appointed referees could hear complaints from persons discriminated against. If the referee found such persons qualified under State law, he could order that they be permitted to register and vote.

The new voting procedure may be tested in this fall's elections, although the law is expected to be challenged in court, delaying a showdown.



President Eisenhower signs the civil rights bill recently passed by Congress. Above the President's signature are those of House Speaker Sam Rayburn and Vice President Nixon, president of the Senate.—AP Photo.

Alabama Seen Ready to Bolt Democratic Party

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., May 6 (AP).—Alabama voters appear ready to bolt the Democratic Party in November if the national convention goes too far on the civil rights issue.

With almost 90 per cent of the votes counted in the race for Democratic nomination to the 11 Alabama positions in the electoral college, States Righters were outdistancing the loyalists.

But the question is far from settled.

Although the States Righters managed to place 10 of their candidates in the top 11, only three candidates—all States Righters—seemed headed for a majority.

If the trend continues and the three win a majority, a runoff battle May 31 will see the next 16 finishers—evenly split, eight to each faction—battling for the remaining eight positions.

The States Righters have vowed to withhold their votes from the Democratic Party if the convention writes a strong integration platform or nominates a presidential candidate "repugnant" to the South.

The loyalists have promised to stick with the party nominee.

Ellen Powell to Wed

HOLLYWOOD, May 6 (AP).—Ellen Powell, 21, daughter of Dick Powell and Joan Blondell, and Chuck Hayward, 38, actor-stuntman, plan to marry May 28, Miss Blondell said yesterday.

Eight Negroes Register in a Tennessee County (New York Times, May 18, 1960)

Brownsville, Tenn.,May 17 (UPI)--Negroes registered to vote in Haywood County today for the first time since the Reconstruction following the Civil War.

Eight Negroes and a young white woman signed to vote in the second day of voter registration. County Registrar C. H. Berson enrolled the group in a store near here. "Everythink was very quiet and orderly," Mr. Hopkins said. "There was no disturbance of any kind."

Today was the first time any new voters had been added to the Haywood County rolls in nearly two years. The State Election Commission had been unable to get persons to serve on the election commission until about three months ago.

There were no applicants yesterday, the first day of registration. Haywood County is an agricultural area in West Tennessee.

Haywood and Fayette (Chattanooga Times, May 22, 1960)

This week, after an uncertain start, a number of Negroes have also been registered in Haywood, the other such county (both are in West Tennessee,near Memphis).

The registrations were conducted in various stores. Of one of these, County Road Superintendent Clyde Hopkins said: "The Negroes said they wanted to register, and I said all right. I locked the front door and told them to come around through the back, one at a time, with their hats off.

"It was nice as you please--so quiet you'd never know what was going on."

At other stores, the registrants entered through the front door. The registrar had been refused admittance at one store, but Mr. Hopkins said the store owner had now agfeed to permit registration. "We've got to have registration, and we will," he added.

The step has been far from easy, since Fayette and Haywood counties have the largest Negro percentages. But it means that every qualified person in this proud state--where all but a tiny percentage of Negroes have long been able to vote freely--can now cast their ballot.

LOUISIANA

Bienville Parish

Population - Negro, 10,796 -- White 10,107

Registered - Negro 28 -- White 4,759

5,143 of approximately whites of voting age registered; 26 of 4,475 Negroes.
New York Times, June 8, 1960

Washington Parish, June 29, 1959

Justice Department filed suit against the registrar of the Parish and the White Citizens Council. One thousand two hundred eighty-one qualified Negroes had been removed from the voters list through challenges of the White Citizens Council.

On January 12, 1960, the Judge J. Skelly Wright ordered the names of these 1,281 Negroes to be placed again on the voters list. This decision was upheld by the Supreme Court on February 29, on the grounds the Negroes were asked questions not asked to white people.

Official Restriction of the Opportunity

of Negroes to Register and Vote

in Macon County, Alabama

1951 - 1960

For more than twenty years, Negro citizens in Macon County, Alabama, in their efforts to register and vote, have almost continuously met strong official resistance. Various techniques have been employed to limit or prevent the participation of Negroes in politics. Although Negroes have constituted more than four-fifths of the total population, they have only just recently constituted one-fourth of the total voters in the County.

Between January 1, 1951 and December 31, 1959 (nine years), certificates of registration were issued to only 510 (32%) of the 1,585 Negroes from whom applications were accepted. This was an average of 56.7 per year.

Following is a list of techniques which have been employed by the white officials to limit or prevent Negroes from political participation:

1. Requiring Negroes and Whites to register in separate rooms and in separate parts of the Macon County Courthouse.

2. Registrars frequently reporting for work late and leaving work early, thus reducing the number of hours available to Negro applicants.

3. Permitting only two Negro applicatns in the registration room at the same time.

4. Requiring Negro applicants to read and transcribe articles from the Constitution of the United States, in addition to filling out the voter registration questionnaire.

5. Conversing with applicants as they write, which practice disturbs them, and stimulates making errors.

6. Permitting a Negro voter to vouch for <u>only two</u> applicants per year.

(See reverse side)

Public Law 85-315
85th Congress, H. R. 6127
September 9, 1957

AN ACT

71 Stat. 634.

To provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

Civil Rights Act of 1957.

PART I—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

SEC. 101. (a) There is created in the executive branch of the Government a Commission on Civil Rights (hereinafter called the "Commission").

(b) The Commission shall be composed of six members who shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Not more than three of the members shall at any one time be of the same political party.

(c) The President shall designate one of the members of the Commission as Chairman and one as Vice Chairman. The Vice Chairman shall act as Chairman in the absence or disability of the Chairman, or in the event of a vacancy in that office.

(d) Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers and shall be filled in the same manner, and subject to the same limitation with respect to party affiliations as the original appointment was made.

(e) Four members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 102. (a) The Chairman or one designated by him to act as Chairman at a hearing of the Commission shall announce in an opening statement the subject of the hearing.

(b) A copy of the Commission's rules shall be made available to the witness before the Commission.

(c) Witnesses at the hearings may be accompanied by their own counsel for the purpose of advising them concerning their constitutional rights.

(d) The Chairman or Acting Chairman may punish breaches of order and decorum and unprofessional ethics on the part of counsel, by censure and exclusion from the hearings.

(e) If the Commission determines that evidence or testimony at any hearing may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person, it shall (1) receive such evidence or testimony in executive session; (2) afford such person an opportunity voluntarily to appear as a witness; and (3) receive and dispose of requests from such person to subpena additional witnesses.

(f) Except as provided in sections 102 and 105 (f) of this Act, the Chairman shall receive and the Commission shall dispose of requests to subpena additional witnesses.

(g) No evidence or testimony taken in executive session may be released or used in public sessions without the consent of the Commission. Whoever releases or uses in public without the consent of the Commission evidence or testimony taken in executive session shall be fined not more than $1,000, or imprisoned for not more than one year.

Evidence or testimony. Release.

(h) In the discretion of the Commission, witnesses may submit brief and pertinent sworn statements in writing for inclusion in the record. The Commission is the sole judge of the pertinency of testimony and evidence adduced at its hearings.

END VOTE BIAS, TERRELL TOLD

From Atlanta Constitution, September 14

MACON--U.S. District Judge William A. Bootle ordered the Terrell registrars to comply with his order within 10 days.

In a 27-page ruling, the federal district judge permanently enjoined the Terrell registrars from engaging in any practices which involve distinction on the base of race or color between Negroes and other citizens in voting and in registration for voting in Terrell County.

Specifically, the judge enjoined the registrars from:

1. Using different colored application forms for white and Negro voters.

2. Keeping separate registration and voting records for whites and Negroes according to race.

3. Delaying action on application for registration by Negroes while not delaying action on applications of whites.

4. Administering literacy tests requiring Negroes to read and write a more lengthly and difficult paragraph of the constitution of Georgia or of the United States than whites are required to read and write.

5. Administering literacy tests requiring Negroes to read aloud and to write from dictation while not requiring white applicants to do likewise.

6. Administering tests to Negroes singularly and apart from white applicants while administering such tests to white applicants in groups.

7. Requiring a higher standard of literacy of Negroes than of white applicants in passing upon the results of the literacy tests.

The four Negro complainants ordered enrolled on Terrell voter lists are Marjorie Moore Tune, Grace Boyd Gibson, Dave Gibson and Genevieve M. Shedrick

"It is the intent and purpose of this court," Judge Bootle's ruling said, that the persons enjoined shall do whatever is necessary to be done to enroll within 10 days of this decree upon the list of qualified voters of Terrell County, Ga., the names of all of the above four persons."

The lengthy court order also forbids the Terrell registrars from denying registration to any Negro applicant otherwise qualified whose performance in literacy tests is at least equal to that of other applicants who have passed such tests.

The registrars were enjoined "from failing to accord to any Negro citizen of Terrell County in a fair and impartial and non-discriminatory manner each and every right such citizen has or may have under the election laws, customs, usages and regulations of the state of Georgia and under the Constitution and laws of the United States pertaining to suffrage."

TERRELL PROMISES TO GIVE NEGROES EQUAL RIGHT TO VOTE

From Atlanta Journal, September 23

MACON, Ga., Sept. 23--The Terrell County Board of Registrars, loser in the Justice Department's first suit under the 1957 Civil Rights Act, has promised full compliance with a federal court order, to stop discriminating against Negroes.

The Judge has not acted on a Justice Department request for appointment of a federal referee to supervise Negro voter registration in Terrell. Under the injunction, however, any Negro who considered himself discriminated against could ask the court's help.

The report, signed by chief registrar James G. Raines and attorney Charles J. Bloch who represented the registrars announced that the names of four Negroes, Mrs. Marjorie Moore Turner, Mrs. Grace Boyd Gibson, Davey L. Gibson and Mrs. Genevieve M. Shedrick, were added to voting rolls according to directions of Judge Bootle.

The Terrell report said that a plan, drawn up by Raines with the approval of Bloch, was made outlining procedure to be used to comply with the court decree. "Said plan was designed by Mr.Raines for the purpose of being able to show to the court at any time," the report said, "that a conscientious compliance with the court's decrees is being effectuated."

The report said the names of the four persons ordered registered were included "as nearly as possible in alphabetical order" on the copies of the rolls in the possession of the registrars, and that a request had been forwarded to Secretary of State Ben Fortson in Atlanta to correct his list to include the names.

A new list was then drawn placing all voters in alphabetical order "without reference to the race of the voters." Raines said he had destroyed all the green cards previously used for registering Negro voters, while whites used white cards, and that all the information from the tinted cards had been transferred to white cards.

La. Rights Complaint Going Direct to Ike

MEMBERS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION conducting a hearing in the Post Office building here on charges by Louisiana Negroes that they were denied voting rights are, from left, the REV. THEODORE M. HESBURGH, GEORGE M. JOHNSON, JOHN R. HANNAH, ROBERT G. STOREY, DOYLE E. CARLTON and ROBERT S. RANKIN.

GENERAL VIEW OF COURTROOM DURING CIVIL RIGHTS HEARING —States-Item photo.

Ike to Get La. Rights Complaint

A member of the civil rights commission declared this afternoon he would report directly to President Eisenhower the refusal of the voter registrar in Monroe to register a Negro dentist.

NEW ORLEANS STATES-ITEM

VOL. 84—NO. 84 TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1960 PRICE 5c

New Orleans States Item 9-27-61

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Shortly after opening of the afternoon session of the hearing in the US court of appeals here Dr. John I. Reddix, Monroe dentist, testified he had been caught up in a mass purge of Negroes from the voting rolls in Ouachita parish.

He said he had been unable to register again and listed a set of circumstances which the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame, called "incredible."

Directly to President

Father Hesburgh, a commission member, said he would appeal Reddix's case "directly to the president of the United States." Reddix said he believed it would be useless for him to try again to register to vote in Monroe.

"It is true that you are an American citizen, a law abiding man, a professional man, a college man and are not able to vote for president of the United States this November?" Father Hesburgh asked.

"Yes," replied Reddix.

A parade of Negro witnesses appeared before the commission to allege voter discrimination in Ouachita, East Carroll, Madison, Caddo and Claiborne parishes.

Charges 'Ride' Threat

James Sharp Jr., 37-year-old Negro attorney and businessman of Monroe, charged in an earlier appearance that the sheriff of Madison threatened to take him "for a ride" if he persisted in attempts to get Negroes on the voter registration rolls.

Madison is one of four Louisiana parishes where no Negroes are registered.

Sharp said he was threatened by Sheriff C. E. Hester after he was told by the voter registrar, Miss Katherine Ward, that the sheriff would have to pass on applicants for voter rights.

Sharp was one of several Negro witnesses heard this morning as the civil rights commission opened a two-day hearing in the US appeals court, Post Office building.

Thirty-five witnesses, all of them Negroes, are under subpena to testify. None is from New Orleans.

In an opening statement the commission declared that it does not consider itself a protagonist for one view or another.

'Guards on Hand'

General services administration guards with police sticks stationed themselves at conspicuous locations on the first and second floors of the court-post office building. A large group of deputy US marshals also were on hand.

Atty. Gen. Jack P. F. Gremillion, under a contempt citation for his blowup at last month's federal court hearing on the Orleans parish school segregation case, was an observer at today's proceedings.

He arrived about 30 minutes late, offered the commission his services, and then sat with members of his staff. All are observers without the right to participate in the hearing.

Sharp, the fourth witness to

See RIGHTS—Page 7

SHERIFF DENIES CHARGE

(Special to The States-Item)

TALLULAH — Sheriff C. E. Hester of Madison parish this afternoon denied a charge that he threatened or intimidated a Monroe Negro attorney who sought to have Negroes registered as voters of Madison.

"He was not threatened in any way or intimidated in any manner," said the sheriff in challenging the statement of James Sharp, one of the 35 Negro witnesses called in New Orleans by the federal civil rights commission. Regarding Sharp's statement that armed deputies were present when the attorney went to see the sheriff, Hester said: "It's pretty normal, isn't it for deputies on duty to be armed?"

Continued from Front Page

appear in protest to what was described as voting discrimination against Negroes, said he was told by Sheriff Hester that the Negroes were "sitting on a powder keg."

He said when he sought to have Negroes registered the sheriff said if he pursued the course "he would take me for a ride."

Sharp said he also received several threatening telephone calls.

In other highlights:

1. Rev. John Henry Scott, pastor of a Negro Baptist church, said he was six times denied the right to register in East Carroll parish. He said all of the registered voters of the parish are white and he couldn't get two of them to identify him in compliance with a requirement of the vote registrar.

2. A committee staff member said East Carroll has 4690 Negroes of voting age but none has been registered to vote. A total of 99.7 of the 2836 whites of voting age is on the voter registration lists.

3. Francis Joseph Atlas, East Carroll farmer, said the registrar had told him to get three voters to identify him but that whites he considered his friends refused to do so. He testified he did not feel it was safe for him to tell the commission if he knew the woman registrar of East Carroll personally.

4. Rev. William James Neal, Tallulah, Madison parish, said he was told by Sheriff Hester that it was not advisable for Negroes to register since they had progressed too rapidly and outnumbered the whites in the parish. Neal said Negroes wanted to vote to clean up the "little Las Vegas" atmosphere in Madison.

5. Staff members presented figures showing that only 28 per cent of the Negroes of voting age are registered to vote in Louisiana.

The hearing opened with statements from John A. Hannah, chairman, president of Michigan State university, East Lansing, Mich., and Robert G. Storey, vice-chairman, head of the Southwestern Legal Center and former dean of Southern Methodist university law school, Dallas.

Both said repeatedly that the commission did not have the power to give anyone their voting rights but was merely a fact-finding agency.

Immediately after his opening statement, Storey turned over the hearing to staff director Gordon Tiffany. Tiffany said the commission regarded the session as a continuation of the Shreveport hearing that was halted by a federal court order.

The staff member submitted into evidence the US supreme court ruling which later upheld the commission's position that it was empowered to hold public hearings.

'Denied Right to Vote'

Tiffany said the commission in New Orleans would receive oral testimony from complainants "based upon their knowledge that they have been denied the right to vote."

Also part of the hearing will be the introduction of documentary evidence designed to support allegations of the Negroes and charts and graphs based on official registration and population sources.

"If after the close of the hearing these witnesses have been given the right to vote or are subject to further sanction the commission would expect them to testify again under oath," Tiffany said.

He introduced Berl Bernhard, deputy staff director, who began submitting various charts and figures as evidence.

The first of the charts contained official registration figures in Louisiana from 1888 to the present. It outlined white and Negro registration figures and the literacy rate of Negroes, as supplied by the US bureau of census.

Drop to One Per Cent

The chart showed that Negro vote registration dropped to 1 per cent of the potential from 1888 to 1910, while white registration showed a corresponding drop from 40 to 25 per cent.

From 1910 to 1944, the chart showed, the per cent of Negro registration never exceeded 1 per cent of those of voting age, while the white registration increased from 25 to 80 per cent during the same period.

The chart further indicated that from 1910 to 1944 the literacy rate of Negroes increased from 48 to 78 per cent.

From 1944 to 1954, according to the figures presented, Negro registration increased from 1 per cent to 27 per cent. White registration during the same period fluctuated from a high of 86 per cent to a low of 67 per cent. The literacy rate of Negroes rose to 82 per cent, the chart said.

Summing up, Bernhard said that from 1888 to 1960 Negro registration never exceeded 28 per cent of the potential of Negro voters 21 years of age or over while the literacy rate rose from 33 per cent to 82 per cent.

Continued - New Orleans. States. Item - 9/27/60

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'Artificial Restrictions'

Bernhard said the chart suggests the possibility that "there are certain forces in the state who are working to impose artificial restrictions" on Negroes seeking to vote.

Questioned by Storey regarding factors involved in the decline and rise in Negro registration, Bernhard said the commission staff found five North Louisiana parishes where Negroes experience little trouble in attempting to register.

He identified the parishes as Caldwell, De Soto, Morehouse, Sabine and Union. Practically all Southern Louisiana parishes, he added, were found free of restrictions against Negro voters, with the possible exceptions of Washington and Plaquemines.

The Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame and a commission member, asked Bernhard what the 1960 registration figures showed for whites and Negro.

28 Per Cent

Bernhard replied that 28 per cent of the eligible Negro voters are registered and 82 per cent of the white.

After Bernhard's presentation, the first witness, Rev. Scott, was placed on the stand.

He testified that he had been a resident of East Carroll parish for 57 years and had been minister of a Baptist church there since 1947.

No Registered Voters

Rev. Scott said he was a graduate of the United Theological Seminary and had done postgraduate work at Southern and Leland universities.

Bernhard then introduced figures for East Carroll parish which showed there were 4690 nonwhites over 21 years of age in the parish yet there were no registered Negro voters.

He said there were 2836 whites over the age of 21 with 2827 or 99.7 per cent registered to vote.

Rev. Scott testified that he has made six attempts to register in East Carroll since 1946. The first time he attempted, he said, he went to the registrar's office and was told to go next door.

When he returned the registrar's office was closed, the witness said.

On the subsequent five attempts to register he was told he would have to furnish two bona fide registered voters from his precinct to identify him, Rev. Scott said. He said he was unable to do so.

'Called to Courthouse'

He testified that he had never had any trouble being identified at the bank or to pay his taxes but he could not satisfy the requirements that he identify himself to vote.

Rev. Scott said when Negroes in the parish attempted to hold a meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People he was called to the courthouse and told if he didn't like the way they ran the parish he could leave.

He said the sheriff told him that law enforcement officers knew that someone was coming to teach the Negroes about voting.

Rev. Scott then quoted the sheriff as saying "you be damn sure to tell him not to say anything about voting." This reference was to an NAACP official.

The witness said after the meeting he was picked up and asked the names of persons who knew how to fill out registration cards.

He said he was warned that a riot might start.

Atlas, a 55-year-old farmer from Lake Providence, testified he owns a 65-acre farm and is heir to 113 acres in East Carroll parish.

'Not Satisfactory'

He said he has lived in East Carroll all his life except for some schooling at Tuskegee Institute. He said he was a Mason, a Baptist, and superintendent of a Sunday school.

Atlas said he first attempted to register to vote in 1948 but was refused. Asked what reasons were given for the denial, he replied:

"I considered them rambling —not satisfactory."

In 1950, he told the commission, he went to the registrar's office and applied for a registration card, which he subsequently filled out.

He said he was told the information was incorrect but was not told specifically where it was in error.

Three to Identify Him

A month later, he said, he again filled out a card—this time correctly—but was told by the registrar to get three electors to identify him.

He said he went to three white persons whom he thought were his friends but was turned down in each case.

"Do you know the registrar personally," Atlas was asked by Storey.

"I really don't feel it is safe to say I know her personally," Atlas said.

'Felt It Useless'

An attempt to register was made in July, 1960, when Atlas went to the registrar's office with a group of Negroes.

"I found out that the others couldn't register, so I didn't try," Atlas said. "I felt it was useless."

Storey asked the witness why he wants to vote.

"I am a taxpayer," he replied. "I feel it is my constitutional right and my responsibility as a citizen."

Atlas was followed by Rev. Neal, a 29-year-old minister who has been living in Madison parish for about two and one-half years.

He described his education and his background, and admitted he had been arrested in North Carolina in connection with a traffic accident. He told the commission he first attempted to register in July, 1960, with five other Negroes, who were directed by the registrar to go to the sheriff and make known their requests.

'Not Right Time'

Neal said the sheriff "asked us if we weren't getting along well enough" and we answered that we were good citizens — "taxpaying citizens."

"The sheriff told us it was not advisable for us to register, that it was not the right time," Neal said.

"He gave us two reasons. He said the Negro had progressed too fast and because the Negroes outnumbered the white in the parish we would receive too much voting power."

Asked by the sheriff why they wanted to vote, Neal replied that Negroes in Tallulah were concerned about conditions in the city. The witness called Tallulah a "wide-open village — a little Las Vegas with open saloons where minors go and are served alcoholic beverages."

He said that Negroes wanted the right to vote in order to press for enforcement of laws that would prevent minors from being served alcoholic beverages. He said Negroes also wanted streets paved and improved sewerage.

Second Attempt

Neal said he made a second attempt to register in the latter part of August but found the courthouse closed at mid-morning.

His last attempt to register, he said, was last Friday, but again he found the office of the registrar closed.

In conclusion, Neal told the commission he had been informed by "reliable sources" that no Negro would ever register in Madison parish.

Attorney Sharp of Monroe was the next witness. He identified himself as a registered voter in Monroe since 1952. He described his efforts to get a group of Tallulah Negroes registered at the Madison parish registrar's office in 1954.

He said he had written the registrar, Miss Katharine Ward, the mayor and the district judge of the parish. In 1954, he said, he personally visited Miss Ward after his requests by mail had gone unanswered.

'Orders from Sheriff'

Sharp said he was told by Miss Ward that she took her orders from the sheriff and other public officials who "had not seen fit to allow Negroes to vote." Later, he said, he went to see Sheriff Hester, who was in his office surrounded by armed deputies.

"He demanded in an angry and intimidating fashion that I sit down and I followed his [illegible] said. Sharp said Hester denounced the Truman administration and expressed somewhat better satisfaction with the Eisenhower administration.

He said the sheriff warned him he was "sitting on a powder keg" and added that if he pursued his efforts, "he would take me for a ride."

Sharp said the sheriff assured him he would "get no protection from this office" if he continued his efforts to register the Negroes.

Filed Suit

Later, he said, he filed suit in federal court but the litigation was terminated without relief to his clients.

He identified the judge as Ben Dawkins of the western district of Louisiana.

Sharp testified that after trying to get Negroes registered he received a number of telephone calls in which he was told to "get out of town or get taken for a ride."

The next witness was Rev. Philip R. Brown III, 42, West Monroe, who testified he had been pastor of the Cavalry Mission Baptist church there for the past year and a half.

At this point, Bernhard introduced figures which showed there were 19,692 nonwhites over 21 years of age in Ouachita parish with 723, or 3.7 per cent registered as voters.

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There are 42,511 white over 21 and 23,804 or 56 per cent registered.

Rev. Brown testified that prior to living in West Monroe, he had been a resident of New Orleans and had been a minister since 1937.

He said he is a graduate of the Union Theological Seminary.

Not Registered Now

He said that while living in New Orleans he was a registered voter for 12 to 15 years and in 1958 had taken part in a Negro registration drive here. He said he is not a registered voter in Ouachita parish.

He said he made several attempts to register there but each time was told he would have to have two registered voters to identify him. He said he has never been able to do this.

On one visit to the registrar's office, on Sept. 15, he was told to furnish copies of three documents which would bear a date to show he had been a resident of West Monroe for one year. He furnished these documents but was still not registered, he said.

In answer to a commission question, Brown said he didn't think he would have been registered even if he could have furnished the two witnesses to identify him.

"I've found out it's not what you have, it's what you don't have that you need," he said.

He was followed to the stand by Fredric D. Lewis, a retired farmer from Claiborne parish. At this point Bernhard introduced Claiborne parish figures indicating there were 4846 nonwhites in the parish, with only 16 registered, while there were 5981 whites, of which 5735, or 95.9 per cent, were registered.

Numerous Efforts

Lewis testified that he had lived in the parish off and on for more than 50 years. And in 1950 and 1951, while a resident of California, he was registered and allowed to vote.

He said prior to abolition of the poll tax he was on the registration roles but since that time he has not been able to vote despite numerous efforts to register.

He said when he attempted to get on the rolls in 1935, a deputy asked him what election he expected to vote in and he replied, "All of them." The deputy then replied, "This is an all-white primary and if you try to vote here, you'll get the hell knocked out of you."

Lewis testified that in June, 1960, he attempted unsuccessfully to vote and since had made similar tries. Each time, he said, he has been blocked on technicalities.

"I want to vote, first, because I want to be a full-fledged citizen. I am a taxpayer, but have no representation.

"When Negroes are arrested, they are arrested by white policemen; indicted by white (grand) juries. Negroes have no representation on school boards or Legislatures," he said.

Lewis said the 1935 incident was the only case where he was intimidated in attempting to register.

Two Attempts

Lewis was followed by his brother, O. Tillman Lewis, 46, a parttime farmer from Claiborne parish, who also does parttime odd jobs.

Once a registered voter in Tennessee, Tillman Lewis said he twice attempted to register in Claiborne parish, first in June, 1959, and secondly last May or early June.

On the first occasion, he said he was told he needed two registered voters from his ward to identify him, but "there were few of them around" and he was unable to produce them.

The second time he said he found two registered voters, but when he went to the registration office, he was told the registration forms had been changed and he would need three registered voters for identification.

Asked if he would attempt to register again, Tillman Lewis said he hoped "to go back if there's any improvement in the registration office."

"I want to vote because I feel I have a right to the choice of candidates. If I'm good enough to fight (as a member of the armed services), then I'm good enough to register," he said.

Dr. C. O. Simpkins, a Shreveport dentist since 1948, said he has been a registered voter since 1953, when he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Caddo parish school board.

The election, he said, revealed two things: That white voters as well as Negro voters will vote for qualified persons, and that there was a need for more registered Negro voters.

Describes Activities

He then described his activities in encouraging and helping Negroes to register. At first, he told the commission, there was no difficulties, but as the number of Negro applicants increased, so did the resistance from the registration office.

Some of the problems, he said, were helping Negroes determine their exact age, by year, month and day; properly identifying the "householder" on the application form, and proving identity of applicants.

Dr. Simpkins said Negroes now are told that application forms will be mailed to them, but few receive them.

He said he has received a number of threatening phone calls since setting up clinics to help Negroes having difficulties with the registration forms.

Next to take the witness chair was Dorothy Louise Jackson, 28, a machine operator in a garment factory and a licensed beautician from Shreveport.

She also described her difficulties in attempting to register since July, principally because of identification papers.

She told the commission she took with her to the registration office her 1957 and 1960 beautician's licenses, but was told that "1957 was too old and the 1960 was not old enough."

Told Form Incorrect

She again tried, but was told the information on the registration form concerning the identity of the householder was incorrect.

"I am a citizen of the U. S. and I feel I'm entitled to be a registered voter," she said.

Final witness before the noon recess was Rev. Harry Blake, 25, of Shreveport, a paid officer of the Southern Christian League Conference and a registered voter since about 1955.

He told how he has helped Dr. Simpkins in advising Negroes to register.

Rev. Blake described his personal difficulties with a Shreveport police officer, whom he identified as Badge No. 166. He said he was threatened with arrest last July during a registration drive while standing on the lawn of the parish courthouse attempting to advise Negroes seeking to register.

Rev. Blake said the same policeman previously had stopped his car, arrested him and had him charged with careless and reckless driving. He said he was found guilty.

Since then, he said, he has been warned on several occasions by the same policeman to "get out of town."

Dr. John I. Reddix, a Negro dentist from Monroe, testified that he had been a voter in Shreveport from 1948 to 1952 and was registered in Monroe from 1952 to 1956.

In 1956, he said, he was purged from the voter rolls.

Dr. Reddix, vice-president of the Monroe NAACP branch, said he was given 10 days in which to appear at the registrar's office but each time he attempted to register he was blocked by long lines and was unable to get in.

Dropped From Rolls

He said he notified the registrar of voters by registered letter that he was unable to meet the deadline. He said he was dropped from the rolls.

Dr. Reddix quoted a newspaper story as saying 5782 Ouachita parish Negro voters had been challenged and all but 595 were stricken from the rolls. A registration drive later raised the figure to 956.

He noted that he filed suit in federal district court and Judge Dawkins ruled his suit had no merit. His case, he said, has never been heard since it was remanded to the district court.

Dr. Reddix said he received so many telephone calls as a result of his action that he had to get an unlisted number.

A commission spokesman said some of the Negro witnesses are from Plaquemines parish, political stronghold of Leander H. Perez, district attorney of St. Bernard and Plaquemines parishes and a state segregation leader.

Perez recently withdrew as a candidate for re-election as district attorney so that he could devote full time to his fight against federal encroachment on states' rights.

Hannah said in his opening statement:

"The commission does not consider itself a protagonist for one view or another, and in that connection, I would point out that of the six members of the commission, three are from the South and three are from the North.

"Politically, the commission is composed of three Democrats, two Republicans and one independent.

"The commission was established in the hope that, through a dispassionate evaluation and appraisal of the facts, reason and light could be brought to bear upon problems of national importance which until recently have been frequently and passionately debated but seldom assessed soberly."

Storey to Preside

He named Storey presiding officer for the New Orleans hearing.

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Hannah said the commission is "keenly aware of strides taken throughout the South in recent years by way of assuring equal access to the ballot.

"Not many years ago, in many parts of the South, only white citizens were permitted to vote," he said. "While the situation has improved in many areas, we have found that many otherwise qualified Negro American citizens are still being denied opportunity to vote because of their race."

Storey outlined to witnesses and to the predominantly Negro audience the vain efforts of the commission in 1959 to hold a hearing in Shreveport. That hearing was blocked by one federal court but the decision was later overruled by the United States supreme court, a decision which opened the way for today's hearing.

Both Hannah and Storey said the commission has no power to grant persons the right to vote but is merely a fact-finding agency. They both said they had scores of complaints from Louisiana.

Names of witnesses will not be revealed until they take the stand to testify, a spokesman said.

Gremillion said he knew of no registrar of voters or state official who had been called.

Gremillion and members of his staff are taking part as observers to protect "the interests of Louisiana and its public officials."

The attorney general will not be allowed to address the commission during the hearing but may submit a written statement. The commission will later decide whether to enter that statement into the record of the hearing.

A commission spokesman said there have been more than 100 complaints in Louisiana in the two years the group has been in operation. All have been from Negroes.

Storey said the commission proposed to examine witnesses and to determine if any citizen has been denied his right to register or vote on the grounds of his race, color, religion or national origin.

The commission has no authority of enforcement but can make recommendations to the President and to Congress.

Interrupted in July

Today's hearing was a resumption of one interrupted last July in Shreveport by court action.

Gremillion obtained a court order blocking the Shreveport session on grounds that state officials were not given the names of those to testify and persons accused would have no opportunity to cross-examine witnesses.

The case went to the U. S. supreme court which in June held that the commission had the right to go ahead with the hearing.

David Koonce, information officer for the commission, said the group moved the hearing to New Orleans because this city had better facilities for such a hearing and was more centrally located for the appearance of witnesses.

None from Orleans

Koonce said while there have been 100 complaints in Louisiana not all would be heard here. He said there were none from Orleans parish.

He said the commission would have preferred to have held the hearings in July but court action prevented this.

The hearing would not have been necessary in the first place, he charged, had Louisiana officials co-operated with commission investigators and provided the information they sought.

Only in Louisiana and Alabama have investigators encountered difficulties with state officials, Koonce added.

Gremillion had sought to gain a delay in the hearing, but the commission rejected this move.

"I will be there with my staff," Gremillion said yesterday, "to take note of witnesses and try to get a summary of testimony to determine if it in any way affects Louisiana registrars of voters or other state officials."

Gremillion is reportedly considering invoking a new state law by filing charges of perjury against witnesses who testify falsely of voter registration.

A new law passed at the last session of the Legislature makes it a crime for anyone to complain to federal officials without justification.

It provides for imprisonment of from one to five years and up to $1000 fine if a person is convicted of making a false statement.

Other members of the commission in addition to Hannah and Storey are Robert S. Rankin, a professor of political science at Duke university; George M. Johnson, a former dean of the Howard university law school; the Rev. Hesburgh, and Doyle E. Carlton, a Tampa attorney and former governor of Florida.

In addition to Koonce, other commission staff members here are Gordon Tiffany, staff director; Beri Bernhard, deputy state director, and William Mottolese, staff attorney, all of Washington, D. C.

The commission made its first report to the President and Congress on Sept. 8, 1959, when it made 14 recommendations for executive or legislative action in the civil rights field.

It must report again not later than September, 1961.

Hearings by U. S. Civil Rights Commission in New Orleans, September 27-28, 1960

Berl Bernhard, Commission Deputy staff director reported, the Commission had received complaints of discrimination against Negro registration and voting from 17 Parishes -- Bienville, Bossier, Caddo, Clairborne, De Soto, East Carroll, Jackson, Madison, Ouachita, Red River, Tensas, and Webster from North Louisiana; and from South Louisiana, East Feliciana, West Feliciana, St. Helena, Washington and Plaquemines; 35 witnesses coming from Ouachita, East Carroll, Madison, Caddo, Clairborne, St. Helena, Jackson, Plaquemines, Webster, Red River, Bossier Parishes testified.

Complaints

Listed by Clarence A. Laws, field secretary of the N. A. A. C. P.:

1. Outright refusal to register Negroes.
2. Telling Negroes that the registration office is closed.
3. Telling Negroes that they must come at another time even though whites are being registered.
4. Stating that Negroes have failed to properly identify themselves or to establish citizenship.
5. Alleging that application form for registration was not properly accomplished.
6. Concluding questions asked about the federal or state constitutions or some other subject were not properly answered.

State Attorney Gremillion is contemplating invoking the new law passed by the legislature in 1960, which provides imprisonment of one to five years, a $1,000 fine if a person is convicted of making a false, ficticious, or fraudulent statement to any federal agency, asserting that a state or parish official has denied any right guaranteed by the United States or State Constitution.

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La. Registrars Ridicule Rights Probe 'Invitation'

Registrars of voters in parishes under scrutiny of civil rights probers today labeled a belated invitation to testify at a commission hearing this afternoon as "ridiculous," "impossible," and "unreasonable."

One registrar's representative called on the state Legislature to "appropriate a jet plane for all registrars so they can get to meetings when called so quickly."

Comment from registrars came in a spot check by The States-Item following a statement at 9 a. m. at the hearing that registrars would be permitted to testify today if they could get to the hearing by 2 p. m.

(Details of the civil rights commission hearing are on Page 1.)

After registrars and state legal authorities said it would be impossible for the registrars to meet the quickly imposed deadline, the commission ended its hearing without listening to rebuttal testimony.

Those civil rights men evidently don't know how far it is to Jonesboro," said Mrs. Estelle Wilder, Jackson parish registrar. "Why, it's 300 miles."

Awaits Instructions

She said she would await instructions from state Atty. Gen. Jack P. F. Gremillion before doing anything.

Caddo parish registrar U. Charles Mitchell of Shreveport said it would be impossible for him to get to New Orleans.

"The action is positively unreasonable," he added.

Mrs. Mae Lucky, Ouachita registrar, said in Monroe that she had been waiting for a subpena but had received neither it nor an invitation to testify.

Her legal representative, District Attorney Albin P. Lassiter, said the invitation was "ridiculous." He suggested the appropriation for jets.

Registrar Vhuckles

Red River parish registrar Joseph W. Crawford chuckled when he learned of the invitation.

"They don't want us there," he said, "that's obvious."

He said he wished he could be heard to "tell the truth about what's going on."

Mrs. Lannie L. Linton, Claiborne parish registrar, said she had been waiting for a subpena but none came. She said it would be impossible for her to make the afternoon sesson.

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Rights Probe Ends; Rebuff Gremillion

★-★-★-★-★-★

$3400 Squares

on Page 25

★-★-★-★-★-★

Gremillion Explains Stand In Vote Probe

The civil rights commission today refused to allow state Atty. Gen. Jack P. F. Gremillion to introduce a statement seeking equal time for registrars of voters and other officials to answer accusations made during a two-day hearing here.

Gremillion said in a statement, which he released for publication:

"At the outset of this hearing, I offered my co-operation in the performance of your duties to determine the true, fair and impartial facts implicated in the alleged violations of civil rights within this state by public officials.

"It is in the same demeanor and spirit of co-operation that I now propose and offer that you accept these just and equitable recommendations.

"You have heard, under oath or affirmation, statements of alleged facts which have publicly indicted each of many officers of this state before the eyes of the nation. These indictments accuse Louisiana officials of having violated state and federal laws, which if true, demand grave penalty.

"These accusations have been received by you without challenge, rebuttal or cross-examination, and subject to no judicial regulation or rule of evidence.

"In your handbook, an official publication of this commission, on page 10, question 6 asks 'Do both sides in a controversy have an opportunity to tell the commission their version of the story?' Your answer is 'Yes.'

"There exists here, as a result of the matters presented, an intense controversy and I assure you that there is another version of the story thus told.

"This commission is composed of fair-minded and impartial men who believe in fair play for the sake of fair results, and being so constituted, you strive to reveal the truth of all matters which come before you.

"You have provided opportunity to hear complaints, one

Gremillion—

version of the story. As attorney general of Louisiana and attorney for the registrars of voters, and other public officials of this state, I solicit equal opportunity and hearing under the same conditions as you have heard and received these complaints here.

"This is the only American way that the true facts can be determined, of which, I know you wish full appraisal."

The US civil rights commission abruptly ended its hearing in New Orleans today, refusing to permit Atty. Gen. Jack P. F. Gremillion to refute charges of Negroes that they were denied voting rights.

Gremillion clashed briefly with the commission after it heard four additional witnesses who complained that even after they had been registered to vote in St. Helena parish they had to vote on segregated machines.

One of the Negroes, Clarence Knighton, Greensburg, said he was blocked from voting by a pistol-carrying white resident who told him that Negroes would not vote in St. Helena parish.

Bloodshed Threats

Other witnesses told of threats of bloodshed and intimidation in advance of elections.

The hearing in the US court of appeals, post office building, was called to a halt at 11:45 a. m., just over two hours after the commission had announced that it would permit registrars of 13 parishes to appear to rebut testimony offered by the 35 Negro witnesses.

Gremillion informed the commission that it was "impossible" for the registrars of the North Louisiana parishes involved in the hearing to make it to New Orleans in time for a session the commission said it would hold this afternoon.

All of the 35 Negro witnesses had been subpenaed well in advance of the opening of the hearing yesterday.

Vice-chairman Robert G. Storey asked Gremillion if any registrars of voters would be available for an afternoon session.

Gremillion replied: "Mr. Storey, it is a physical impossibility, as I am sure the commission will appreciate, for me to bring any registrars here on such short notice.

"In all fairness, and I'm not trying to be argumentative, I asked Mr. Gordon Tiffany (chief staff director) to let me know if any registrars would be subpenaed."

Never Notified

Gremillion said he was never notified of any list of witnesses, making it impossible for him to produce any rebuttal witnesses. He then asked Storey for permission to make a short statement to the commission.

Storey conceded that no registrars had been subpenaed but said the commission agreed to remain in session this afternoon to permit any registrars to be heard.

Gremillion then made a second request to read a telegram which he said refuted the testimony of two witnesses during yesterday's session.

Storey denied the request, insisting it was not pertinent. As the two attempted to talk simultantously, Storey interrupted, saying Gremillion should be familiar with the rules of the commission which, he said, "we're going to follow."

"I do not think a speech is legal or necessary, and it is out of purview of our inquiry.

"If you want to be a witness, then take the oath and let us examine you. If you want to make a speech, you're out of order.

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Gremillion, smiling, replied: "Thank you for ruling me out of order." Then laughing audibly, he asked Storey: "Are you going to let me read the statement?"

"No; it does not comply with the rules. You are an attorney and should be cognizant of the rules." Storey said.

Subject to Call

Storey then recessed the hearing subject to call of the committee and directed the witnesses to remain under subpena. After the recess announcement, Gremillion released the text of the telegram which he had attempted unsuccessfully to offer into evidence.

The telegram, from District Attorney Albin Lassiter of Ouachita parish, alleged that two witnesses at yesterday's hearing had given incomplete testimony concerning their efforts to register and vote.

DA Lassiter said Dr. John I. Reddix, a Monroe dentist who testified he was purged from the voter rolls, had refused to register for four years on the theory that "grievance is greater than the privilege to vote," despite the advice of his lawyer and the civil rights commission.

Residence Not Shown

Lassiter further charged that another witness, Rev. Philip R. Brown III of West Monroe who claimed he had been unable to register, had appeared at the registrar's office two weeks ago and had refused to prove his one year's residence requirement.

Lassiter suggested that the entire record of the commission's hearing be referred to the US atorney "for possible perjury" charges against some of the Negroes who testified.

Later, Gremillion released the text of a telegram from Sheriff C. E. Hester of Tallulah to commission chairman John A. Hannah concerning another witness, William James Neal, who said he had been arrested only once, in North Carolina for a minor traffic offense.

The telegram said Neal had been convicted of criminal eg lect of his family Sept. 23, 1959, and had been sentenced to serve on year and pay a $500 fine.

Sentence Suspended

Both the fine and jail term were suspended, Sheriff Hester said, and Neal was placed on probation and directed to pay $68 per month to his family.

Sheriff Hester informed chairman Hannah that Neal was arrested by a probation officer Sept. 19, 1960, for failure to make support payments to his family. He was released from the Madison parish jail the same day, the telegram said.

The commission during its hearing today read into the record a telegram from Shreveport police Chief Harvey D. Teasley, denying the statement of witness Harry Blake, who claimed he was harrassed by Shreveport police in attempts to register other Negroes.

"I state emphatically and with absolutely no reservation that I have never entertained the thought of framing or harrassing anyone, regardless of race, color or creed in the years I have been in law enforcement work," Teasley said.

NAACP Statement

Before the end of the hearing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People got a statement into the record.

Clarence Laws, field secretary of the NAACP, said there has been a "drastic decline since 1956 in the number of Negroes registered in more than half of the 64 parishes in Louisiana."

"In most instances these declines are due to deliberate and, avowed campaigns to purge Negroes from the registration rolls."

He outlined the Ouachita purge of 1956, touched on several times during the hearing, which resulted in an 83.6 decline in Negroes registered between March and October.

Laws called attention to the fact "that in the four parishes with the highest percentage of Negroes not a single Negro is presently registered nor has been registered in the memory of the inhabitants of these parishes."

Names Parishes

"These parishes are East Carroll, Negro population 61 per cent; Tensas, 65 per cent; Madison, 66 per cent, and West Feliciana, 71 per cent," Laws said.

Laws noted legislative acts which he said were directed against Negroes and said he held out little hope for Negroes on voting rights in a state which takes the position that the civil rights commission itself is illegal.

The commission's action in inviting registrars to appear for rebuttal testimony followed protests from a number of officials against the validity of testimony by the Negro witnesses.

Sheriff C. E. Hester of Madison parish denied the claim of a Negro attorney that the sheriff has threatened to take him "for a ride."

Thompson Clark, district attorney of Madison, a parish which has no registered Negroes, said all testimony of Negroes from his parish was "untrue."

"We demand," he said, "that you have further hearings before the same news media which you have assembled and afford us the opportunity to refute untrue allegations."

Louis H. Padgett, district attorney for Bossier and Webster parishes, and Lester Hughes, district attorney for Natchitoches and Red River parishes, made similar statements.

Padgett said of the seven Negroes from his district who testified:

"I am prepared to prove that none of the seven possess legal qualifications for voting and request on behalf of our registrars of voters opportunity to rebut these false accusations before the same mass media afforded by you to these purjurers."

Hughes denied charges of discrimination in his district and suggested to the commission "you hear us just as you have others,"

John Nick Brown, former state police superintendent and former sheriff of Claiborne parish, also denied charges of intimidation in his parish.

Separate Machines

Staff member Berl Bernhard informed the commission that today's testimony would involve the use of separate voting machines in some Louisiana parishes in an effort to show that Negroes were required to use one machine in a precinct and whites another machine.

The first witness called was Ellis D. Howard, 45, a farmer of Greensburg in St. Helena parish. Howard identified himself as a registered voter since Aug. 12, 1951, who had completed the sixth grade in school.

He said he was unable to vote in 1951 because of "threats of violence and other difficulties." He said this situation existed until the United States marshal was called in during 1952.

Asked to explain the threats, he said in Ward Two "those who attempted to register and vote . . . several persons were sent out to threaten them with revolvers and pretend to prevent them from voting."

Was Reluctant

Howard said he was not personally threatened, but the "threat was rumored in the community troughout the parishes and made me reluctant to go (to the polls)."

These threats, he said, resulted in an investigation by the FBI, and ever since he has voted without intimidation.

Howard testified that the first time he voted, in July, 1954, two machines were placed in the precinct, one for Negroes and the other for whites.

"The Negroes were lined up through one door and the whites through the other, and the whites were marched to one machine and the Negroes to another machine," he said.

He said the same procedure has been used since 1954, approximately six or eight times when he voted.

Discouraged Voters

Howard said this procedure tended to discourage Negro voters who turned out in large numbers to cast their ballots and were required to stand in line for long periods of time because they were unable to use more than one machine.

On one occasion, he said, he waited from 8 a. m. until 5 p. m. in line to vote. White voters did not have to wait as long because they did not come to the polls in large numbers, he explained.

Only one machine was used in the Aug. 27, 1960, Democratic runoff primary election. But Howard said this was because few people voted.

The witness told the commission a deputy marshal had informed him that the two machines were used "because of segregation."

Howard said he felt the use of two machines "creates the opportunity for the Negro votes to be shoved aside and not counted." He said this policy also tends to allow vote officials to tell how Negroes vote in an election.

Destroys Purpose

"It destroys the purpose of voting machines. It is supposed to be a secret ballot," he said.

In conclusion Howard reiterated that he had not personally been threatened, but had learned of threats from other persons. He was followed to the stand by Mrs. Minnie Lee Stewart, a Greensburg housewife, farmer and mother of 11.

She told the commission she has been a registered voter in Ward Three, Precinct One, of Greensburg since 1952, and has voted continuously since then.

Mrs. Stewart also described how she was required to use a voting machine reserved for Negroes. She told how she once took her aged father to the polls, but was prevented from using a second machine for whites.

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'Segregated Machine'

"They put us on a segregated machine," she said.

On another occasion, she related, she was waiting in line to vote when the machine used by Negroes broke down. She said she was unable to use the white voting machine until poll commissioners counted the number of white persons who had already voted on the white machine. Then she was permitted to use the machine reserved for whites, she said.

Mrs. Stewart said she was concerned that the secrecy of the ballot was being "robbed" in having segregated voting machines.

Oscar L. Hall, 64, Greensburg, said on the night before the 1952 gubernatorial election a Negro was sent around by "one of our white friends" to tell Negroes not to come out to vote in St. Helena parish.

He said the white man said there would be "some bloodshed and he wanted to be our friend."

Hall said he did not vote in that election but has voted in subsequent elections. During one of the elections, he said, "they closed the door leading to where the Negro voting machine was located for more than three hours."

During the period, he said, white persons continued to vote.

Hall testified that in his opinion the use of separate voting machines for Negroes and whites was to discourage Negro voters and indicate how they voted.

Knighton, 51, Greensburg, a farmer and carpenter, testified that in January of 1952 a "colored fellow in an automobile named Sam Adkins came around and told us not to appear at the polls because there would be bloodshed and trouble and none of us voted."

"I attempted to vote in the July, 1952, judge's election but a man came down with a gun to threaten me," he said.

Going to Lunch

Knighton said he had arrived at the courthouse to vote and when he approached the door the commissioners came out and said they were going to lunch and they locked the door.

A few minutes later they returned, Knighton said, with a man identified as Joe Redmond and the commissioners went into the polling place.

"Mr. Joe asked us what we wanted and I told him I was here to vote," Knighton said. "He opened his bosom and said, 'Do you see this gun,' and I told him 'What about ti, I've seen guns before.'

"He said: 'You Negroes had better leave. I don't want to have to hurt you because Negroes are not going to vote in St. Helena.' I told him: 'I'm not here to break in. The law says we don't have to. If you are going to intimidate us then we'll go back.' "

With Others

Knighton said he was accompanied by two Negro women voters.

He testified that Redmond was not an official but just a private citizen. Knighton said he did not report to the sheriff's office but did file an affidavit with the FBI.

Knighton also testified that he was present in 1956 when commissioners closed and locked the door leading to the Negro voting machine and kept it locked for three hours and 15 minutes.

Knighton was the last of the witnesses on oral testimony.

With the completion of oral testimony, Bernhard began submitting various documents and charts which he said would reflect the purpose of the joint legislative committee on segregation and would indicate the geographic distribution of committee membership.

He read excerpts from minutes of secret meetings which the legislative committee held throughout the eight congressional districts wtih registrars during 1959.

Told of 'Steps'

The minutes indicated that registrars were advised concerning steps that could be taken to stiffen voter qualifications.

One excerpt noted that Negroes represent 32 per cent of the state's population and could constitute a balance of power if permitted to vote without regard to qualifications.

Bernhard also showed through use of a map that membership on the legislative committee was confined mainly to the extreme southeast portion of Louisiana and to five parishes in the extreme northern section of the state where the percentage of Negro voters is the lowest and from where the civil rights commission received most of its complaints of voter discrimination.

Bernhard said the documents were introduced to "show how the entire state machinery is involved in the voting process." He did not indicate how the commission obtained the minutes of the legislative committee's conferences with registrars.

Turned Down

A series of witnesses late yesterday testified they were turned down as voter applicants on grounds they did not understand or could not interpret sections of the constitution placed before them by registrars.

These included:

Henry Layne Wafer, Homer, 74, who said he voted in California and Michigan before coming to Louisiana.

Henry James Kimp, Jackson parish where there are 482 registered Negroes as compared with 6563 whites.

Miss Darlene McCarter, 23, Jonesboro, a high school graduate.

Morris H. Carroll, 53-year-old principal of a Monroe high school, who testified he was one of the persons taken off the voting rolls in a mass purge of Negroes in 1956.

Accompanied by Noe

Carroll said he was able to get reinstated as a voter because he was accompanied to the registrar's office by former Gov. James A. Noe.

Some 4000 other Negroes were not placed back on the rolls, Carroll said.

A group of Plaquemines parish Negroes were called to the witness stand.

Percy Griffin, 40-year-old minister, said he had been registered in Plaquemines for six years but has been unable to get other Negroes on voter rolls. Concerning conditions in Plaquemines, he said:

"It's a system that discriminates basically against the Negro. Finding the registrar was like a game of hide and seek."

He said after contacting the registrar at home he had taken 300 Negroes to the registration office but was able to get only six of them registered.

44 Registered

A total of 44 Negroes is registered in Plaquemines. There are 7006 white voters.

Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor, her husband, Joseph Taylor, and her brother-in-law, Leo Taylor, all said they had been unable to register in Plaquemines.

Leo Taylor said that deputies assisted white persons registering but did not help Negroes.

Turning to Webster parish, the commission noted that there are 7313 Negroes of voting age but only 125, or 1.7 per cent, were registered. A total of 79 per cent of the 15,035 white persons of voting age are registered.

Edward V. Morgan, 55, a Minden life insurance man, said he was secretary-treasurer and founder of an organization founded in Minden in 1948 to encourage Negroes to register.

'Wiped Clean'

He said there were 1700 Negroes on the registration rolls in 1957 when the slate was "wiped clean." Only 125 of those Negroes purged from the rolls were able to again register.

Joe Kirk, 52-year-old Minden cement mason, said when he successfully interpreted a section of the Constitution after four tries, the woman deputy registrar then asked him "if I had any illegitimate children."

"I said: 'Not that I knows of,' " Kirk replied.

He said the clerk accused him of lying.

Name Scratched

Richard Lee Bell, 71, retired railroad worker from Webster, said he was a voter until the mid-1950s when his name was scratched. He met rebukes similar to Kirk when he attempted to reregister, Bell said.

Mrs. Willie Mae Allums, Minden, said she attempted to reregister after being scratched and a clerk asked her: "Why do you want to vote? You've got all you'll ever get 'til judgment day."

Tom Turner, Mrs. Eliza L. Presley, Mrs. Mariah Turner and Elmo Williams were Negro witnesses from Red River parish.

Red River has 24 registered Negroes and 3416 whites.

The four witnesses said they had attempted to register or to reregister when scratched but were barred on their interpretation of the Constitution or on calculating their age in years, months, weeks and days.

Told Too Late

Mrs. Turner said on one occasion she was told that she was too late to register but that whites were being registered when she appeared at the office.

Ernest N. Francis Jr., Jonesboro mortician, said that "prejudice" existed against Negroes attempting to register after a purge of Negroes in his area.

Jewell Wade, 23, Jonesboro, was one of those testifying to back up Francis' position that Negroes could not register.

Mrs. Hester Williams, Bossier parish, said she had attempted to register on five occasions. Bossier has 534 registered Negroes and 11,878 whites.

Eugene Williams, a relative of Mrs. Williams, said he had tried seven times to register, traveling 500 miles.

From The Christian Century, September 28, 1960

ECONOMIC BOYCOTT

Undercutting the White Citizens' Councils (Fayette County, Tenn.)

Belatedly the Justice Department has acted to stop economic discrimination against Negroes who seek to assert their civil rights by registering to vote. In Tennessee the department has brought injunction suits against banks and individuals in an effort to stop economic coercion impairing citizens' rights. The coercion has been manifested in various ways. A number of Negro teachers have lost their positions; others have been warned that they will be fired if they attempt to register. A Negro minister who had urged his people to register was denied a small loan at a bank even though his cosigner was conspicuously solvent. Negroes have been compelled to move from their homes, to pay loans prematurely, to go far afield to sell their products. Some have been unable to rent land, buy necessities, or obtain services, simply because they tried to behave as good citizens should. Now the justice department has moved to halt the application of economic sanctions against Negroes. In so doing it has struck a solid blow at the so-called White Citizens' Councils, which often apply economic sanctions against Negroes or against whites who seek to help Negroes vote. In fact, economic coercion has been the councils' chief form of attack on Negro rights. It is to be hoped that the Justice Department will file and press suits not only in Tennessee but in other states where the councils practice their cruelties.

banks funds

Consent judgement was made at Memphis, April 24. The first voting rights case under 1957 Civil Rights Act to be settled by Negotiation.

* * * * *

HAYWOOD COUNTY

Negroes registered to vote in Haywood County today for the first time since the Reconstruction following the Civil War.—New York Times, May 18, 1960.

Important history in Tennessee voting, and important insurance against any Tennessee responsibility for harsh civil rights legislation in the future, have been made and written in the past few weeks.—Chattanooga Times, May 22, 1960.

A Louisiana Parish: Wholesale Purge

KENNETH N. VINES in 12 Parishes

Department of Political Science, Tulane University

BY 1956 Negro registration in Louisiana had attained a size insuring it substantial respect in state and local politics, its 18 per cent of total registration ranking as highest in the South. The processes of accommodation and compromise practiced in Louisiana politics out of respect to the Negro vote made state politics an important area of interracial communication.

Then came the purges. In eight months Negro registration was reduced by 10,000 at the same time that white registration was increasing. According to state Senator Rainach, Citizens' Council leader and chief political spokesman for the purges, the purge of Negro voters in Louisiana was designed to eliminate 90 per cent of Negro registration in Louisiana and its ultimate purpose was to "solve our segregation problem" and "make Louisiana a shining example to the nation on how to thwart the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III, in a letter (Feb. 27, 1957) to Rep. Emanuel Celler, chairman of a House Judiciary subcommittee, told of some of the findings of federal investigators in Louisiana. After outlining state laws which require that a registrant be notified if he is challenged, Olney wrote:

"In none of the 10 parishes which were the subject of FBI investigations did the registrar make it a practice to send a form of reply affidavit to the challenged registrant. On the contrary, investigations in Bienville, Caldwell, DeSoto, Jackson, LaSalle, and Ouachita Parishes disclosed that the registrar in those parishes did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits in the statutory form and generally refused to accept them when offered.

"In Ouachita Parish the registrar refused to accept as witnesses on behalf of a challenged voter, bona fide registered voters of the parish who were not from the same precinct as the challenged voter. She also refused to accept as witnesses bona fide registered voters who had themselves been challenged. She also refused to accept as witnesses registered voters who had already witnessed to the qualification of another challenged voter.

"In Caldwell Parish the registrar refused to accept witnesses on behalf of a challenged voter unless they were accompanied by a law enforcement officer and a member of the Citizens Council to identify them. He even refused to accept white persons as witnesses for Negro voters on the grounds that the witnesses were of a different race from the race of the challenged voter.

"In Bienville Parish, where 560 of the 595 registered Negro voters were challenged, the registrars consistently refused to accept affidavits on behalf of registered voters which were in the statutory form and, as a result, the names of every one of the challenged Negro voters were stricken from the voting rolls.

"In Jackson Parish, where 953 of the 1,122 Negro voters were challenged, the registrar also refused to accept for filing, affidavits on behalf of challenged voters . . . As a result, all of the challenged Negro voters, with the exception of two who were physically disabled and therefore unable to fill out voter application cards, were stricken from the rolls.

"In a number of parishes when challenged Negro registrants came to the registrar's office in response to the challenging citation, they were told by the registrar that they would have to see a private attorney in order to get the matter straightened out.

". . . With respect only to cases which have been investigated by the

FBI, the following numbers of Negro voters were challenged in each of the following parishes:

Bienville	560	LaSalle	345
Caldwell	330	Lincoln	325
DeSoto	383	Ouachita	3,240
Grant	758	Rapides	1,058
Jackson	953	Union	600."

Olney said a Federal grand jury in Louisiana heard evidence during December, 1956, and January and February, 1957, in connection with civil rights violations in Caldwell, DeSoto, and Grant Parishes but that no indictments were returned. On that occasion, a Justice Department attorney outlined evidence relating to cases in Bienville, Jackson, and Ouachita Parishes. The grand jury, after deliberating in private, announced there was no possibility of indictments in the three cases and went on record as not desiring to hear any testimony concerning them.

Meanwhile, indications that the purges are continuing in Louisiana came from State Sen. William M. Rainach, chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation. Rainach, who resigned as head of the Association of Citizens Councils of Louisiana to run for governor, announced he intends to purge 100,000 of the state's approximately 130,000 Negro registrants from the rolls of qualified voters. In the summer of 1959 he moved into Opelousas, seat of St. Landry Parish, and said his purge there will be a test of what he will do elsewhere. He added that only 700 of some 7,000 Negroes registered in the parish were qualified to vote. Rainach said he had requests from 15 other parishes for similar purges.

Slowdown

Another method of reducing Negro political influence is the slowdown. Caddo Parish, site of Shreveport, largest city in northern Louisiana (Pop. 160,000), offered an outstanding example of the technique. The slowdown—raising barriers which cause Negro registration to slow to a mere trickle—began there in 1958.

The Caddo Parish Citizens Council met in August, 1956, and decided not to attempt a purge of Negro voters. It said a check showed there were not enough incorrect registrations to warrant a purge. However, in the purge parishes most determined investigators could manage to find a mistake in practically all Negro registrations. It was more likely that in an area containing a large urban center, the White Citizens Council was forced to moderate its techniques. No purge has been carried out in a parish containing a large metropolitan area.

(The Louisiana consultant for this report said Monroe, in Ouachita

comparison with the other parishes of Louisiana Ouachita did not rank high with respect to the percentage of eligible Negroes registered. Classifying the parishes into four groups on the basis of Negro registration of potential registration (0-29, 30-49, 50-69, 70-100), Ouachita, with 40 per cent of the Negro potential voters registered ranked in the third lowest of the four groups.

Negro registration certainly could not be classified as either hyperactive or extremely interested but could be described at best as "somewhat apathetic." Despite the fact that before the purge there were several years of no hindrances to Negro registration the proportion of Negroes registered to vote from the potential registration was well below that of the white population of Ouachita.

The key to the fear of the Negro vote lies in its potential function as a balance of power factor and the strength of this as a political lever for gaining political and social ends. Although Negroes were only 19 per cent of the voting population of Ouachita, by voting as a fairly cohesive group, they could decisively influence almost any parish election. Exactly this kind of thing had happened in the city of Monroe, and Mayor Cass in treating them with respect, in improving Negro recreational facilities, and in hiring Negro policemen had earned the respect of the Negro voters. It was known that Cass could probably not be beaten unless the Negro vote were destroyed, and many persons in Ouachita say that the purge was initially an effort to defeat Cass who was coming up for reelection in May, 1956. As a result of the purge, Cass was beaten.

The Purge

Direct preparations for the purge of Negro voters in Ouachita Parish began in March, 1956, when from six to eight members of the Citizens' Councils, working in relays every day, began preparing the necessary forms by which every one of the 5,782 Negro voters would be challenged. By mid-April around 3,000 challenges were mailed, and when the great majority of the Negroes failed to gain retractions of the challenges, they were erased from the rolls. By May, when the mayor's race began, only 595 Negro voters were on the rolls.

The procedures by which the Negro voters were successfully purged involved a system of challenging voters, which put the burden upon the voter of demonstrating his proper registration. The system originated in a series of acts passed in 1940 by the Louisiana legislature, then interested in finding ways to reform elections by removing unqualified voters from the rolls. The acts were in part a reaction against the corrupt practices frequently seen in Louisiana and practiced by the adherents of the Long

factions and received the support of the good government groups in Louisiana.

The Acts provide (Louisiana Statutes 18: 132-134) that "upon an affidavit signed and sworn to in duplicate by any two bona fide registered voters to the effect that after reasonable investigation and on information or belief certain persons are illegally registered or have lost their right to vote in precinct, ward or parish" the registrar shall then notify the voter by mail. If within ten days of notification the voter produces an affidavit signed by three other registered voters of the parish attesting to the correctness of his registration, he may stay on the rolls. Otherwise, if the voter does not produce such a document ten days from notification, his name is removed.

As originally designed, the statute was intended to provide a means of challenging voters whose place and duration of residence were in question. And while it provides a kind of citizen challenge (two registered voters) it also provides for a citizen refutation of the challenge (three registered voters). Thus as written the statute provides for a relatively easy and casual challenge, but also for an easy refutation of the challenge.

The method of challenge used by the Citizens' Council, however, did not involve questions of residence but deviations from the "proper" method of filling out the entire registration form; e.g., any mistake in the calculation of age (which had to be put in years, months, and days), or writing "M" instead of "male" and "C" instead of "colored." And if there were none of these "mistakes" the challenged voter was told that the signature on the registration card didn't appear to be his signature, that his identity was questioned, that he was not who he said he was.

A few days after the challenges were mailed pandemonium prevailed at the courthouse in Monroe. Hundreds of Negro voters jammed the registrar's office and overflowed onto the courthouse lawns with the intention of refuting the challenges. The strategy of the registrar's office then involved several procedures. First, the processing of challenges was slowed to a mere trickle by assigning only one or two persons in the office to deal with the challenges and by requiring that a single line of Negroes be formed, and by delaying the individual cases and dragging them out as much as possible. It is estimated that 1,400 or 1,500 persons tried to clear their registration during the first few days after the challenges. Secondly, the proofs required by the registrar for refuting the challenges were stiffer than those listed in the statutes. Negroes were not allowed to sign affiidavits for other Negroes because they had been challenged, so initially Negro voters had to secure signatures from white friends and employers. After the first voters were cleared, they could then sign for others chal-

UNDERCUTTING THE WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCILS

Belatedly the justice department has acted to stop economic discrimination against Negroes who seek to assert their civil rights by registering to vote. In Tennessee the department has brought injunction suits against banks and individuals in an effort to stop economic coercion impairing citizens' rights. The coercion has been manifested in various ways. A number of Negro teachers have lost their positions; others have been warned that they will be fired if they attempt to register. A Negro minister who had urged his people to register was denied a small loan at a bank even though his cosigner was conspicuously solvent. Negroes have been compelled to move from their homes, to pay loans prematurely, to go far afield to sell their products. Some have been unable to rent land, buy necessities, or obtain services, simply because they tried to behave as good citizens should. Now the justice department has moved to halt the application of economic sanctions against Negroes. In so doing it has struck a solid blow at the so-called white citizens' councils, which often apply economic sanctions against Negroes or against whites who seek to help Negroes vote. In fact, economic coercion has been the councils' chief form of attack on Negro rights. It is to be hoped that the justice department will file and press suits not only in Tennessee but in other states where the councils practice their cruelties.

The Christian Century

September 28, 1960

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Gremillion's Statement Rejected by Panel

—Photo by The Times-Picayune.

LOUISIANA'S ATTORNEY GENERAL, Jack P. F. Gremillion, makes a request to introduce a statement refuting the charges of Negroes that they were denied voting rights, but the federal civil rights commission refused to accept the statement in the record. Seated left is Weldon A. Cousins. Seated right is N. Cleburn Dalton. They are assistants to Gremillion.

U. S. Civil Rights Hearing Publicity Plan--Gremillion

La. Atty. Gen. Comments After Recess

Louisiana's attorney general Wednesday referred to a hearing here by the United States Commission on Civil Rights as "a national publicity scheme."

Jack P. F. Gremillion made the comment after the hearing had been recessed. Four Negro witnesses were heard Wednesday, swelling the total for the two days of testimony to 35 Negro witnesses.

All alleged that they had been denied registration or voting rights in Louisiana.

The commission recessed its hearing at noon.

Gremillion and Robert Gerald Storey, commission vice-chairman, engaged in a verbal battle shortly before the recess.

RULED OUT OF ORDER

Gremillion sought to introduce a statement of his into the record along with a telegram from Albin P. Lassiter, district attorney of Ouachita parish.

He was ruled out of order by Storey, who said that such documents should have been introduced 24 hours in advance so that they could be studied by commission members.

The telegram took issue with testimony offered Tuesday by Dr. John Reddix, Monroe dentist, who said he met difficulty when he attempted to register to vote.

The exchange between the two men started when Storey asked Gremillion if he had contacted any registrars of voters to appear at the hearing.

NOTICE TOO SHORT

Gremillion replied:

"It's a physical impossibility for me to bring any registrars before this body on such a short notice."

Gremillion said he had asked Gordon Tiffany, commission deputy director, if any registrars would be subpenaed, but said he had never received a list of the witnesses to be called.

Storey informed him that plans did not call for registrars to be subpenaed, although any registrar would be invited to appear before the commission Wednesday afternoon after all witnesses were heard.

Most of the witnesses were from North Louisiana parishes. Gremillion indicated the distance made it "impossible" to have registrars from that area appear on short notice.

Storey said the telegram would not be read in the federal courtroom in the main post office building where the meeting was conducted because "we don't believe it would be pertinent to release it."

GREMILLION RELEASES

Gremillion, however, released a copy of the telegram he had received to the press. He also released the prepared statement he had sought to read to the commission members.

Storey told the attorney general:

"You are perfectly familiar with the rules. Any statement submitted should be done 24 hours in advance."

Gremillion said:

"There are quite a few things your attorneys don't know about this and about the registration laws of the state."

He was interrupted by Storey, who said:

"We are not going to let you make a speech. It is out of order."

Gremillion replied:

"Thank you for ruling me out of order."

A few seconds later Gremillion rose again from his chair and asked:

"Are you going to let me read this statement, please?"

SAYS RULES IGNORED

Storey said: "No, sir; you did not comply with the rules."

The vice-chairman said that the meeting was being recessed, subject to further call. He said the meeting would resume again, should any registrars appear to testify, but none did.

After the meeting Gremillion said in a corridor:

"In my opinion this is nothing but a national scheme."

He said none of the witnesses had complained to state officials of alleged registration or voting difficulties.

"I don't think they cared to hear from me," he asserted. "I wanted to make a statement concering the true facts."

Gremillion Makes Statement Public

Gremillion's prepared statement follows:

"At the outset of this hearing I offered my co-operation in the performance of your duties to determine the true, fair and impartial facts implicated in the alleged violations of civil rights within this state by public officials.

"It is in the same demeanor and spirit of co-operation that I now propose and offer that you accept these just and equitable recommendations.

"You have heard, under oath or affirmation, statements of alleged facts which have publicly indicted each of many officers of this state before the eyes of the nation. These indictments accuse Louisiana officials of having violated state and federal laws, which, if true, demand grave penalty.

"These accusations have been received by you without challenge, rebuttal or cross-examination, and subject to no judicial regulation or rule of evidence.

"In your handbook, an official publication of this commission, on page 10, question 6 asks: 'Do both sides in a controversy have an opportunity to tell the commission their version of the story?' Your answer is 'Yes.'

"There exists here, as a result of the matters presented, an intense controversy and I assure you that there is another version of the story thus told.

"This commission is composed of fair-minded and impartial men who believe in fair play for the sake of fair results, and being so constituted, you strive to reveal the truth of all matters which come before you.

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"You have provided opportunity to hear complaints, one version of the story. As attorney general of Louisiana and attorney for the registrars of voters, and other public officials of the state, I solicit equal opportunity and hearing under the same conditions as you have heard and received these complaints here.

"This is the only American way that the true facts can be determined, of which, I know you wish full appraisal."

Lassiter Answers Reddix Charges

The telegram from Lassiter answered charges made Tuesday before the commission by Dr. Reddix.

Lassiter said that testimony referring to Ouachita parish registration conditions is available through several sources. He mentioned the Federal Bureau of Investigation, a report to the United States attorney general and to numerous court cases.

Lassiter said that while Dr. Reddix, his wife and another Negro, Morris H. Carroll, 53, of Monroe, had their voting rights challenged, so had 5938 other Negroes and 6778 white persons.

Lassiter said that Carroll (a witness Tuesday) and the wife of Dr. Reddix had been restored to the registration rolls "and are voters."

The telegram stated:

"Reddix has consistently refused for four years to re-register on the theory grievance is greater right than the privilege to vote, even against the advice of his own lawyers, and now of your commission.

"Rev. Philip R. Brown (another witness Tuesday) appeared only one time at the registration office about two weeks ago and refused to prove one-year residence, as required by law.

"Suggest entire record be referred to U. S. attorney for possible perjury charges and Reddix for contempt, U. S. Judiciary, all in accord with title from section H, 1960, civil rights act.

"Further suggest that President Eisenhower would not be impressed by witness or witnesses after hearing Khrushchev, Castro and Lumumba."

Later Wednesday, Gremillion made public a telegram from Sheriff C. E. Hester of Madison parish. It pertained to William James Neal, a Tuesday witness, who said that Hester had told him that "the time wasn't right" for Negroes to register in Madison.

The telegram read:

"William James Neal convicted criminal neglect of family Sept. 23, 1959, in Sixth Judicial District court, Tallulah, La. Sentenced to serve one year on penal farm and pay $500 fine and cost. Farm sentence and fine suspended. Placed on two-year probation and directed to pay $68 per month to family.

"He was arrested by probation officer Sept. 19, 1960, and lodged in Madison parish jail for failure to make payments. Was released same date on bond."

Six Answer Charges Made by Witnesses

Earlier Wednesday John A. Hannah, commission chairman, announced that he had received six telegrams from law enforcement personnel in Louisiana who wished to contradict evidence submitted Tuesday by Negro witnesses.

The six were John N. Brown, former sheriff of Claiborne parish; Lester Hughes, district attorney of Natchitoches and Red River parishes; Thompson L. Clarke, district attorney of Madison, East Carroll and Tensas parishes; Louis H. Padgett, district attorney of Bossier and Webster parishes; John A. Richardson, district attorney of Caddo parish, and Harvey T. Teasley, chief of police of Shreveport.

Brown denied a statement that he threatened the life of a Negro "if he attempted to register."

"No one has been threatened to my knowledge," Brown wrote.

Hughes denied a charge of discrimination against Negroes, adding:

"If you want to find out the true facts, suggest you hear us just as you have others."

Clarke said Negro complaints were adjudicated in court, adding:

"Demand that you have further hearings before the same news media . . . and afford us the opportunity to refute these untrue allegations."

Padgett said newspaper accounts indicated that seven Negroes from Bossier and Webster parishes gave false testimony under oath regarding alleged deprivation of voting or other rights.

"I am prepared to prove that none of the seven possess legal qualifications for voting and request on behalf of our registrars of voter opportunity to rebut these false accusations," wrote Padgett.

Denies Any Not Permitted to Register

Richardson said no one in the Caddo district attorney's office had ever denied anyone the right to register or vote, nor had anyone ever made such a complaint to the district attorney's office.

Richardson said the matter could be "verified in a public hearing with the right to cross-examine."

Teasley denied the allegations by Rev. Harry Blake, a Tuesday witness.

Teasley added:

"I have never entertained the thought of framing or harassing anyone, regardless of race, color or creed in the years I have been in law enforcement work. I regret the commission has not given me opportunity to defend myself against accusations. I stand ready to furnish information."

The final testimony Wednesday was submitted by Berl Bernhard, commission deputy

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staff director, who introduced various exhibits. Among them were literature on voter qualification laws in Louisiana, and charters of the Association of Citizens Councils and the Citizens Council's platform.

SAYS RIGHTS DENIED

Also introducing a statement to the commission was Clarence A. Laws, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

He said he had traveled in Louisiana and was convinced that the voting rights of Negroes are being denied. He said the denials include:

1. Outright refusal to register Negroes.
2. Telling Negroes that the registration office is closed.
3. Telling Negroes that they must come at another time even though whites are being registered.
4. Stating that Negroes have failed to properly identify themselves or to establish citizenship.
5. Alleging that application form for registration was not properly accomplished.
6. Concluding questions asked about the federal or state constitutions or some other subject were not properly answered.

St. Helena Parish Witness Is Heard

The first witness Wednesday was Ellis D. Howard, 45, Greensburg farmer. Greensburg is in St. Helena parish.

Berl Bernhard, commission deputy staff director, said that non-whites registered in the parish total 1204 or 57.2 per cent of the non-whites over 21 in the parish.

Bernhard said the whites registered number 2458, or 99.8 per cent of the whites over 21 in the parish.

Howard said he had been registered to vote since 1951. His testimony was the first from witnesses to point up alleged voting machine irregularities.

Howard asserted that he had heard that Negroes who voted in 1951 would be beaten. He said the threats of violence with a revolver against Negroes were widespread in St. Helena, although he personally had not been threatened.

"The gentleman that made the threat was named Smith," said Howard. "The threats were known in the parish, although I personally was not threatened. Because of the rumors, I did not vote. It made me reluctant to go."

Howard said that an investigation was made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1952 and that he voted after that.

"I have voted ever since," he asserted.

Howard said that one of his complaints was that Negroes had to vote on one voting machine, while whites voted on another. He said this separate arrangement produced inconvenience.

He said also that Negro voters outnumbered white voters in his ward and that the Negro line waiting to vote was long, while the white person's line was not.

"The Negroes were continually coming," he said. "I remember they had better than 100 line up."

Howard said that in August of 1960, however, there was only one voting machine in the ward because of a short ballot. He said whites and Negroes used the machine.

Howard said it was his opinion that when Negroes were ordered to use a separate voting machine, it could be determined for whom they voted.

Mrs. Minnie Lee Stewart, Greensburg, mother of 11 children, was the next witness from St. Helena parish.

She said she was a voter in Ward Three, Precinct One and had been registered since 1952.

Mrs. Stewart said it also was her view that "Negro votes were known" when Negroes were obligated to use a separate voting machine.

She said that at one election she escorted her aged father to the polls where there was a long line of Negroes. When she attempted to assist her father into the voting machine for the whites which was not being used, she said she was ordered back to the machine for Negroes.

Warned Against Voting, Is Charge

Oscar L. Hall, 64, Greensburg, a farmer and carpenter, told the commission, that he was registered to vote in 1951 in Ward Two, Precinct One.

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But he asserted that the night before an election "we were sent word not to go out to the polls because there would be bloodshed."

Hall said the word was spread by a Negro friend, who said he had been told by a white man to spread the information to Negroes.

"There were 17 Negroes registered in that precinct at that time, and none of them went to vote," Hall said. "I didn't go."

Hall said that he voted in the following election and had no trouble, although since that time he said Negroes have been obligated to wait in longer lines than whites.

He said the separate voting machines furnished an inconvenience to Negroes.

Additional testimony pertaining to the use of segregated voting machines and alleged threats to [illegible] by Clarence L. Knighton, 51, Greensburg Negro who identified himself as a "part-time farmer and carpenter."

Knighton testified that he had completed the sixth grade in adult classes and had been registered to vote since 1951, but did not immediately exercise the right of franchise because of complications which arose.

With the gubernatorial primary coming up in Jan., 1952, he and other Negroes in the parish "were planning to participate," but a white man whom he identified as Charles J. Cole, "a retired merchant," sent a Negro named "Sam Atkins" around in an automobile to advise prospective Negro voters that there would be "bloodshed" if they attempted to vote. Knighton reported.

"I stayed home," said Knighton.

Then in a judgeship primary in the same year Knighton testified: "I attempted to vote. A man came and threatened me with a gun. I know his name well—Mr. Joe Redmond."

Knighton related that Redmond stopped him outside the polling place and asked him if he was waiting to vote and on receiving an affirmative reply, opened his shirt and revealed a revolver which had been concealed inside. He said Redmond inquired:

"Do you see this gun?"

Knighton said that he told Redmond that he saw the gun and "What about it?"

He said that Redmond retorted: "You better leave here. Negroes are not going to vote in St. Helena parish."

Contacted FBI, Voted in 1952

Knighton testified that he told Redmond that if this kind of force was going to be used to keep him from voting he would not attempt to vote, but that "I hope you know what you are doing."

Later he and other Negroes were able to get an FBI investigation of the situation and for the first time in the November, 1952, presidential election, he was able to vote, Knighton reported.

Voting machines were used for the first time in July, 1954, with separate machines for Negro and white voters, he said. In a subsequent election in 1956 the door leading to the Negro voting machine in his polling place was locked for three hours and 15 minutes during which time "not a single Negro voted," but white persons continued to vote by obtaining access through another door to the voting machine which they used.

Finally, he said that he and a man named John H. Hall went to the "high sheriff" who told him that he had nothing to do with the election but that he would see if he could get the door opened leading to the Negroes machine, but the sheriff later reported that he had not been successful.

Then he went to Charles Cole and told Cole that he was going to get federal agents to come to Greensburg if the door was not opened, he said. Cole advised against such action saying that it would "hurt all of us" and sent his wife to the polling place and she finally succeeded in getting the door open, he said.

Johnson, the sole Negro member of the commission, asked Knighton if he had reported to the authorities "that this private citizen threatened you with a gun."

Knighton replied that "I did not," but that he later filed a complaint by affidavit with the FBI and received assistance.

State Records Are Filed in Case

At the conclusion of the taking of oral testimony Bernhard introduced into the record of the hearing a series of documents pertaining to the "creation and purpose of the joint legislative committee" of the state of Louisiana and its activities.

Documents introduced included House Concurrent resolution No. 27 passed by the Legislature in 1954, under which the commission's activities, he said, were directed "primarily to problems of school desegregation in Louisiana;" HCR No. 9, which "enlarged the purposes" of the commission; and HCR No. 6 of 1960 charged the commission with the duty to continue the fight for "segregation of the races."

Bernhard said that he expected to show that the activities of the commission "have been directed towards reducing and minimizing the number of Negroes voting in the state."

Bernhard asserted that five of the 10 members of the commission were from the extreme north Louisiana parishes where the percentage of Negro population is greatest and where the preponderance of complaints to the commission had originated. Three members were from southeast Louisiana parishes, he said.

The commission received complaints of discrimination against Negro registration and voting from 17 parishes, he reported. Those in north Louisiana were Bienville, Bossier, Caddo, Claiborne, De Soto, East Carroll, Jackson, Madison, Ouachita, Red River, Tensas and Webster. Those in south Louisiana were East Feliciana, West Feliciana, St. Helena, Washington and Plaquemines.

Bernhard then introduced a series of excerpts of minutes of conferences in various congressional districts by the commission in 1959 and 1960 with registrars of voters and other public officials.

The portions of the minutes referred to attributed to unidentified persons such statements as advising that the emphasis in the segregation struggle "is shifting to voter qualification enforcement;" stressing the requirement of interpretation of the Constitution as a literacy qualification for voting and observing that parents of illegitimate children are ineligible for registration.

RIGHTS HEARING TESTIMONY HIT

Three Give 'Opinions,' Hearsay, Perez Says

Plaquemines parish District Attorney Leander H. Perez said Wednesday that testimony by three parish Negroes before the federal civil rights commission "was mainly their own opinions and hearsay."

Perez said he referred to the testimony of Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor; her husband, Joseph Taylor, and his brother, Leo Taylor. The Taylors testified Tuesday they had been unable to register as voters in Plaquemines parish.

Perez issued the following statement in regard to their testimony:

"I read the testimony given by three Negroes from Plaquemines parish before the federal civil rights commission Tuesday afternoon.

"A close reading of their testimoney will show that they testified to no facts which proved any illegal denial of registration rights to anyone. Their testimony was mainly their own opinions and hearsay but it apparently helped to carry out the planned systematic propaganda for softening up people's resistance to a campaign of federal usurpation of state and local government functions which would revive the carpetbag system of federal control of our registration of voters and state and local elections.

"If the three Taylor Negroes who testified were subjected to proper cross - examination it could be shown for the record that their reason for attempting to reflect against the Plaquemines administration is that a member of their family, Louis Taylor, was tried and convicted for aggravated rape of a white woman and sentenced to life imprisonment in the state penitentiary in July, 1951, after which, statements were made by some of the Taylors that they would register to vote against the parish.

"The vicious one-sided taking of so-called evidence by the commission members lays them open to being parties to such criminal conspiracy."

Page 3 9/29

530South Union Street
Montgomery 4, Alabama
October 11, 1960

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

Enclosed you will find a voter registration blank. Reverend Abernathy asked that I send same to you upon the request of Mrs. Virginia Durr.

Very truly,

Hazel R. Gregory,
Clerk-Typist

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION, QUESTIONNAIRE AND OATH

I, _____, do hereby apply to the Board of Registrars of _____ County, State of Alabama, to register as an elector under the Constitution and laws of the State of Alabama, and do herewith submit answers to the interrogatories propounded to me by said board.

_____
Name of Applicant

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. State your name, the date and place of your birth, and your present address _____

_____

2. Are you single or married _____ (a) If married, give Name, residence and place of birth of your husband or wife, the case may be: _____

_____

3. Give the names of the places, respectively, where you have lived during the last five years; and the name or names by which you have been known during the last five years: _____

_____

_____

4. If you are self-employed, state the nature of your business: _____

_____

(a) If you have been employed by another during the last five years, state the nature of your employment and the name or names of such employer or employers and his or their addresses: _____

_____

5. If you claim that you are a bona fide resident of the State of Alabama, give the date on which you claim to have become such bona fide resident: _____ (a) When did you become a bona fide resident of _____ County: _____

(b) When did you become a bona fide resident of _____ Ward or precinct

_____ _____

6. If you intend to change your place of residence prior to the next general election, state the facts: _____

7. Have you previously applied for and been denied registration as a voter? _____ (a) If so, give the facts: _____

8. Has your name been previously stricken from the list of persons registered? _____

9. Are you now or have you ever been a dope addict or an habitual drunkard? _____ (a) If you are or have been a dope addict or an habitual drunkard, explain as fully as you can _____

_____

10. Have you ever been legally declared insane? _____(a) If so, give details _____

11. Give a brief statement of the extent of your education and business experience. _____

_____

12. Have you ever been charged with or convicted of a felony or crime or offense involving moral turpitude? _____(a) If so, give the facts _____

13. Have you ever served in the Armed Forces of the United States Government? _____(a) If so, state when and for approximately how long. _____

14. Have you ever been expelled or dishonorable discharged from any school or college or from and branch of the Armed Forces of the United States, or of any other country? _____(a) If so, state the facts: _____

15. Will you support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Alabama? _____

16. Are you now or have you ever been affiliated with any group or organization which advocates the overthrow of the United States Government or the government of any state of the United States by unlawful means? _____(a) If so, state the facts _____

17. Will you bear arms for your country when called upon by it to do so? _____(a) If you answer no, give reasons: _____

18. Do you believe in free elections and rule by the majority? _____

19. Will you give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States Government or the Government of the State of Alabama? _____

20. Name some of the duties and obligations of citizenship? _____

_____

_____

(a) Do you regard those duties and obligations as having priority over the duties and obligations you owe to any other secular organization when they are in conflict: _____

21. Give the names and post office addresses of two persons who have present knowledge of your bona fide residence at the place as stated by you: _____

_____

_____

OATH

STATE OF ALABAMA _____ COUNTY

Before me, _____ in and state pprsonally appeared _____, an applicant for registration as an elector, who being by me first duly sworn deposes and says: I do solomnly swear or affirm that the foregoing answers to the interrogatories are correct to the best of my knowledge, information and belief. I do further solemnly swear or affirm that I will support and defend the constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Alabama: that I do not believe in nor am affiliated with, nor have I been in the past affiliated with any group or party which advocated the overthrow of the government of the United States or the State of Alabama by unlawful means.

_____

Sworn to and subscribed before me in the presence of the Board of Registrars this the ____day of _____19_____.

Member of the Board of Registrars for _____County.

SUPPLEMENTAL APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION AND OATH

STATE OF ALABAMA _____ COUNTY

Before me the Board of Registrars in and for said State and County, personally appeared _____ an applicant for
(full name of applicant)

registration, who being by me _____, a member of said Board first duly sworn as follows: "I do solemnly swear or affirm that in the matter of the application of _____for registration as an

elector, I will speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth so help me God, testifies as follows:

My name is _____ and I have heretofore executed the application for Registration, Questionnaire and Oath, I depose and state as follows:

1. I was previously registered in the following State and County in the year named _____
(if applicant has never been registered in Alabama or any State, he should indicate so.)

2. I have never been convicted of any offense disqualifying me from registering. (Board should call applicant's attention to Section 182, Constitution, and Title 17, Section 15, Code of Alabama 1940. If applicant cannot make foregoing statement, facts shall be ascertained and registration refused, unless fully pardoned and the right to vote restored.)

3. My present place of employment is _____

_____

4. I know nothing that would disqualify me from being registered at this time.

REMARKS

_____

SIGNED _____

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the ___day of _____19___

_____
Member of County Board of Registrars

ACTION OF THE BOARD

STATE OF ALABAMA _____ COUNTY

Before the Board of Registrars in session in and for said State and County personally appeared _____ who executed the foregoing application in the manner and from therein stated. The Board having further examined said applicant under oath touching his qualifications under Section 181, Constitution of Alabama 1901, as amended and having fully considered the foregoing application for registration, and Oath as executed adjudges said applicant entitled to be registered and he was duly registered on this the ____ day of _____ 19____ in precinct (or ward) in said county.

Signed: _____
(Chairman)

Signed: _____
(Member)

Signed: _____
(Member)

Note: The act of actually determining an applicant entitled to be registered in Judicial. A majority of the Board must concur. A majority must be present. The power cannot be delegated. Each member present must vote on each application. Not until this is done may a certificate be issued the applicant.

EXIMINATION OF SUPPORTING WITNESS

STATE OF ALABAMA _____ COUNTY

Before the County Board of Registrars in and for said State and County personally appeared _____, who being first duly sworn as follows: " I solemnly swear or affirm that the matter of the application of _____ for registration as an elector, I will speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help me God," testifies as follows: My name is: _____ My Place of Occupation is _____ I reside at _____ The name of my employer is _____ _____ I am a registered qualified elector in _____ precinct or ward in _____ for _____ years or months. He is a bona fide resident _____

Signed: _____
(Member of Board)

Note: This application blank, when duly executed, on the final preparation of the lists of persons registered must be delivered by the Board of Registrars to the Probate Judge of the County, whose duty is to safely preserve it and all accompanying papers. See Title 141, Code of Alabama

The Atlanta Journal

★★★★★ FIVE STAR PINK

Closing Markets—Night Final Edition

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"

Vol. LXXVIII, No. 203 Tel. JA. 2-5050—P.O. Box 4689 Atlanta (2), Ga., Wednesday Evening, October 19, 1960 *** 56 Pages Price Five Cents

48 ARRESTED AS NEGROES SIT IN AT 8 DOWNTOWN STORES HERE

Staff Photo—Charles Jackson

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. LOOKS OUT OF REAR WINDOW OF CAR ON WAY TO JAIL
Driving Car Is Police Capt. R. E. Little Jr., Also in Rear of Car Is Lonnie C. King

2 Kings Seized; Scores Picket

Some 75 Negroes sought luncheon service at eight downtown stores Wednesday in a sit-in demonstration as coordinated and precisioned as any drill field maneuver. By 2:30 p.m., 48 had been arrested.

Several white persons accompanied the demonstrators, and at least one of them was taken into custody.

Among those arrested were Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., minister and integration leader, and Lonnie C. King, student integration leader at the Atlatna University Center.

All the arrests at 2:30 p.m. had been made at Rich's, and the students, apparently hoping for arrest, reportedly were leaving other stores at which they were demonstrating to go to the department store.

* * *

FIRST, six Negroes were arrested at Rich's Magnolia Room, then two in the Cockerel Grill there. Then the Kings and two young women, having been refused service at Rich's snack bar on the bridge over Forsyth Street, went to the Magnolia Room, and they, too, were taken into custody.

Nineteen others, then assisted

Covering the sit-in demonstrations for The Atlanta Journal were staff writers Margaret Shannon, Charles Pou, John Pennington, Douglas Kiker, Gordon Roberts, Sally Sanford, Ed Hughes, Curtis Driskell, Fred Powledge, Raleigh Bryans and Mike Edwards.

Not Guilty, Dr. King and 13 Others Say

By MARGARET SHANNON and DICK LINK

Negro integration leader Martin Luther King Jr, and 13 other sit-in demonstrators pleaded not guilty in Municipal Court Wednesday to charges of refusing to leave eating places in Rich's when asked to.

Six of the 14 promptly were bound over to Fulton Criminal Court under $500 bond.

Dr. King and Lonnie C. King, student chairman of the movement, were among the first group to be brought before the court for trial. Seven other young men and five young women faced Judge James E. Webb at the same time.

* * *

DR. KING said before the trial started that his group would not try to make bond at all and if they received a fine with time in jail as an alternative, they would go to jail.

The Negro integration leader

LATE NEWS

Castro Sees Invasion From U.S.

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Oct. 19 (UPI)—Premier Fidel Castro has notified the General Assembly he expects a "large-scale invasion" to be mounted against Cuba from the United States "within the next few days," it was officially disclosed Wednesday.

Golfer Hit by Mystery Bullet

NEW ORLEANS, Oct. 19 (AP)—A mystery bullet struck a 28-year-old woman in the back Wednesday while she was playing golf at City Park. Attendants at Mercy Hospital identified her as Mrs. Ursala Hoye and said her condition was critical.

Nobel Prize for Hammarskjold?

OSLO, Oct. 19 (UPI)—U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold, recently under fire from Soviet Premier Khrushchev, is a leading contender for the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize, informed sources said Wednesday.

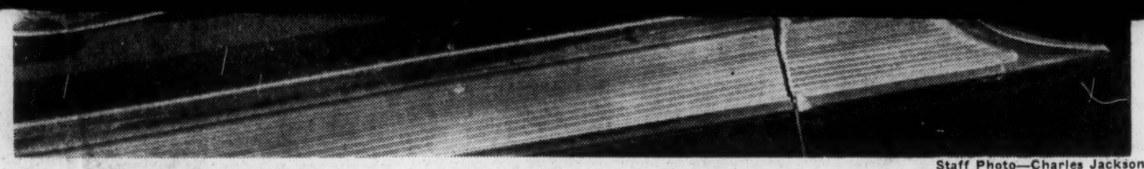
U.S. Defies Soviet Walkout Threat

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Oct. 19 (AP)—The United States declared Wednesday it will not be intimidated by Soviet threats to walk out of United Nations debate on disarmament. U.S. delegate James J. Wadsworth made the statement in the U.N. Political Committee where Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Valerian Zorin had threatened a boycott if the United States and its allies insist on pressing Western arms reduction plans. (Earlier story on Page 8.)

N.Y. Gives Jack Huge Welcome

Million Cheer Demo Nominee

U.S. Clamps Cuba Embargo



Staff Photo—Charles Jackson

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. LOOKS OUT OF REAR WINDOW OF CAR ON WAY TO JAIL
Driving Car Is Police Capt. R. E. Little Jr., Also in Rear of Car Is Lonnie C. King

N.Y. Gives Jack Huge Welcome

Million Cheer Demo Nominee Amid Ticker-Tape Snowstorm

NEW YORK, Oct. 19 (AP)—Sen. John F. Kennedy got a tumultuous ticker-tape reception Wednesday on New York's famed Broadway, and set Democrats to cheering and Republicans to crying "foul."

The Democratic presidential nominee rode from the tip of Manhattan Island up to city hall through an early fall snowstorm of torn paper, streamers and ticker-tape, and a noontime crowd city officials estimated at an even million.

It was by far the biggest demonstration accorded Kennedy since he started the campaign against his Republican rival, Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

* * *

AND IT WAS on a day when the political trails of the two presidential hopefuls crossed in the biggest city. For the first time since their battle for the White House began, they agreed on a joint dinner appearance—Wednesday night's memorial to the late Alfred E. Smith.

That was labeled nonpolitical.

It was about the only nonpolitical touch of the day.

Republicans complained that the city's Democratic administration had arranged for the Kennedy parade and city hall reception. Nixon said he expected equal treatment and called Mayor Robert F. Wagner a fair man. Nixon expects to visit New York the week after next.

* * *

LATER A spokesman for the mayor said "if the Republicans want to stage a tickertape parade for him (Nixon), the mayor will be glad to receive him at city hall."

After the rousing Broadway reception, Kennedy told reporters at lunch: "It was better than I expected. I'm encouraged by the crowd."

Kennedy motorcaded through the heart of Manhattan before heading out into suburban Westchester County on an afternoon expedition into Yonkers, N.Y.

Along the way, he dorpped not-so-gentle digs at Nixon, and told people he wanted their support in order to get an administration in Washington that will move America ahead.

* * *

SURROUNDED BY thousands

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Staff Photo—Charles Jackson

DEMONSTRATORS TAKEN TO POLICE CAR
(L-R) Lonnie King, Unidentified Woman, Martin King

guilty in Municipal Court Wednesday to charges of refusing to leave eating places in Rich's when asked to.

Six of the 14 promptly were bound over to Fulton Criminal Court under $500 bond.

Dr. King and Lonnie C. King, student chairman of the movement, were among the first group to be brought before the court for trial. Seven other young men and five young women faced Judge James E. Webb at the same time.

* * *

DR. KING said before the trial started that his group would not try to make bond at all and if they received a fine with time in jail as an alternative, they would go to jail.

The Negro integration leader, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a long-time advocate of the Gandhi principle of nonviolent resistance, said he felt that it was the only thing the Negroes could do for their cause in the circumstances.

A Negro attorney asked Judge Webb to delay the trial for about an hour so that other counsel could get there, but the judge declined.

The other attorneys expected, the Negro lawyer said, were A. T. Walden and D. L. Hollowell, both veterans of the legal end of the integration movement here.

* * *

THE COURTROOM had only a sprinkling of spectators as the trial got under way. While they waited, the two Kings inquired of reporters as to what other developments had taken place in the downtown demonstrations.

While Lonnie King has supervised other demonstrations and led the Negro student march on the State Capitol May 17, he has not previously been arrested. He is a student at Morehouse College and a night worker at the post office.

* * *

CAPT. R. E. LITTLE, the first man to testify, said the 14 Negroes had been involved in three separate incidents. Judge Webb, responding to a request from defense attorney Edward S. Antignac, then decided to take each of the three groups separately.

The first six defendants were arrested at the Magnolia Room.

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and integration leader, and Lonnie C. King, student integration leader at the Atlatna University Center.

All the arrests at 2:30 p.m. had been made at Rich's, and the students, apparently hoping for arrest, reportedly were leaving other stores at which they were demonstrating to go to the department store.

* * *

FIRST, six Negroes were arrested at Rich's Magnolia Room, then two in the Cockerel Grill there. Then the Kings and two young women, having been refused service at Rich's snack bar on the bridge over Forsyth Street, went to the Magnolia Room, and they, too, were taken into custody.

Nineteen others then arrived and also were arrested. Meanwhile, at the Barbecue Room in the basement, three others were arrested.

* * *

AS THEY RODE down an elevator in police custody, some of the Negroes began to sing the integration song—"We are not afraid, we will win someday . . ."

In addition to those who sought service inside stores, perhaps 40 others picketed outside Rich's, Davison-Paxon Co. and the Woolworth's store on Broad Street.

Except for remarks made by bystanders, the demonstration was orderly throughout the city.

As three Negroes were being arrested in the Barbecue Room at Rich's, one man approached a reporter, flashed a Ku Klux Klan membership card and what looked like a special deputy's badge and asked for a police officer.

* * *

IN ADDITION to Rich's, Davison's and Woolworth's, the Negroes demonstrated at Newberry's, Grant's, H. L. Green, Kress', and McCrory's. All the stores save Rich's were experiencing their first sit-in attempts.

At 3 p.m. the demonstrators had left Newberry's, McCrory's and Kress', and those stores reopened their luncheon facilities. They re-

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U.S. Defies Soviet Walkout Threat

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Oct. 19 (AP)—The United States declared Wednesday it will not be intimidated by Soviet threats to walk out of United Nations debate on disarmament. U.S. delegate James J. Wadsworth made the statement in the U.N. Political Committee where Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Valerian Zorin had threatened a boycott if the United States and its allies insist on pressing Western arms reduction plans. (Earlier story on Page 8.)

U. S. Clamps Cuba Embargo

Curb Covers Most Goods Except Food and Medicine

WASHINGTON, Oct. 19 (UPI)—The United States moved Wednesday to cut away the economic foundation of the Fidel Castro government, banning the sale of "most commodities" except food and medicine to Cuba.

The Castro regime, which nationalized nearly 400 private businesses earlier this month, will thus be left without a source for replacement parts to run its seized U.S.-made machines.

The Commerce Department's action, sharpest taken since this country wiped out its subsidy program for Cuban sugar, was teamed up with a Maritime Administration crackdown on sale, transfer or charter of U.S.-owned ships for Cuba.

The department's formal amendment to the export regulations said the curb was being imposed "in view of the deterioration of relationships between Cuba and the United States."

The action, which will not stop exports now in transit, will deny the Castro regime spare parts and chemicals it needs to keep running the oil refineries, sugar mills and other industries it confiscated from American owners.

U.S. officials hoped the move would cause trouble for the Cuban economy, which has relied on the United States for 70 to 75 per cent of all its imports. They expected it to push Cuba towards heavier economic reliance on the Soviet bloc.

U.S. exports to Cuba declined sharply—from $617.5 million in 1957 to $434.7 million in 1959. In July they amounted to only $19.3 million. At the same time, Russia has increased her trade with Cuba, mainly in the fields of oil, tin plate, fertilizers and arms.

The department, which administers the government's export controls, said the ban on exports to Cuba was in accordance with the wishes of Congress as expressed in the Export Control Act.

It quoted a portion of the law which declares that it is the policy of the United States to use export controls "to further the foreign policy" of the government "and to aid in fulfilling its international responsibilities and to exercise the necessary vigilance over exports from the standpoint of their significance to the national security."

The department said it has not revoked any individual export licenses for Cuba already issued.

It said commodities banned under the new, tighter export reg-

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STREET SCENES

Black limousine almost backing into little boy in short pants on Highland. He runs around to driver, chirps, "You missed!"

Angry brunette shaking finger in motorist's face when he runs red light, narrowly missing her on Spring. Having had her say, she then crosses intersecting Hunter on red light.

Clean-up drive's handbills littering entrance of Clairmont Avenue bank.

PINEY WOODS PETE Says:

DEAR MISTER EDITOR:

The story and pictures on your Feature Page recently about sorghum-grinding and syrup - making near Conyers took me way back to my boyhood on the farm. We hardly ever made sorghum syrup, but making syrup from sugar cane is done the same way.

Working around a cane mill ain't altogether a picnic, though. I done many a day's hard work toting cane to the man feeding the mill, moving the pummings (ground up stalks) out of the way, and later when I was older, I fed the mill or fired the evaporator furnace and helped with the skimming and measuring up the syrup.

If I was strong enough, I'd like to work around a cane mill now for old times' sake — for about half a day.

Yours truly,
PINEY WOODS PETE.

Nixon Says Demo Policies Would Slow U.S. to Standstill

Vice President Flies to N.Y., Readies New Blast at Kennedy

NEW YORK, Oct. 19 (AP)—Vice President Richard M. Nixon, warming up for a new blast at Sen. John F. Kennedy, charged Wednesday Democratic economic policies would grind America "to a standstill."

Nixon flew into New York, where he and Kennedy were to meet face to face Wednesday night at the Al Smith Dinner, after a rainy day address in Wilmington, Del. His four-engine chartered plane came in under low, threatening clouds.

Nixon had no comment for reporters at the airport, although he posed willingly for photographers.

In Wilmington a crowd estimated by police at 25,000 jammed Rodney Square in downtown streets to see and hear the Republican presidential candidate.

* * *

NIXON CHARGED the Democrats with proposing economic policies which have been tried and found wanting in the past.

"Why do I say our cause will move forward and our opponents' will not?" he asked. "Because our philosophy will work and theirs won't."

He said the Democrats want to run to the federal government every time a problem comes up, and that this would grind the nation to a halt economically. Under a GOP administration, he went on, economic progress would surpass even that of the Eisenhower years.

Nixon added:

"All Americans must move forward together, we must leave none behind, we must tap all the

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MARKETS AT A GLANCE

NEW YORK, Oct. 19 (AP).

STOCKS—Lower; golds advance.

BONDS — Mixed; governments gain.

TOTAL SALES—Stocks, 2,410,000; bonds, $3,890,000; American stocks, 990,000; American bonds, $90,000.

COTTON—Higher; commission house buying.

CHICAGO:

WHEAT—Mostly higher; good demand.

CORN—Higher; good demand.

OATS—Higher; following corn.

SOYBEANS—Higher; short covering.

HOGS—Lower; top $17.50.

CATTLE—Lower; top $26.25.

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Cold Spell Is Forecast

The coldest weather this season is on its way to Atlanta and the rest of Georgia.

Lows Thursday morning will be between 55 to 62 degrees in north Georgia and in the 60s in south Georgia. Highs will be near 60 in the extreme northern part of the state, in the upper 60s in the central section and in the low 70s in the southeastern area. Atlanta's predicted Thursday extremes are 60 and 68 degrees.

It will be even colder Thursday night and Friday morning. Lows will be about 40 in extreme north Georgia, about 48 in Atlanta and between 48 and 54 in south Georgia.

Rains Wednesday night are expected to end Thursday morning. Mostly cloudy skies will give way to partly cloudy skies Friday morning.

Muddy Road to White House . . . No. 4

BRYAN ADMITS NO 'SUPERIOR MUD'

By BILL BAGGS
Editor of The Miami News

In the late years of the 19th century, none of the candidates for President found the campaign as hazardous as Grover Cleveland, who had been publicly hailed as a adulterer and a draft dodger.

Samuel J. Tilden, the "good loser" of 1876, was merely introduced by his enemies to the country as a man who had evaded his income tax.

U. S. Grant and Francis P. Blair were described to the population as drunks. The evidence against Blair, the vice presidential candidate in 1868, rested on a hotel bill, which charged Mr. Blair $10 for the room and $65 for whisky during a two-day sojourn.

In this relatively calm period, however, there did appear one of the most spectacular travelers the muddy campaign road had ever seen.

He was the boy orator of the Platte, 36 years old, and he literally hypnotized almost half the voters of the United States. His name was William Jennings Bryan.

In a peerless, clarion voice, which someone suggested would easily carry the lesser of the Great Lakes, Bryan promised to lead the working man out of the economic wilderness.

* * *

IN THIS campaign of 1896, the capitalist class was so stirred that many employes found notes in their pay envelopes, just before election day, notifying them not to return to the factory if Mr. Bryan won.

The angry young Democrat shook his finger at the capitalists and roared:

"When the creator made men, he did not use any kind of superior mud for the financiers."

Although he lost, William Jennings Bryan, in the first of his three pilgrimages towards the White House, established a Babe

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NEGROES JAILED

Continued From Page 1

mained at Woolworth's and Grant's.

It was 11 a.m. on the dot when the demonstration began. As quickly as the students got in line at cafeterias or took lunch counter seats, however, service was stopped, lights went off, and chains and "closed" signs went up.

Reading books and chatting, most of the demonstrators remained in the stores until 2 or 2:30 p.m. They they began to leave.

The demonstrators were arrested under the new antitrespassing law, passed by the General Assembly last winter.

* * *

THE FIRST group of young Negroes were brought to the Atlanta Police Station at 11:45 a.m. The group, five men and three women, arrived in a red police wagon and were seated on benches in the station captain's office to await fingerprinting and booking.

Here and there, the demonstrators inside stores and the pickets outside were joined by a white person.

Negro attorney D. H. Hollowell, who has represented Negroes in integration legal pursuits, was an observer.

* * *

AT FIRST, six Negroes—three men and three young women—were arrested at Rich's as they stood in line at the Magnolia teoroom on the sixth floor, the department store's biggest dining facility.

The six and another young Negro man waited some 20 minutes near the tearoom entrance, sitting down or wandering over to the nearby bookshop. They came around 11 a.m., but the tearoom is customarily not open until 11:30.

About 11:20, as some two dozen customers, mainly women, took their places in the line, the Negroes joined, too.

* * *

WITHIN MINUTES, Frank H. Neely, chairman of the board of Rich's, surrounded by a group of store plainclothesmen, confronted the Negroes.

Mr. Neely held in his hand a printed list headed "Atlanta Mixing Organizations." He asked the Negroes if they belonged to any of the organizations.

One of the Negro men, acting as a sort of spokesman, replied, time and again, "I am here representing myself."

After a few minutes of this fruitless exchange, Atlanta Police Capt. R. E. Little Jr. and Detective J. C. McIntyre reached the scene. "Have you asked these people to leave?" Capt. Little inquired of Mr. Neely.

* * *

MR. NEELY replied that the Negroes would not admit to membership in any of the organizations listed on the sheet he held. When Capt. Little asked if Mr. Neely wanted them to leave, he affirmed that he did.

"An official of this store has asked you to leave the premises, which is his right," Capt. Little told the group. "Do you refuse to leave?"

The Negroes refused, and the police captain directed them to go outside to a waiting car to be taken to the police station. The six Negroes, plus a seventh who said he couldn't go to jail because he has some examinations coming up, rode down the elevator with the officers.

They got into the detective car and sat patiently while officers went off to check other spots where sit-ins were reported.

* * *

NINETEEN more Negro students—most of whom came from sit-in sites—were arrested at 2 p.m. when they asked to be seated in the Magnolia Room taken to the police car, they passed through a picket line of 25 sign carriers who were circling the Rich's block.

The pickets included 15 young Negro women, all apparently students, four or so Negro men and one young white man.

They carried signs, all printed on thin, light blue cardboard, advocating a boycott against trade and a plea for integration.

* * *

THE SIGNS bore such admonitions as: "1-2-3-4-Don't Shop At This Store," "We Want to Sit Down Like Anyone Else" and "Don't Spend Cash Where You Can't Drink Coffee."

The pickets walked along the outer edge of the sidewalk, spaced so that at any one time they almost surrounded the main Rich's store, which is bounded by Alabama, Broad, Hunter and Forsyth Streets.

Lonnie King said the pickets would keep marching "as long as necessary."

King, who appeared to be circulating around to see how things were going, said that he, alone, went by the Barbecue Room in Rich's basement—a place where he once sat in before.

He said he did not enter and chains were placed across the entrance to the grill.

Two young Negro men were arrested at Rich's Cockerel Grill after they had waited some 30 minutes at the door to the grill without being admitted.

They were identified as Bobby Schley, a student at Morris Brown College, and the Rev. O. L. Blackshear, from Interdenominational Seminary.

* * *

THE TWO had been told by a Rich's vice president, Cecil S. Semple, and Gen. Mgr. Ben Tuck that other demonstrators had "already made your point" and that they faced arrest if they persisted in the demonstration.

With Schley doing the talking, the two Negroes made it clear that they intended to stay rather than go and Capt. Little, who had been watching, asked them to go with him. They were taken outside to a waiting police wagon.

The two students had appeared promptly at 11 a.m. They were restrained by a Rich's employe who had been stationed at the door and for some 25 minutes they chatted in a friendly way with the employe. The latter, who declined to give his name to newsmen, told the Negroes he had called the general manager, Mr. Tuck, to talk with them.

* * *

WHILE THEY waited for Mr. Tuck, Schley told the unidentified Rich's employe why he was there.

"I came here to shop and I wanted to have a bite to eat. I feel that if you invite me in to use my Charga-plate elsewhere in the store that you ought to invite me to use my Charga-plate in here."

Bystanders witnessed the sit-ins with curiosity and there were

TRIAL

Continued From Page 1

They did not include the two Kings.

* * *

CAPT. LITTLE testified that he talked with Frank Neely, chairman of the board of Rich's, and the six defendants were then present.

"Mr. Neely told them the room was not set up to serve them and asked them to leave," Capt. Little said.

He added that he told the Negroes Mr. Neely is an executive of the store and could ask them to leave and that he would have to lock them up if they did not.

* * *

EACH OF the six Negroes testified individually that they were not asked by Mr. Neely to leave. Each said Mr. Neely had a list of organizations and asked them which ones they might belong to.

The defense attorney then said "these people were exercising their rights and the officer could have been more discreet." He moved that the charges be dismissed.

* * *

CROSS-EXAMINED, Capt. Little was asked how long it had been between the time he asked them to leave and his taking them away.

"About 30 seconds," the captain replied. "When I told them to leave I meant go."

Mr. d'Antiganac contended that the only reason they were arrested was that they had not moved fast enough for Capt. Little.

Judge Webb rejected tha motion t odismiss the charges and told the lawyers.

Partial List Of Persons Held for Sit-In

Here's a partial list of persons arrested Wednesday in sit-in demonstrations:

Martin Luther King Jr., 31, no address given, and Lonnie C. King Jr., 24, of 2175 Gordon Rd., SW, Apt. 22, were booked on disorderly conduct and violation of Section 497 charges about 1:30 p.m., along with Marilyn Pryce, 19, of Spelman College. All three were set to appear in Municipal Court at 2:30 p.m. Wednesday.

Blondean Orbert, 19, of Winston-Salem, N.C.; Clarence Henry Seniors, 947 Palmetto St., SE, age 23; Edward Brodie, 26, 50 Chestnut St., SW; Wylma Long, 18, 1275 Fair St., SW; Herschelle Sullivan, 22, Pittsburgh, Pa., a Spelman student, and Albert L. Dunn, Fort Worth, Tex., age 25.

Patricia Ann Smith, 18, of Morgan Hall, Spelman College; Charlotte Cherry, 19, Packard Hall, Spelman College; Benjamin Daniel Brown, 20, 196 Napoleon Dr., SW; Jacqueline Kaye Anderson, 18, Packard Hall, Spelman; Benjamin W. Montgomery, 20, 69 Martin St., SE; Wilfred Weldon Hepburn, 19, 240 Chestnut St., NW; Rev. Otis Blackshear, 27, 72 Martin Ave., SE, and Bobby N. Schley, 24, 480 Griffen St., SW.

* * *

THE FOLLOWING persons were booked shortly before 2:30 p.m. and will appear in Municipal Court at 8:30 a.m. Thursday. They will be held overnight in the city jail if they do not request bond, police said.

Yvonne Tucker, 18, 280 Ashby St., NW; Dianne Marie Attaway, 17, of St. Marys, Ga.; Carolyn Long, 19, 1225 Fair St., SW; Gwendolyn Iles, 19, of Alexandria, La., and Laurine Weaver, 22, of 1576 Archer St., SW.

Grady Butler, 25, Greenville, S.C.; Johnny Bullock Jr., 20, of Durham, N.C.; Ann Ashmore, 18, 2780 Valley Heart Dr., SW; Johnnie Price, 20, Woodstock Ga.; E. Christine Sparks, 20, 266 Dora St., SW; Laura Joyce Taylor, Memphis, Tenn.; Bernard Scott Lee, 25, Montgomery, Ala.; Bettye Williamson, 21, 2814 Dale Creek Dr., NW; Minnie Riley, 19, of Orlando, Fla.; Earl Perry Mills, 21, Houston, Tex.; Melvin Arthur McCaw, 23, Omaha, Neb.; Harold Albert Middlebrook, Memphis, Tenn.; Patricia Simon, 20, 60 Martin Ave., SE., and Mattie Cox, 20, 721 Crew St., SW.

---

ter. When they were ignored by attendants and the counter closed around them, they remained seated at the counter.

the stroke of 11. Within one minute, the lights were off, the counter girls were leaving, and signs went up saying: "Department Closed."

Four of the Negroes sat together near one end of the counter, while two young Negro women sat several seats away. When it was obvious that they would not be served, they brought out books and started reading.

* * *

ONE YOUNG man was reading Plato. A girl read the U.S. Constitution. Others read history books and the Bible. All identified themselves as college students, but did not give their names or the name of any organization to which they might belong.

A reporter asked one girl how long she planned to sit there. "We are waiting until freedom comes," she said. "Even if we get hungry, we're waiting until freedom comes."

The sit-in at Kress came as light shopping crowds meandered through the store. Some of the Negroes made small purchases before the 11 a.m. sit-in time.

There were perhaps a dozen people sitting at the counter when the Negroes came. One by one and two by two, they left. One white woman said she never would have ordered her sandwich if she had known the Negroes were going to sit down.

* * *

ANOTHER white woman, an Atlantan now a resident of New York, went on eating, as did her friend from Atlanta. They said it didn't make any difference to them.

Eighteen college students—nine male and nine female—arrived at the Woolworth's store at 1 Broad St., SW, promptly at the 11 a.m. rendezvous hour. White customers who were already at the counters either got up and left or moved to end seats.

At 11:10 a.m., W. Q. McClain, store manager, began roping off the some 75-yard-long row of counters, saying quietly as he went, "The fountain is closed . . . the fountain is closed."

* * *

BY THEN all the white customers had left, and the students, most of whom brought either paper-back novels or college home work, began their wait-out.

Most refused to give their names to reporters. One who did, Bernard S. Lee, of Morris Brown College, observed, "We're going to sit here until they serve us. We hope they will serve us."

Sgt. R. C. Pendley, who works at the store during his off-duty hours, was an observer. He was joined soon by oplice officer J. N. Gossett. Both policemen kept a watch on the counters but said nothing to the students.

* * *

THE STUDENTS left the Broad Street Woolworth store at about 2:30 p.m. and the counter immediately was opened to whites.

Four of the Negroes returned

JUST NOW ARRIVED 1,000 NEW DRESSES

NONE HIGHER THAN $5

The defense attorney then said "these people were exercising their rights and the officer could have been more discreet." He moved that the charges be dismissed.

* * *

CROSS-EXAMINED, Capt. Little was asked how long it had been between the time he asked them to leave and his taking them away.

"About 30 seconds," the captain replied. "When I told them to leave I meant go."

Mr. d'Antiganac contended that the only reason they were arrested was that they had not moved fast enough for Capt. Little.

Judge Webb rejected tha motion t odismiss the charges and told the lawyer:

"You don't seriously think they would have left without being arrested?"

* * *

JUDGE WEBB said the reason he had delayed an original request for a delay was that the sit-in was "organized, well-planned and deliberate."

He then bound the six over. Photographers were in the courtroom, but he ordered them not to take pictures because the defendants "are just seeking publicity."

* * *

THE SIX who were bound over were identified as:

Wilfred Weldon Hepburn, 19, 240 Chesnut St.; Benjamin Daniel Brown, 20, 96 Napoleon Drive, SW; Jacqueline K. Anderson, 18, Spelman College; Charlotte Cherry, 19, Spelman; Patricia Ann Smith, 18, Spelman, and Benjamin Montgomery, 20, 69 Martin Ave.

Border to Reopen

AMMAN, Jordan, Oct. 19 (AP) — The border between Jordan and Iraq, closed since the Iraqi revolution in July, 1958, will be reopened to normal traffic Thursday, the Jordanian government announced Wednesday.

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We Have Moved To
1293 Peachtree
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See the gorgeous fall foliage at its best and ride the L&N "'Round th' Mountain" on THE HIAWASSEE LOOP

2

SAT., OCT. 29—Lv. Atlanta Un. Sta. 8:00 AM, Marietta 8:30 AM via Chatsworth to Etowah, Tenn., return "Old Line" via Hiawassee Loop and Blue Ridge. Sponsor: Atlanta Chapter, National Railway Historical Society, Inc.

SUN., OCT. 30—Lv. Atlanta Un. Sta. 7:00 AM handling passengers also from Marietta, Canton, Jasper, Ellijay, Blue Ridge and Copperhill "'Round th' Mountain" to Hiawassee, Tenn. and return. Sponsor: Rotary Club of Canton, Ga.

Refreshment Car on Each Train with Sandwiches, Cold Drinks, etc.

ACCOMMODATIONS LIMITED. NO CROWDING.
ADVANCE PURCHASE OF TICKETS DESIRABLE.

TICKETS FROM ATLANTA, ADULTS $7, CHILDREN $4 ON SALE AT UNION STATION TICKET OFFICE, 2 FORSYTH ST., NW, JA. 2-3666

which is his right," Capt. Little told the group. "Do you refuse to leave?"

The Negroes refused, and the police captain directed them to go outside to a waiting car to be taken to the police station. The six Negroes, plus a seventh who said he couldn't go to jail because he has some examinations coming up, rode down the elevator with the officers.

They got into the detective car and sat patiently while officers went off to check other spots where sit-ins were reported.

* * *

NINETEEN more Negro students—most of whom came from sit-in sites—were arrested at 2 p.m. when they asked to be seated in the Magnolia Room. Things went quietly as you please.

There were 13 more Negroes and one white in a line up to the entrance of the Magnolia Room at about 2:30 and there a Rich's official said: "We cannot serve you in this area."

A spokesman for the group, who identified himself as A. D. Williams King, a student at Interdenominational Theological Center, replied: "We want to stand here until we are served."

* * *

AT THIS POINT, the Rich's official, who had been joined by two city policemen, said "Anybody who wants to leave now can leave."

The student said the group wanted to stay. Then Detective Y. H. Allen told them they were under arrest. Detective Allen and Lt. R. E. Jordan took the group down on an elevator.

As the elevator doors closed, department store officials put up a sign reading "Magnolia Room closed."

At 1:45 three Negroes were arrested at the Rich's basement Barbecue Grill. They had come in at 1 p.m. but had been declined service.

* * *

CAPTAIN LITTLE, accompanied by a store official, arrived, put the three under arrest and took them to the city jail.

The three had earlier identified themselves to newsmen. Two were girls — Herschell Sullivan and Wylma Long. The other was a boy, Albert L. Dunn.

While the Negroes stood outside the barbecue grill some white persons held back and stared. Others came forward and asked, "Can we get in?" and most were admitted.

As these arrested Negroes were restrained by a Rich's employe who had been stationed at the door and for some 25 minutes they chatted in a friendly way with the employe. The latter, who declined to give his name to newsmen, told the Negroes he had called the general manager, Mr. Tuck, to talk with them.

* * *

WHILE THEY waited for Mr. Tuck, Schley told the unidentified Rich's employe why he was there.

"I came here to shop and I wanted to have a bite to eat. I feel that if you invite me in to use my Charga-plate elsewhere in the store that you ought to invite me to use my Charga-plate in here."

Bystanders witnessed the sit-ins with curiosity and there were no overt acts against the Negroes.

But some persons, mostly men, voiced hostile remarks aimed for the Negroes' ears.

"I know what to do with uppity niggers," one white man said.

* * *

ANOTHER MAN had this to say when one of the young Negroes said he did not care to be served in the segregated restaurant which Rich's maintains for Negroes:

"You ought to be happy. You are lucky enough to have a place where you can be served."

Police Capt. Little hushed the man, saying, "Now I'm handling this, captain." That was the end of that.

* * *

TEN NEGROES—including Dr. King—showed up at the bridge lunch counter at Rich's at 11, asked for service, and said they meant to get it "or be arrested."

Dr. King said he was "here because the students asked me to come and I felt a moral responsibility to join them in this worthwhile movement."

He said plans for the Atlanta-wide sit-ins were crystallized at a weekend, Southwide meeting in Atlanta of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Also present at the second-floor counter was student integration leader Lonnie C. King. However, Dr. King identified Carolyn Long, 19, a Clark College junior, as "spokesman for the group."

* * *

DR. KING said that "the decision as to when we leave is up to her."

The lunch counter was closed as soon as the Negroes appeared and by 11:15 they had the place all to themselves. Three sat at tables. The others stood at the counter, holding sandwiches they wished to buy; but they got no service. Dr. King chose a ham and cheese on whole wheat.

Negro waitresses quickly cleared up cups and litter from the empty tables and a small group of whites, seeing what was going on, clustered at either end of the bridge to watch. At 11:20 the Negroes sat down and appeared to be planning to stay awhile.

At the H. L. Green Co. variety store at Whitehall and Hunter streets, eight Negroes sat down at one of the store's two lunch counters promptly at 11 a.m.

They were not served, and a store official immediately ordered the counter closed.

* * *

AN ASSISTANT store manager did likewise at the lunch counter on the other side of the store. He told the waitress on duty to finish serving two women sitting at the counter and then to serve no one else.

He turned off the lights at the lunch counter.

The Negro men and women sought service at the store's counter. When they were ignored by attendants and the counter closed around them, they remained seated at the counter.

Store personnel put up chains at each end of the closed counter, which cut off from patrons all but a few of the seats at the counter.

But both white counters were ordered closed for the day when four of the demonstrators moved to the reopened counter on the street level of the Green store. That left four demonstrators sitting at each of the two white counters.

The store management, after a conference, ordered the stools removed from the second counter upstairs.

At the W. T. Grant Co. store at 82 Whitehall St., SW, six Negroes—three men and three women—sat at the lunch counter but were refused service.

* * *

THEY ARRIVED at 11 a.m. The leader of the group, Charles F. Lyles, student at Atlanta University, said the store manager came up and asked him to leave shortly after the group sat down.

"I said I wanted to be served," Mr. Lyles said. "Then they roped off the lunch counter and turned off the lights." He said the Negroes planned to sit at the counter until it closed.

* * *

ON THE DOT of 11 a.m. Wednesday a young white man led three Negro boys and three Negro girls into the restaurant at McCrory's five-and-ten at 75 Whitehall St., SW.

They sat at three tables. Waitresses immediately put up signs closing the restaurant and turned away all persons who came in later. They rang the bell at the cash register for the manager.

The lights were switched off in the restaurant area and no waitresses approached the group.

The sit-downere refused to identify themselves other than as students from Atlanta University.

Asked how long they intended to stay, they commented: "We'd like to stay until we're served."

* * *

AT THE DOWNTOWN store of Davison-Paxon Co., 180 Peachtree St., which previously had been skipped by Negro demonstrators, eight Negroes entered the lunch counter on the store's mezzanine and seated themselves at the counter in ones and twos.

Store officials turned off the lights and closed off the entrances. Some white patrons finished their meals and left.

The Negroes, seven of them appearing to be of college age, and one woman somewhat older, remained, reading and chatting in the darkened room.

* * *

A STORE official, watching over the chained-off entrances, referred questions to store manager Harold Ebersole, whose secretary said he was in a meeting and unavailable for comment.

At the S. H. Kress store at 50 Broad St., SW, six well-dressed Negroes moved to the counter at

Durham, N.C.; Ann Ashmore, 18, 2780 Valley Heart Dr., SW; Johnnie Price, 20, Woodstock Ga.; E. Christine Sparks, 20, 266 Dora St., SW; Laura Joyce Taylor, Memphis, Tenn.; Bernard Scott Lee, 25, Montgomery, Ala.; Bettye Williamson, 21, 2814 Dale Creek Dr., NW; Minnie Riley, 19, of Orlando, Fla.; Earl Perry Mills, 21, Houston, Tex.; Melvin Arthur McCaw, 23, Omaha, Neb.; Harold Albert Middlebrook, Memphis, Tenn.; Patricia Simon, 20, 60 Martin Ave., SE., and Mattie Cox, 20, 721 Crew St., SW.

STOP
dry skin and eczema
ITCH
Use soothing, lanolin-rich
RESINOL OINTMENT

most of whom brought either paper-back novels or college home work, began their wait-out.

Most refused to give their names to reporters. One who did, Bernard S. Lee, of Morris Brown College, observed, "We're going to sit here until they serve us. We hope they will serve us."

Sgt. R. C. Pendley, who works at the store during his off-duty hours, was an observer. He was joined soonby oplice officer J. N. Gossett. Both policemen kept a watch on the counters but said nothing to the students.

* * *

THE STUDENTS left the Broad Street Woolworth store at about 2:30 p.m. and the counter immediately was opened to whites.

Four of the Negroes returned in about 10 minutes, however, and Mr. McClain promptly roped off the area where they sat. He indicated he probably would close the entire counter down again.

A Negro fountain and lunch counter on the opposite side of the store remained open and continued to serve Negro patrons.

Picketing began before the Broad Street Woolworth's Store at about noon. Three female and one male student walked before the store holding up placards which said, "Don't Buy Here," "Here Lies Segregation," "Don't Buy at This Store" and "1-2-3-4 Don't Buy at This Store, 5-6-7-8 They've Got to Integrate."

At J. J. Newberry, 37 Whitehall St., SW, 14 Negro students sat in at the lunch counter. Service was discontinued, after they were asked to leave and did not, and lights over that section of the store were turned out.

That was the situation at noon, with the Negro students from the Atlanta University Center sitting at the counters reading while store officials stood around and conferred.

The store manager, a Mr. Hubble, declined to comment, or to give his initials.

"I don't give a damn if it's news or not," he said "I don't have to tell you anything."

* * *

AT NOON, the students were the only ones seated at the darkened counter.

The leader of the group, who sat at the counter reading a Bible, identified himself as Amos Brown.

The counters were closed to service to anyone by lunch counter manager Grady Taylor, who instructed all waitresses to leave their posts.

Four young Negroes began picketing Davidson's shortly after noon when the attempt to get food service in the store by eight other Negroes had failed.

They carried hand-printed signs with inscriptions such as: "Be Served Everywhere or Nowhere in This Store" and "Don't Shop Here."

A white woman, who accompanied two of the Negro demonstrators and stood as a silent bystander during their demonstration at Rich's, had a slight brush with the police.

Just outside the store, while the two Negroes were being hustled into the police wagon, she was accosted by Capt. Little and questioned about her activities.

$5

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DOWNTOWN STORE ONLY

JUNIORS', 5 to 13
MISSES', 8 to 20
WOMEN'S, 14½ to 24½
PETITES, 5 to 15

A TREMENDOUS SELECTION
WOOLS
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Good news for your wardrobe and your "clothes budget"...the latest dresses at Three Sisters' low price of just $5. No "wall flowers" among this selection, but all new styles that you'll proudly wear day after day. Come in early and choose from the cream of the group.

CHARGE IT! up to 6 months to pay

DOWNTOWN STORE ONLY
Three Sisters
Corner Whitehall and Alabama Sts.

The Atlanta Journal ★

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"

Vol. LXXVIII, No. 204 Tel. JA. 2-5050—P.O. Box 4689 Atlanta (2), Ga., Thursday Evening, October 20, 1960

23 Arrested in Second Day Of Downtown Sit-ins Here

Whites Heckle Demonstrators; Drive Spreads to 11 Stores

Twenty-two more Negroes were arrested Thursday as the Atlanta lunch counter sit-in and picketing movement was enlarged both in scope and number of participants.

Police also arrested a white man ,identified as Harold Eugene Sprayberry, 21, of 1972 East Ave., NE. He was charged with disorderly conduct-inciting a riot.

Capt. R. E. Little Jr. said Sprayberry's arrest grew out of a deodorant-spraying incident at Woolworth's, although the arrest was not made there.

Capt. Little said Sprayberry was picked up later in order to avoid commotion at Woolworth's, where considerable tension had built up.

Sprayberry was arrested by Lt. Clinton Chafin.

At times the situation became tense, with whites heckling the demonstrators, and two dime stores were temporarily closed so that everyone, white and Negroes alike, could be cleared out. Known Ku Klux Klan members were among the hecklers.

Coverage of Thursday's sit-in demonstrations was by Atlanta Journal Staff Writers Margaret Shannon, Curtis Driskell, Raleigh Bryans, John Pennington, Douglas Kiker, Ed Hughes, Gordon Roberts, William O. Smith, Dan Sweat, Fred Powledge and Mike Edwards.

The arrests in this, the second consecutive day of large-scale sit-in activity in downtown Atlanta, brought the two-day total to 75.

The demonstrators found many lunch counters closed. Others closed as fast as the Negroes appeared.

The arrests were made at Terminal Station.

* * *

DETECTIVE J. C. McEntire said three Negroes, charged with violation of the anti-trespassing law, went into the restaurant off the main waiting room and sat down at a counter.

When they refused to leave, manager Clyde Harrison called police. Detectives arrested the three when, in the detectives' presence, they again refused to leave the premises.

Detective McEntire said the remaining 19 Negroes were blocking the doorway and refused to move when directed to do so by police.

"They were creating a disturbance and we arrested them," the detective said.

All of those arrested at Terminal Station were scheduled for arraignment in Municipal Court at 4:30 p.m. Thursday.

One of those arrested at the station was Rev. A. D. Williams King, brother of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. He was charged with disorderly conduct-disturb-

Turn to Page 13, Column 1

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7

Oct 18, 1960

Emancipation Proclamation

SIT-INS HELD HERE

Continued From Page 1

ance. Dr. King, arrested Wednesday, already is in jail.

* * *

SOME OF THOSE arrested at Terminal Station were among those picked up the day before at Rich's. Their cases had been dismissed by Judge James E. Webb on grounds they had not been ordered to leave the entire building by the management.

Besides Mr. King, the two arrested on the anti-trespassing charge were identified as Lenora Paitt, Melvin G. Talbert and Bertha Singleton.

Listed as charged with disorderly conduct - disturbance, besides Mr. King, were Desiree Jett, Bessie Smith, Gwendolyn Ponder, Elroy Emory, Eva Kendrick, Vavid Satheher, Morris Dillard, Charles A. Black, L. J. Harrison, Bromwen Unthank, Sylvia Lee Walker, Edith C. Simmons, Louis Flanagan, Robert E. Perdue, George W. Crockett III, Amos C. Brown, Norma Wilson and James Alvin Benard.

One white man apparently tried to run down a picket in an automobile.

* * *

IT WAS HARD to keep track of how many were participating because they moved in groups from store to store. One Negro participant estimated 800.

They sat in and/or picketed 11 establishments, broadening the scope of the demonstration to include drug store luncheon facilities as well as department store and dime store facilities.

In midafternoon, the Negroes were parading through the dime store complex on Forsyth, Broad and Whitehall Streets, leaving some sitters here, others there.

* * *

IT WAS in two of the stores here, Woolworth's and Newberry's, that things became so tense that the stores were closed. Both reopened later, however.

All the downtown dime stores closed their lunch counters. So did some drug stores.

A restaurant seat became a hard thing to get, and here and there a businessman lunched on peanuts from a nut store or fruit and crackers from a sidewalk stand.

* * *

W. O. McCLAIN, manager of the F. W. Woolworth store at 1 Broad St., SW, ordered the store closed about 1 p.m. Thursday after a build-up of racial tension. He reopened less than an hour later.

The incident which provoked the store manager to close the store occurred when a white man moved through a group of Negroes sitting at the counter, spraying the air with two pressurized cans of aerosol deodorant.

The dozens of Negroes—most of them young men—seated at the lunch counter responded to the white man's actions with vigorous hand clapping.

Tension had been slowly but surely building up for about a half hour as both the number of Negro sitters and white bystanders rapidly burgeoned.

* * *

MR. McCLAIN ordered the doors locked to any newcomers and police and store employes swiftly moved around the lunch counter area, politely asking them all to leave.

The man who wielded the aerosol cans identified himself to an Atlanta Journal reporter as Harry Eugene Sprayberry of 192 East Ave., NW. He was one of several white men who had stood by the group of seated Negroes for close to an hour while noontime crowds began to crowd into the store.

The store was completely cleared in about seven minutes, except for store employes. Employes immediately began removing lunch counter seats from their pedestals.

Forty minutes later, the store was open again, with the eating area chained off.

* * *

MR. McCLAIN said the shutdown was "the only thing to do." He said that "tension had built up" to such a point that there was no other way to relieve it.

Police said they did not make any arrests because Mr. McClain had not asked them to and there were no overt acts to justify their moving in.

They said Mr. McClain, because of a Woolworth policy of avoiding arrests during the sit-ins, did not choose to invoke Georgia's new leave-the-premises law or the idling and loitering law.

* * *

THE NEGROES who left Woolworth's when it closed filed to Newberry's, across Broad Street, and took every seat at the closed lunch counter.

At one time there were as many as 90 Negroes sitting there.

Some of the white men followed the Negroes to Newberry's, where a few teen-age white girls from time to time spoke words of encouragement to the white men.

At 2 p.m. it was announced over the store's loudspeaker system that the store was being temporarily closed. All customers and spectators were asked to leave, but store employes were instructed to stay.

As soon as the Negroes left the counter seats, the lunch counter was roped off.

Ten minutes after closing, Newberry's was reopened again.

Upon leaving Newberry's, after that store was closed at 1 p.m., the entire group of Negroes walked down Broad Street to Kress', where a few Negroes were already sitting. They took every available seat there. The rest moved on.

Kress manager Louis Russell said at first that he had no plans to close the store "unless tension builds up." He specifically wanted to know whether the group of whites who harassed the Negroes earlier was going to do the same thing at Kress'.

* * *

AFTER FILLING all seats at Kress' the main body went next door to McCrory's, where they found a small group already waiting in front of the rope which blocked the dining section all day. After standing at the rope for a few minutes the body left McCrory's and crossed Whitehall street to Grant's. A small group was left at McCrory's.

At Grant's they swelled the group already present to more than 70. More than half had to stand because the seat tops had been removed during the morning.

About 40 of them finally returned to Newberry's to stand behind the roped-off lunch counter. A spokesman for the students said they did not intend to cross the rope.

The rest of the store was still open for business.

* * *

THE DEMONSTRATORS sitting at the counters in Woolworth's and those waiting at Davison's left in groups just before 1:30 p.m.

Before they left their positions in the lounge on the sixth floor of the department store, the Negroes had been leaving and returning in groups of two or three at a time.

Picketing continued outside the stores. It appeared the students were not headed for any particular destination. Some of them stopped with others they met and stood on the sidewalks near the stores.

Meanwhile, it was predicted that students of Atlanta University will demonstrate "all day and every day" until they attain their objectives.

On Broad Street in front of Rich's, a black 1959 Oldsmobile twice ran up on the curb, narrowly missing a Negro picket each time. The car was driven away without the man being caught.

The day-long demonstration had produced this activity at noon:

* * *

INSIDE RICH'S, the snack bar on the second floor bridge was closed when some 30 Negroes entered. The other white eating facilities in Rich's were never opened; signs were put up declaring them closed until further notice.

Davison-Paxon Co. closed its Quickie Coffee Shop on the mezzanine and the Patio and the Terrace, a six-floor lunchrooms.

Pickets and, or sitters appeared at Rich's; Davison's; J. J. Newberry, 37 Whitehall St., SW; F. W. Woolworth, 1 Broad St., SW; H. L. Green's dime store, 97 Whitehall, SW; W. T. Grant Co., 82 Whitehall, SW; S. H. Kress & Co., 50 Broad, SW, and McCrory's, 73 Whitehall, SW.

They also went to the Lane-Rexall drugstore at Broad and Alabama and Lane's store at 177 Peachtree.

The Walgreen's store at Broad and Alabama Streets, across the street from Rich's, closed its lunch counter. So did the Lane's store at Marietta and Broad.

* * *

MEANWHILE, from Savannah, where he is attending the annual meeting of the Peace Officers Assn. of Georgia, Atlanta Police Chief Herbert Jenkins said his men handled Wednesday's demonstration according to a prearranged plan. He declined to elaborate on it.

He said he was keeping in touch with the situation, had talked by telephone to Supts. Fred Beerman and I. Glyn Cowan.

An official of one store chain, F. W. Woolworth, said the chain is "going to continue to follow the customs of any area until such a time as it is decided by the leadership of the community that the custom should be changed, and then we will consider going along with it."

Officials of other stores involved in demonstrations declined comment.

Four chains — Woolworth, Grant, Kress and McCrory—announced in New York only Tuesday that they had integrated lunch counters in 112 cities in the South and border states. But none were listed in Georgia.

* * *

NEGRO DEMONSTRATORS attempted 15 times from 19:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. to get food service at the Lane-Rexall drug store at the corner of Broad and Alabama Streets, across from Rich's.

* * *

RICH'S INC. hurriedly closed all of its eating facilities except for an employes' cafeteria when further sit-in efforts appeared imminent Thursday morning.

The store had warning when Negro students showed up at 10:30 a.m. to picket the store.

Employes rushed to post a sign at the entrance to each of the public eating places. The signs read: "All Rich's eating facilities closed until further notice."

A Rich's official said the signs had been printed only Thursday morning.

Cecil Semple, a Rich's vice president, said the store had no statement to make about its plans.

Outside the store there was busy picketing by a couple dozen young men and women.

State Police Available, Vandiver Says

Special to The Atlanta Journal

SAVANNAH, Ga., Oct. 20—Gov. Ernest Vandiver Wednesday declared here that the entire state police force is available, upon request, to any property owners to quell a sit-in demonstration.

The governor termed such demonstrations an invasion of property rights and against the laws of the state and the nation.

Gov. Vandiver made his remarks about the use of the State Department of Public Safety before his scheduled address at the 60th annual convention of the Peace Officers Assn. of Georgia in convention at the De Soto Hotel here.

"Such sit-in demonstrations certainly heighten tension among our people," the governor said.

★★ 'FORMATIONS' OBSERVED

Tension, Action, Humor Seen

Tension, muffled excitement, and just plain nervousness—these are the by-products of a sit-in attempt.

All these, and humor as well, were found in downtown Atlanta Wednesday when more than 75 young Negroes sought to break down the lunch counter segregation through passive resistence.

Tension was evident everywhere the Nigroes staged their sitdowns or stand-ups. While the students themselves kept quiet and talked mostly to themselves, the faves of the people who watched them showed astonishment, uneasiness, or dislike.

In Kress' variety store a small, elderly woman with a large shopping bag stopped dead in her trakcs. "You mean I can't eat my lunch here?" she said to a bystander. "I always eat my lunch here. You mean they won't let me eat my lunch here today?"

When the lunch counter in Kress' shut down, the store became quieter. The loudest noise came from a phonograph in the record department. It played a spiritual, and some people thought it was the Negroes singing.

* * *

THE NEGROES were singing in Rich's. On the third attempt to enter the Magnolia Room the police came and quietly hustled away a large group of students.

The Negroes and police got into an elevator and started to the first floor. As the elevator doors closed the students broke into a hymn-like integration song, which starts, "We are not afraid. . . . We shall win some day. . . ." The song faded away as the elevator shot down toward the ground and the paddy wagon.

* * *

AT DAVISON'S one picket appealed to patrons to bypass the store, but it being a big sale day, they flocked in in droves.

Also at Davison's, where eight Negroes went in at 11 a.m. and stayed through the afternoon, two radio newsmen appeared, accompanied by two other persons. They had a miniature tape recorder. They tinkered with the tape recorder and, standing within a few feet of the Negro demonstrators, played back a recording of a Stone Mountain Ku Klux Klan meeting, turning up the volume loudly as the Klan was mentioned.

* * *

IN THE Barbeque Room at Rich's, tables were at a premium as the lunch hour came. White patrons were eating and talking together when a young Negro woman appeared at the door.

A chain went across the entrance and a Rich's official explained that she could not enter. White persons went in.

One of them, a woman, elbowed the young Negro and told her to get out of her way. The Negro said nothing, but waited.

In another eating place at Rich's, Negroes were refused admission. A white bystander, watching all this, noted:

"Well, I see the Christians have won again."

* * *

THERE WAS considerable difference of opinion on whether the mass attack on custom was a success or a failure. Some white folks, asked about this, said it was a failure as long as the Negroes didn't get served.

A demonstrator disagreed. "It's a success," he said, "when we get anybody in the stores at all. It's a success when we get thrown in jail."

* * *

ONE OF THE few deviations from the otherwise identical sit-in procedures in the dime stores was in formation: About half of the variety store sitters used the "spread" formation, while the other half tried a "packed center" version.

In the "spread" the sitters took individual seats, leaving a gap of half-dozen seats along the entire length of the counter. The "packed center" sitters occupied adjoining seats in the center section of the counter.

Both were equally effective in closing the counters, method permitted a few tired white shoppers to rest at the seats on the fringe areas of the counters.

At the state capital a number of Negro women were observed gathering, leading to rumors of sit-ins spreading to the capitol cafeteria.

A state patrol major, a captain and a number of troopers were dispatched to quell the suspected demonstration.

They found the women were waiting to take a nurses' examination.

When afternoon rains started pedestrians scurried along beneath the canopy which covered about half of the sidewalk at the Broad Street entrance to Woolworth's. Several young girl pickets, none of whom were wearing any type of raingear, moved from under the canopy and marched in the nonviolence method.

A half-dozen white boys, mostly wearing blue jeans and teeshirts, attempted to block the sidewalk in front of the Broad Street door at Kress.

The system was to casually spread across the sidewalk from curb to store front with backs toward the approaching line of pickets. The choice facing the marchers was either to stop, which is illegal, or to try to get past, which is out of keeping with

The dilemma was solved by shoppers and pedestrians who were not adverse to pushing the youngsters aside.

A Douglas Kiker Analysis

PROTEST DRIVE LOSING STEAM?

By DOUGLAS KIKER

Despite the apparent force and obvious coordination of the sit-in demonstrations in Atlanta Wednesday, there is strong evidence that the student protest movement is losing some of its steam.

The demonstrations Wednesday seemed impressive, until it is remembered that there are some 4,000 Negro college students enrolled within the Atlanta University System. Only about 100 actually participated in the sit-downs.

At a "mass" meeting of Negro college students Tuesday night, where, reportedly, final plans for Wednesday's demonstrations were made, only about 200 students showed up.

Just about everyons expected to see increased Negro student protest activity in Atlanta this fall, but those who knew how deeply dissatisfied Negro college youths are with their social lot expected a much larger show of force than this.

What happened? Actually, several things:

1. Administrators at the various colleges didn't come right out and condemn the proposed demonstrations, but they didn't encourage them, either.

These officials know that it is impossible to contain their students, but they are trying hard to keep their activity within reasonable bounds.

* * *

2. **A LARGE** number of students enrolled in Atlanta colleges are Atlanta natives and the parents of many of them forbade their sons and daughters to take part in the demonstrations. This was particularly true of parents with daughters.

3. Student apathy itself was a big factor. While it is certainly true that Southern Negro college students are enthusiastic over the fight for racial equality, when the time comes to act, a good many of them simply have other things they would rather do.

It would be a great mistake to conclude that Wednesday's demonstrations had campus-wide support. While Lonnie King was getting himself arrested, there was many another Morehouse student taking a nap, reading in the library or playing touch football.

* * *

WHAT ABOUT the still-sizable number of students which did participate? What motivated them?

Their expressed viewpoint is this:

Atlanta, the largest and one of the most progressive cities in the South, has yet to integrate a single lunch counter, although smaller Southern cities—such as Nashville—have done so.

The Negroes are convinced such a move would be easy here, but they believe just as strongly that nothing is ever going to be done unless pressure is applied.

There was, incidentally, quite a lot of dissent and argument this fall among Negro college students over just who would lead whom.

But Lonnie King succeeded in getting re-elected chairman of the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights and remains in control.

* * *

FINALLY, perhaps the greatest thing that was accomplished in Wednesday's sit-ins was a further strengthening of the position of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as the No. 1 leader of the Southern Negro.

Dr. King has shown evidence that he believes the NAACP is moving too slowly in the integration struggle, and he has ambitious plans for his own Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

According to observers, he believes the real driving force of the Negroes these days lies with college youngsters, and to have their support would add immeasurably to his own organization.

He got arrested with them Wednesday and spent the night in jail with them.

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Sit-in Group Faces Jail Wait Of 4 to 6 Weeks Before Trial

By MARGARET SHANNON

Negro sit-in demonstrators, including Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Thursday faced the possibility of a month or six weeks of sitting in jail awaiting trial if they stick to their resolve not to make bond.

Fulton Criminal Court Sol. John I. Kelley said his office will have to draw accusations against the 36 Negroes bound over and "ordinarily the cases might come to trial in a month or six weeks."

The solicitor said that if the Negroes persist in refusing to make the $500 bond set for them, "it could speed up consideration" of their cases.

But he said the mechanics of readying the cases for trial would preclude much of a speedup.

* * *

THE NEGROES—17 men and 19 women—were bound over Wednesday by Municipal Court Judge James E. Webb on charges of violating the state's 1960 law making it a misdemeanor to refuse to leave a place of business when asked.

Judge Webb dismissed charges against 16 others, the last group to seek service at Rich's Magnolia Room. He said that testimony showed that they had been refused service and did not prove that they had been asked to leave the premises.

Besides Dr. King, Negroes sent to the new Fulton County Jail included Lonnie C. King, 24-year-old Morehouse College student and leader of the student sit-in movement in Atlanta.

At the jail, on Jefferson Street, NW, about a dozen Negro sympathizers with the jailed demonstrators appeared Thursday around noon and held an impromptu prayer meeting. Then they left.

Freed when charges were dismissed were A. D. Williams King, a brother of Dr. King, and the only white participant arrested, Richard M. Ramsey.

Judge Webb gave Negro attorneys until Monday to file a written motion for dismissal of the charges on constitutional grounds.

The cases were tried in groups in a three-and-a-half hour session of Municipal Court.

In numerous instances, demonstrators disputed the testimony that officials at Rich's, the only store where arrests were made, asked them to leave the premises.

Dr. King, disciple of Gandhi and apostle of nonviolent resistance to segregation, said in a rather emotional unsworn statement at the trial that he does not feel that "we did anything wrong in going to Rich's today."

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 93 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

TEL. JA. 2-5050—P. O. Box 4689 ATLANTA (2), GA., FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1960 52 PAGES, 3 SECTIONS

26 More Arrested in Sit-Ins; Many Counters Closed Here

By BRUCE GALPHIN and KEELER McCARTNEY

Luncheon sit-ins and picketing expanded to at least 16 downtown establishments Thursday, leading to 26 arrests and numerous food-counter closings.

The Rev. A. D. Williams King, brother of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., was among 22 Negroes arrested on loafing and disturbance charges and sentenced to 20 days in the city prison farm, with 10 days suspended.

Three other Negroes were bound over to Fulton Criminal Court on charges of violating Georgia's 1960 anti-trespass law.

All of the Negroes were arrested at the Terminal Station: the three after refusing to leave the lunch counter and the 22 for failure to move after they were told they were blocking an entrance.

Municipal Court Judge James Webb also sentenced a white youth to 10 days on a disorderly conduct charge resulting from his actions in a variety store.

The youth, Harold Sprayberry, 21, of 1972 East Ave., NW, was arrested as part of incidents after which two Broad Street variety stores, Woolworth and Newberry's, were closed briefly.

The Woolworth store was closed shortly after Sprayberry strolled past the Negroes spraying room deodorant.

The Negroes broke into applause and a few shouted "bravo" at the performance. Sprayberry was arrested after he moved over to Newberry's.

During their brief closings, the stores put chains up across their counter seats. The counters had been closed to service all along.

The story was much the same all over town. Most establishments closed their counters during the whole day, though a few served whites part of the time.

Rich's which had kept most of

Continued on Page 12, Column 1

26 Arrested Here in New Sit-Ins

Continued From Page 1

its dining rooms open Wednesday, closed them all Thursday "until further notice," including the Hunter Room for Negroes. Davison's closed counters both days.

Sit-ins Thursday were also staged or attempted at Newberry's, S. H. Kress, McCrory's, Grant's, two H. L. Green stores, two Woolworth's, two Walgreen's, three Lane's and the Terminal Station.

Estimates of the number of students participating in Thursday's demonstrations ranged from several hundred to 2,000. It was, by consensus, considerably more than on Wednesday.

(Atlanta University officials were not available to say what their policy toward those cutting class and being arrested would be.)

There was no indication how long the sit-ins and picketing would continue. Although more students participated Thursday, they showed a greater reluctance to be arrested.

SEATS ROPED OFF

Several times during the day, given the opportunity to leave drug stores or be arrested, the students retreated.

In the Lane Drug Store at Broad and Alabama, seats were roped off. Every time Negroes appeared, a clerk dashed to pull up the rope and waitresses began removing seats of unoccupied stools. Police would appear, the Negroes would leave. Down would go the rope and back would go the stool seats.

Meanwhile, Fulton Criminal Court Solicitor John L. Kelley said it would apparently be four to six weeks before the Rev. Martin Luthtr King Jr. and the other Negroes arrested in the demonstrations come to trial. All are in jail after refusing to post $500 bonds.

A Negro detective, J. D. Hudson, assisted three white officers in making 25 arrests at the Union News lunch room in Terminal Station.

Detectives J. C. McEntire and W. B. Blackwell said they arrived at the station, found the lunch room closed and three Negroes seated at the counter. They said the manager of the lunch room asked the three to leave, they refused and were taken into custody.

The three, ordered held under the anti-trespass law, were Lenora Taitt, 21, and Bertha Singleton, 21, of 350 Leonard St., and Melvin Tolbert, of Clinton, La.

39 UNDER CHARGES

Court records showed that Lenora Taitt and Bertha Singleton were among a group of 16 against whom charges of violating the anti-trespass laws were dismissed Wednesday.

The three ordered held increased to 39 the number under charges at Fulton Tower on the trespass law. The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., said Wednesday, he would make no attempt to post the bond. Officers said Thursday none of the group had posted bond.

While Blackwell and McEntire were inside at the Terminal Station, Capt. R. E. Little and Hudson said they arrived and found a large group outside the closed doors, blocking the entrance.

Hudson said he asked the Rev. A. D. King and each of the others present individually to move on and when they refused brought charges.

Cross-examined by Attorney D. L. Hollowell, Hudson said each of the 22 persons told him they were attempting to be served food.

In handing out the 10-day jail sentences, Webb noted that several persons in the group were among those freed of charges Wednesday and added:

KING SPEAKS OUT

"You always seem to have a spokesman. I think you would be better off if you listened to your parents back home and thought as individuals. Our ordinances were designed to keep this a peaceful city."

The Rev. A. D. King served as spokesman for the group as his brother had done the previous day. He said he entered the restaurant with three others, was shoved out and the door slammed on him.

In addition to King, those given prison farm sentences were Norma Wilson, 20, of 350 Leonard St.; Amos C. Brown, 19, Jackson, Miss.; Solomon Taylor, 21, of 1598 Church Dr.; Roland L. Turpin, Richmond, Va.; Ralph D. Moore, Washington, D.C.

OTHER NAMES

David Satcher, 19, Anniston, Ala.; Morris Dillard, 22, of 212 Florida Ave., SE; L. J. Harrison, 22, Toccoa; Charles A. Black, Miami, Fla.; Hubert B. Liedy, 32, of 9 McDonough Blvd., SE; Gweldolyn Ponder, 21, of 1389 Lansing St., SE.

Sylvia Lee Walker, 20, of 522 Boulevard, NE; Louis Flanagan, 20, of 2058 County Line Rd., SW; George W. Crockett, 21, Detroit, Mich.; Edith Simmons, 19, Brunswick; Bromon Simmons, Winston Salem, N.C.; Elroy Emory, 32; Bessie Smith, 21, Spelman College; Browman Unthank, 17, of Winston Salem, N.C.

Desiree Jett, 20, of 1158 Fountain Road, SW; Edna Kindrick, 269 Chappel Street.

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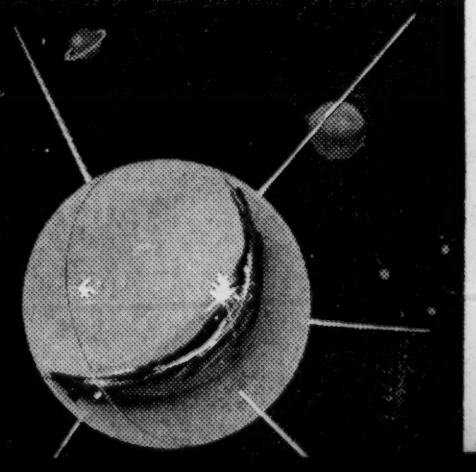

The Atlanta Journal

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"

2-5050—P.O. Box 4689 Atlanta (2), Ga., Saturday Evening, October 22, 1960 ★ 26 Pag

Hartsfield, Negro Leaders Huddle on Sit-in Truce

Mayor William B. Hartsfield and about 60 of the top echelon Negro leaders of Atlanta went into a closed meeting late Saturday morning to determine whether Negro demonstrations can be halted.

Before joining the Negroes assembled in the aldermanic chamber at City Hall, Mayor Hartsfield said he will ask for a 60 to 90 day peace and quiet period. During this time he said he will act as go between for the Negroes and Atlanta merchants.

The mayor expressed optimism over the results of the meeting.

Meanwhile, the picket line had changed from black to white, with pickets carrying signs urging the public to patronize stores which uphold segregation.

But Negro pickets and luncheon sitters were absent. A Negro student leader said no demonstrations were planned for Saturday.

Police were out in force. Officers, store officials and expectant passersby watched the downtown streets like dove hunters waiting for the birds to come in. Many shoppers were on the streets.

Covering this story were Atlanta Journal Staff Writers Margaret Shannon, Ed Hughes, John Pennington, Powledge and Orville Gaines.

* * *

MOST STORE dining facilities were closed. Lane's and Walgreen's drug stores at the corner of Peachtree Street and Ellis Street, both sit-in targets on previous days, had their lunch counters open, but had ropes at the ready so the counters could be closed quickly.

Around Rich's and in front of dime and drug stores along Broad Street, 25 white men, including numerous known Ku Klux Klan members, circled with signs with two messages: "Support the merchants who support segregation" and "We will not accept race mixing in Georgia."

* * *

THE FIRST white picketers took their place about 10:15. Their ranks grew as the morning passed.

At least two of the picketers in the Rich's line carried walking sticks. One picketer at Newberry's carried a cane.

Besides Rich's and Newberry's, there were white pickets at the Broad Street entrances of Woolworth's, Walgreen's and Kress'.

All eating facilities in Rich's remained closed Saturday, as did lunch counters at all except one of the variety stores in the vicinity. A standup counter at Walgreen's was open.

Sitdown lunch counters at two Lane drug stores, both sit-in targets this week, were open and doing business. The stores are at Broad and Alabama and Broad and Marietta.

Lunch counters in the dime stores not only had "closed" signs posted, but most of them were loaded down with merchandise. Dolls were the most popular item of display.

* * *

AS OF FRIDAY, police were out in force Saturday in the busy Broad-and-Albama vincinity. Uniform patrolmen and plainclothesmen patrolled as did police cars,

Turn to Page 20, Column 3

SIT-IN TRUCE EFFORT

Continued From Page 1

motorcycle policemen and paddy wagons.

Clusters of reinforcements for the white picketers were evident. Besides those standing around, at least one car was circling the block ready to distribute fresh supplies.

The mayor's meeting was originally scheduled for his office, but was moved to the aldermanic chamber when the group representing the Negroes swelled beyond the capacity of the office.

The Negro group waiting to assemble with the mayor was quiet and orderly, but extremely non-commital.

The official group meeting with the mayor is called the Adult-Student Liaison Committee. Rev. Holmes Borders, long-time leader of Negro activities in the city, was to be the spokesman for the organization.

* * *

IN ADDITION to most of the recognized older Negro community leaders, representatives of the students of Negro colleges and universities were present. These youngsters are considered to have more direct control over the demonstrations than the older element.

At least two petitions were being signed by the Negro students before going into the meeting. The students would not reveal what the petitions asked prior to the meeting.

In addition to the liaison group and other Negro leaders, a group which identified itself as mothers of students who have been arrested also was on hand to have words with the mayor.

The mayor said that the meeting would be closed to all representatives of the press, radio and TV, to "allow them to say what they really think and to let us get right to the heart of the problem."

* * *

THE MAYOR would not comment before the meeting on what authority he had to act or speak for Atlanta merchants whose businesses are the subjects of demonstrations. However, he said Friday that he had conferred with some of the merchant leaders, and indicated that he received at least a willingness to cooperate through negotiations.

Among the Negro leaders present were:

Otis Moss, student leader who succeeded Lonnie King after he was jailed; Edward B. King, representative for the Atlanta Nonviolence Coordinating Committee; Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College; Dr. Alfred E. Manley, president of Spelman College; Dr. Frank J. Cunningham, president of Morris Brown College; Rev. Martin Luther King Sr., father of Negro leader Martin Luther King Jr., and himself a leader in the Negro community; Jesse Hill of the Atlanta Committee of Cooperative Action; Warren Cochrane, director of the Butlet Street YMCA and one of the top leaders in Negro activities; John Calhoun, former president of the Atlanta branch of the NAACP; Rev. Samuel Williams, present president of the Atlanta NAACP; John Wesley Dobbs, grand master of the Negro Masons in Georgia and a long-time Negro leader.

Other developments:

1. Two more Negroes, Harold Andrews, 22, and Frank George Holloway, 21, were arrested Friday when they refused to leave the lunch counter of the Lane drugstore at Broad and Marietta Streets. Charged with violating the antitrespass law, they were bound over to Criminal Court under $500 bond each.

2. Judge James Webb of Municipal Court warned, while hearing the Andrews and Holloway cases, that further sit-ins in defiance of the law "will be dealt with as irresponsible mob action."

3. The F. W. Woolworth store at 199 Peachtree St. was closed temporarily Friday afternoon so that Negroes sitting at a luncheon counter and white onlookers, some known Ku Klux Klansmen, could be cleared out.

The Atlanta Journal ★ AND ★ THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

FINAL EDITION

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Associated Press Wirephoto

CRIPPLED ITALIAN FREIGHTER SILOUETTED BEHIND ONE OF SURVIVORS
Collision Rips Open Staterooms, Killing Nine and Injuring More than 25 Others

Negroes Agree to Halt Sit-ins for 30 Days Here

Mayor to Seek Settlement With Officials, Merchants

Negro leaders in Atlanta Saturday afternoon agreed to call off all demonstrations for 30 days, while Mayor Hartsfield tries to negotiate a settlement with white merchants and the Negroes.

Mayor Hartsfield ordered the immediate release of 22 Negroes and one white youth arrested on city charges during three days of

Covering this story were Atlanta Journal-Constitution staff writers Margaret Shannon, Ed Hughes, Orville

STREET SCENES

Minister to school principal as they watch latter's football team lose again, "Ever try buckeyes?"

North Decatur mother, returning with other parents to school for a night, finding note on daugh-

Associated Press Wirephoto

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Negro leaders in Atlanta Saturday afternoon agreed to call off all demonstrations for 30 days, while Mayor Hartsfield tries to negotiate a settlement with white merchants and the Negroes.

Mayor Hartsfield ordered the immediate release of 22 Negroes and one white youth arrested on city charges during three days of sit-ins and picketing in Atlanta.

The mayor said he will also on Monday seek aid from downtown merchants and state and county officials to have 39 other Negroes released from the county jail. This group includes Negro leader Martin Luther King Jr.

The agreement was reached after approximately 60 Negro leaders met Saturday morning with Mayor Hartsfield in the aldermanic chambers at City Hall Saturday.

Covering this story were Atlanta Journal-Constitution staff writers Margaret Shannon, Ed Hughes, Orville Gaines, Fred Powledge, Dan Sweat, John Pennington and Mike Edwards.

* * *

THE MEETING lasted for two hours and 40 minutes, with Mayor Hartsfield present for nearly two hours of the meeting.

The Rev. Otis Moss Jr., acting chairman of the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, said that the Negroes, who were not demonstrating Saturday, will abide by the decision to call off all demonstrations for a 30-day period.

"At the end of that time we will review progress made and decide our future course of action," he said.

Both Dr. King and Lonnie King said they were in complete accord with the agreement reached by Negro community leaders and Mayor Hartsfield. Both said they were willing to put their faith in the mayor because of his past demonstration of good will.

* * *

BOTH NEGRO leaders also said they would remain in jail before they would accept release on bail. They said they would not hesitate to leave, provided all charges are dropped.

And they both agreed no more sit-in demonstrations would be held by their groups as long as "certain conditions" as set forth in the mayor-Negro pact Saturday are met.

Meanwhile, the solid "jail before bail" front was broken when the first of the demonstrators lodged at the Fulton jail was released on $500 bond. The Rev.

Turn to Page 18, Column 1

STREET SCENES

Minister to school principal as they watch latter's football team lose again, "Ever try buckeyes?"

North Decatur mother, returning with other parents to school for a night, finding note on daughter's fifth-grade desk: "Dear Mama, I hope you won't be as dum as me and imberress me."

Parking-lot jockey proving that he is absolutely unbiased as he takes off with a howling screech in his own car.

DID KENNEDY MAN ASK KING RELEASE?

Nominee's Camp Impresses on Mayor Senator Has No Desire to Interfere

Mayor Hartsfield Saturday said that a local representative of Sen. John Kennedy called him and said Sen. Kennedy had asked that the mayor try to have Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. released from jail here.

This promptly stirred small tempests in Atlanta and Washington over who the "local representative" was and whether he in fact spoke for Sen. Kennedy.

Griffin Bell, co-chairman of the Kennedy campaign in Georgia, issued a statement saying in so many words that he, his co-chairman Rep. George Smith III and Gov. Vandiver are the only official "intermediaries" Sen. Kennedy has in Georgia and none of them talked to Mayor Hartsfield.

* * *

SAID MR. BELL: "We know that Sen. Kennedy would never interfere in the affairs of a sovereign state."

The Kennedy headquarters in Washington was pressed for details about who contacted the mayor and finally put out a statement that did not shed much light on the matter. It read:

"As a result of having many calls from all over the country regarding the incident in Atlanta, Sen. Kennedy directed that an inquiry be made to give him all the facts on that situation and a report on what properly should be done. The senator is hopeful that a satisfactory outcome can be worked out."

Later, Saturday night, Mayor Hartsfield elaborated a little on his earlier statements but didn't entirely clear things up.

* * *

SAID HE:

"I had it transmitted to me that the senator was interested, in a kindly way, in seeing an amicable settlement of things here and I confirmed this with one of his aides in his headquarters in Washington.

"It was thoroughly impressed upon me that the senator had no desire to interfere in what is a local matter, but that he merely wanted to express an interest, hoping the matter would be settled and realizing that Atlanta has a fine reputation for settling such matters."

Other political stories on Page 2.

Mayor Hartsfield said he agreed with Mr. Bell that "we recognize no intermediary in Georgia who can speak for Sen. Kennedy."

Before the mayor had this final say, newsmen had checked two other Atlantans with Kennedy connections.

* * *

ONE OF THESE, attorney Morris Abram, said: "Absolutely not!" when asked if he were the man.

The other, Robert B. Troutman Jr., longtime friend of Sen. Kennedy, put it this way: "I didn't have anything to do with it."

Dr. King is presently in the Fulton County jail, having been arrested with 38 other persons during recent demonstrations here. He is charged under a state law passed recently which requires a person to leave the premises of a store when asked to do so by the manager.

The statement issued by Mr. Bell took note of this.

"It is well for all to bear in mind," it said, "that Martin Luther King has violated a state law. He is charged with trespassing on private premises, has been offered bail, and refused it because he wants to be a martyr. He must stand trial and he will get equal treatment just as any other common law violator."

* * *

FOR HIS PART, Mayor Hartsfield said he had told Sen. Kennedy's representative that he, as a city official, had no jurisdiction, since Dr. King's arrest was on a state charge.

"I told him that I would use the office of mayor as best I

Turn to Page 24, Column 1

Scho

By DR. BENJAMIN FINE
North American Newspaper Alliance

NEW YORK, Oct. 22 — In thousands of classrooms this week, and every week, millions of boys and girls sit tensed-up over their desks, waiting nervously for their teachers to snap the word, "Go!"

Their intelligence—or vocational aptitude, or personality, or academic achievement — is being tested.

It will be tested again, and again, and again—right up to the time of graduation. And it will go on being tested even after that.

LAST YEAR, children in our elementary and high schools took 125,000,000 tests. Some of

Staff Photo—Dwight Ross

MAYOR HARTSFIELD MEETS PRESS FOLLOWING SESSION
Others Are Rev. Otis Moss Jr. (C) and Dr. W. H. Borders (R)

NEGROES AGREE

Continued From Page 1

Otis Blackshear, 27, or 72 Martin Ave., SE, pastor of the Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church, was freed at 3:30 p.m. after the bond was met by the Rev. E. R. Searcy, pastor of Mt. Zion Second Baptist Church. The Rev. Mr. Searcy said he asked Mr. Blackshear to leave the jail on bond so he could "explain his position to his flock tomorrow."

Ku Klux Klansmen replaced Negro demonstrators as pickets on downtown streets Saturday.

* * *

ABOUT 50 placard carriers marched five hours—from 10:15 a.m. to 3:15 p.m.—around the stores in which Negroes demonstrated Wednesday, Thursday and Friday.

The white pickets carried signs saying: "We will not accept race-mixing in Georgia," and urging shoppers to do their buying with merchants "who support segregation."

While the picketing went on, on Forsyth, Broad and Whitehall Streets from Marietta to Hunter Streets, crowds of shoppers, white and Negro, hustled about, seeming to patronize the stores in usual numbers for a Saturday afternoon.

Among the high-ranking Ku Klux Klansmen present during the day were Wesley Morgan of Atlanta and the KKK's new grand

town by city vehicles, but the students arranged their own transportation, a spokesman said.

* * *

MAYOR HARTSFIELD said that he would begin carrying out the other part of his agreement with the Negroes Monday when he contacts downtown merchants "seeking an ultimate solution."

He said the discussions with the merchants would be aimed primarily at the problem of desegregating eating facilities, although they would also include the question of fair employment practices.

The Rev. William Holmes Borders, pastor of the Wheat Street Baptist Church and spokesman for the Negroes meeting with the mayor Saturday, said the meeting was "one of the greatest things that has ever happened in Atlanta, which will help the city and everyone in it."

Te Rev. Mr. Borders' part in the meeting appeared to be as representative for the established older Negro community leadership in Atlanta, while the Rev. Mr. Moss represented the students who have been waging the desegregation demonstrations.

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Among the high-ranking Ku Klux Klansmen present during the day were Wesley Morgan of Atlanta and the KKK's new grand dragon of Georgia, an Atlantan named Craig. Both men circulated throughout the area during the day, conferring occasionally with other Klansmen of lesser rank.

Police again were out in force, as they were Friday. Officers questioned a number of the pickets and reported they were mostly from College Park, Fairburn, Villa Rica and Austell. A few were from Atlanta.

Most store luncheon facilities were closed, and Negro pickets and sitters did not appear.

The Saturday agreement to call off demonstrators for 30 days was contingent on the release of the prisoners from the City Stockade and on efforts being made to free the others in the county jail, Mayor Hartsfield said.

Within 10 minutes of the meeting's end, Mayor Hartsfield had called Municipal Court Judge James Webb and asked that he notify the prison farm that the 22 Negroes and one white youth involved in demonstration arrests be released.

They were released at about 4 p.m.

A spokesman said some of the students had worked in the fields Saturday, but were already back when the release order came through.

Prisoners released at the stockade are generally taken down-

U.S. Ship To Train Doctors

JAKARTA, Oct. 22 (UPI)—The United States training ship Hope is taking aboard 30 patients to begin its work in teaching new medical techniques to Indonesian doctors and nurses.

The converted U.S. Navy hospital ship, staffed with 18 American medical specialists, will call at nine Indonesian ports, diagnosing and treating a limited number of patients while serving primarily as a school.

Two dentists, two pharmacists, 25 nurses and 30 support personnel, mostly laboratory technicians, also are on the staff.

The 30 surgical patients are to be operated on next week, four on Monday. Space limitations prevent all the trainees from observing the operations directly, so a closed television circuit has been installed.

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MAYOR HARTSFIELD said he asked the Negroes for from 60 to 90 days of "peace and quiet. He said, however, that the 30 days granted should be sufficient to make the necessary progress.

"I will give the Negro leadership weekly reports on the progress being made if they want," he said. "I think they are justified in wanting to know that real progress is being made and that this is not just a stalling tactic."

About release of Negroes at the county jail the mayor said he explained "and the Negro leaders understand," that the city has no direct control over persons arrested under a state law.

"Normally during negotiations, such as in labor troubles, persons are released during the negotiation stage. I feel sure the business community will co-operate in obtaining a release of those under state charges," the mayor said.

* * *

AMONG THOSE released immediately from the city jail are A. D. Williams King, brother of Martin Luther King Jr., and Harold E. Sprayberry, the white man who was arrested after spraying a counter of Negro demonstrators with deodorant spray.

The mayor stressed to the Negroes the importance of removing all demonstrators during the period of negotiation.

"I can't negotiate at gunpoint—with picketers out there," he said.

The demonstration began Wednesday with some 75 Negroes seeking luncheon service at 10 stores, with perhaps 40 more picketing outside. There were 52 arrests that day, all at Rich's, Inc., all charged with violating the antitrespass law.

On Thursday, several hundred Negroes sat in or picketed some 15 establishments, forcing the closing of many eating places. Twenty-five Negroes were arrested at Terminal Station and the one white man was charged with disorderly conduct-inciting a riot. That store and Newberry's were closed briefly after large groups of whites gathered around seated Negroes.

* * *

ON FRIDAY, few stores attempted to offer food service, and one that did, another Woolworth's, was closed when Negroes sat in and whites gathered. Picketing continued irregularly. Two Negroes were arrested at a Lane's drugstore.

A police photographer took pictures of the white pickets Saturday.

Police Capt. R. E. Little Jr. said it would be department policy from now on to photograph all demonstrators, white and Negro.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times.

LATE CITY EDITION
U. S. Weather Bureau Report (Page 77) forecasts: Mostly fair, milder today. Increasing cloudiness tomorrow. Temp. range: 54—38; yesterday: 46.4—36.9.

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MOBUTU'S TROOPS REPORTED MOVING ON CONGO CAPITAL

U. N. Blocks Roads to Stop Thysville Brigade—March on Kasai Also Feared

ARMY ISSUES CHALLENGE

Demands World Body Grant Its Regime Recognition As Legal Government

By PAUL HOFMANN
Special to The New York Times

LEOPOLDVILLE, the Congo, Oct. 25—Units of Col. Joseph D. Mobutu's army were reported tonight to be moving out of their main garrison at Thysville, south of Leopoldville.

A brigade of thirty armored cars was said to have received orders to march on the capital.

United Nations military sources here said troops of the United Nations force had set up roadblocks between Leopoldville and Thysville to prevent any march on the capital. The United Nations said it was in the dark on other reports that Congo Army troops were marching from Thysville into Kasai Province.

Congo Army forces of unspecified strength were reported heading for Bakwanga, an industrial center near Luluabourg, the capital of Kasai. Bakwanga is the headquarters of Albert Kalonji, Baluba tribal chief and President of South Kasai, an area in Kasai that has proclaimed independence of the Congo.

Scene of Past Violence

Many persons were slain during violent intertribal fighting between Lulua, Balubas and other groups in Kasai last September. One source said tonight that a column of 1,000 Congo Army troops composed of tribes hostile to the Balubas was

Continuing Tribal Conflict Fires Unrest in Congo

Dalmas From Pix

A Congolese policeman arrests a rioter after violent tribal fight in Leopoldville

U. S.-BRITISH PACT ON BASES REVISED

Agreement Is 'Satisfactory,' Macmillan Says—He and President to Get All Data

By DREW MIDDLETON
Special to The New York Times.

LONDON, Oct. 25—Prime Minister Macmillan announced today the conclusion of a "satisfactory" revised agreement with the United States on the use of United States Air Force bases in Britain.

Ben-Gurion Beset In Power Struggle Of Party Factions

By DANA ADAMS SCHMIDT
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25 — Premier David Ben-Gurion is engaged in a bitter power struggle against opponents within his own political party, according to uncensored reports reaching Washington from the Middle East.

The Premier and some of his younger Cabinet ministers, according to these reports, are pitted against Pinhas Lavon, head of the Israeli Trade Union Confederation, and Moshe

BRITON, ANDERSON DISCUSS GOLD RISE

Director of Bank of England, in Fast U. S. Trip, Confers With Treasury Officials

By RICHARD E. MOONEY
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25—An executive director of the Bank of England visited the United States Treasury today and talked about gold. The Treasury confirmed that much and no more.

ROCKEFELLER JOINS RIBICOFF IN PLAN TO AID NEW HAVEN

4 Region Officials Pledge to Seek Tax Relief and a U. S.-Backed Loan

Text of the joint statement is printed on Page 78.

By WILL LISSNER

State and local governments of New York and Connecticut agreed yesterday on a program to help the New Haven Railroad.

The eight-point plan commits the officials of the governments to recommend tax relief to their legislative bodies and to support it vigorously. It pledges them to share the revenue loss equitably. It makes such relief contingent on an improvement of commuter service to the 30,000 persons who travel daily from Connecticut and Westchester to this city.

The program urges prompt approval by the Interstate Commerce Commission of a $6,000,000 Federally guaranteed bank loan to tide the road over until a long-term fiscal solution can be developed. It directs its staff committee to work with the I. C. C. on rehabilitation measures, and it urges the I. C. C. to expedite a report on the investigation of the road.

New England Invited

It invites Massachusetts and Rhode Island to join the other states and asks a staff finding by Dec. 31, to be placed before the Legislatures of the states in January.

Gov. Abraham A. Ribicoff of Connecticut announced the agreement after a two-and-a-half-hour meeting in the office of Governor Rockefeller here. Governor Ribicoff acted as spokesman for Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Wagner and Edwin G. Michaelian, Westchester County Executive. Also at the

Dr. King Gets 4 Months in Georgia

Associated Press

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., wearing handcuffs, being led by officer to hearing yesterday in Decatur, Ga.

Special to The New York Times.

DECATUR, Ga., Oct. 25—The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was ordered today to serve four months in prison. A judge here ruled that his participation in an Atlanta sit-in demonstration had violated the terms of a suspended sentence in a traffic case. The probation was based on non-violation of a state or Federal law for a year. Dr. King and a number of students were arrested last week after a sit-in demonstration at Rich's Department Store. Store officials have said they will not press the charges. Court and

Continued on Page 43, Column 3

KENNEDY PRESSES PRESTIGE CHARGE

NIXON AND LODGE JOIN IN TV PLEA

POLICE HEAD SAYS TICKET SLOWDOWN IS A STRIKE MOVE

Commissioner Is Irate Over Rank-and-File Protest on Ban on Outside Jobs

DISCIPLINARY STEP DUE

Kennedy Orders Report on Summonses—Calls Action a 'Form of Treason'

By JOSEPH C. INGRAHAM

Rank-and-file members of the Police Department staged a twenty-four-hour holiday yesterday on issuing summonses for minor traffic and Administrative Code offenses. The move was characterized by Commissioner Stephen P. Kennedy as a strike.

A spot check showed that summons activity was virtually nil for such offenses as illegal parking, not curbing dogs, unswept sidewalks and littering.

However, there was no indication that the traffic and motorcycle divisions, which concentrate on apprehending serious traffic violators such as speeders and drunken drivers, were not carrying out their duties.

The twenty-four-hour hiatus in serving minor summonses reportedly ended at midnight. Commissioner Kennedy said he had ordered a résumé of summons activity in that period to be on his desk by 8 A. M. today.

Shows His Anger

Until the report is in, Mr. Kennedy said at a news conference at Police Headquarters, the question of disciplinary action would be held in abeyance. But he made it clear that charges would be preferred against those responsible for the disruption of normal law

orders to march on the capital.

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Congo Army forces of unspecified strength were reported heading for Bakwanga, an industrial center near Luluabourg, the capital of Kasai. Bakwanga is the headquarters of Albert Kalonji, Baluba tribal chief and President of South Kasai, an area in Kasai that has proclaimed independence of the Congo.

Scene of Past Violence

Many persons were slain during violent intertribal fighting between Luluas, Balubas and other groups in Kasai last September. One source said tonight that a column of 1,000 Congo Army troops composed of tribes hostile to the Balubas was marching on Bakwanga.

[At the United Nations it was expected that a new conciliation committee would leave for Leopoldville soon to seek a peaceful settlement of the political crisis in the Congo.]

Tension between Colonel Mobutu and the United Nations increased today when the colonel's regime challenged the United Nations to acknowledge it as the legitimate Government of the Congo.

It was announced that President Joseph Kasavubu, who has deposed Patrice Lumumba as Premier, had signed a "constitutional-law" decree to legalize Colonel Mobutu's position as head of the military regime.

Reports of Congo Army

Continued on Page 3, Column 1

Dalmas From Pix

A Congolese policeman arrests a rioter after violent tribal fight in Leopoldville

U. S.-BRITISH PACT ON BASES REVISED

Agreement Is 'Satisfactory,' Macmillan Says—He and President to Get All Data

By DREW MIDDLETON

Special to The New York Times.

LONDON, Oct. 25—Prime Minister Macmillan announced today the conclusion of a "satisfactory" revised agreement with the United States on the use of United States Air Force bases in Britain.

Answering Labor questions, Mr. Macmillan said that under the new arrangement "everything that takes place will be fully known to the politically responsible heads of both countries"—that is, to the President and the Prime Minister.

This answer did not satisfy Denis Healey, Labor's spokesman on foreign affairs in the House of Commons. Mr. Healey had asked whether Mr. Macmillan would assume "direct responsibility" for all flights by foreign planes from bases in Britain.

Questions by Liberal Chief

Jo Grimond, leader of the Liberal party, asked whether the British Government henceforth would be informed of all reconnaissance flights from Britain before they took place and whether the Government had "the right of veto over such flights."

Again the Prime Minister's reply appeared cautious to the Opposition.

"I think I can say," he said, "we are fully informed, on both sides, of everything that is proposed." The question of British veto power was left unanswered.

Mr. Macmillan disclosed that he had reviewed arrangements between the two countries personally with President Eisenhower during his visit to the United States last month.

The British Government initiated the discussions on revision after a political storm blew up in Britain when a United

Continued on Page 12, Column 2

Ben-Gurion Beset In Power Struggle Of Party Factions

By DANA ADAMS SCHMIDT

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25 — Premier David Ben-Gurion is engaged in a bitter power struggle against opponents within his own political party, according to uncensored reports reaching Washington from the Middle East.

The Premier and some of his younger Cabinet ministers, according to these reports, are pitted against Pinhas Lavon, head of the Israeli Trade Union Confederation, and Moshe Sharett, a former Foreign Minister and former Premier.

This is the assessment of foreign and United States diplomats of the "Lavon affair," which forced Mr. Lavon to resign as Defense Minister in 1955 and has now been revived.

Vindication Is Sought

An investigating committee in 1955 held Mr. Lavon responsible for a "mishap," the nature of which has never been disclosed. Now new evidence suggests that Mr. Lavon was the victim of forgery and he has renewed his campaign for vindication.

Middle East diplomats see Premier Ben-Gurion and his young colleagues as the elements that brought about the invasion of Egypt in 1956. These elements are believed to be willing to fight again.

The diplomats view the other faction as being composed of "Middle Easterners" who wanted to avoid a conflict then and who might make concessions now toward reaching a settlement with the Arab states.

Israeli censorship treats the "mishap" that set off the "Lavon affair" as a closely guarded secret. But Middle East diplomats said today that the "mishap" was the Israeli Army's assault on the Egyptian Army's headquarters in the Gaza Strip on Feb. 28, 1955, using the latest Israeli weapons.

The diplomats believed that Mr. Lavon's downfall had been brought about by his opposition

Continued on Page 7, Column 2

BRITON, ANDERSON DISCUSS GOLD RISE

Director of Bank of England, in Fast U. S. Trip, Confers With Treasury Officials

By RICHARD E. MOONEY

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25—An executive director of the Bank of England visited the United States Treasury today and talked about gold. The Treasury confirmed that much and no more.

The director, M. H. Parsons, conferred for two or three hours with Robert B. Anderson, Secretary of the Treasury; William McC. Martin Jr., chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, and British and United States staff members.

Mr. Parsons was in Washington last month for the annual meetings of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) and the International Monetary Fund, and had gone to Canada afterward. He left Washington again this afternoon before it was known that he had been here.

The Treasury's unrevealing description of today's conference was that it was "in keeping with our continuing policy" of keeping in touch. The immediate pressure for keeping in touch with the Bank of England was last week's spectacular strength of gold in the London gold market and elsewhere.

When the price leaped to $40 an ounce last Thursday, the Treasury reiterated its standing policy of buying from and sell-

Continued on Page 57, Column 1

persons who travel daily from Connecticut and Westchester to this city.

The program urges prompt approval by the Interstate Commerce Commission of a $6,000,000 Federally guaranteed bank loan to tide the road over until a long-term fiscal solution can be developed. It directs its staff committee to work with the I. C. C. on rehabilitation measures, and it urges the I. C. C. to expedite a report on the investigation of the road.

New England Invited

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Gov. Abraham A. Ribicoff of Connecticut announced the agreement after a two-and-a-half-hour meeting in the office of Governor Rockefeller here. Governor Ribicoff acted as spokesman for Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Wagner and Edwin G. Michaelian, Westchester County Executive. Also at the meeting was a ten-member staff committee set up by the officials earlier this month.

Governor Ribicoff said the better service that would be sought included improved on-time performance, and cleaner cars that would be warmer in winter and cooler in summer. The staff committee will work out the details, he said.

I. C. C. Informed

Governor Ribicoff reported the agreement by telephone to Kenneth H. Tuggle, a member of the I. C. C., in Washington. Mr. Tuggle agreed to receive the staff committee within the next ten days and to hear the details of the proposal.

The I. C. C., in a decision announced in Washington yesterday morning, declined to approve for the time being an application by the New Haven road for a Federal guarantee of the $6,000,000 loan under the Railroad Relief Act of 1958. The loan, without collateral and bearing 5 per cent interest, was negotiated with the Chase Manhattan Bank and other lenders.

The commission said it could

Continued on Page 78, Column 5

Associated Press

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., wearing handcuffs, being led by officer to hearing yesterday in Decatur, Ga.

Special to The New York Times.

DECATUR, Ga., Oct. 25—The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was ordered today to serve four months in prison. A judge here ruled that his participation in an Atlanta sit-in demonstration had violated the terms of a suspended sentence in a traffic case. The probation was based on non-violation of a state or Federal law for a year. Dr. King and a number of students were arrested last week after a sit-in demonstration at Rich's Department Store. Store officials have said they will not press the charges. Court and

Continued on Page 43, Column 3

KENNEDY PRESSES PRESTIGE CHARGE

Says Decline Is a Threat to Survival—Cheered in Chicago Suburbs

By W. H. LAWRENCE

Special to The New York Times.

ELMHURST, Ill., Oct. 25—Senator John F. Kennedy emphasized today his charge that United States prestige had declined and that this was a threat to the nation's survival.

Mr. Kennedy went by motorcade across the heavily Republican Chicago suburbs. He charged that the Eisenhower Administration and Vice President Nixon had "wholly misinformed" the American people when they said that United States prestige had never been higher.

Senator Kennedy proved a strong drawing card even in the most Republican areas of the Chicago suburbs. Crowd enthusiasm and the cheers of tens of thousands led Democrats like Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois to forecast surprising Democratic gains in suburbia.

Mr. Kennedy's route today took him through twenty stops in six counties on a 140-mile tour leading from O'Hare Inn Motel at Des Plaines through Libertyville, Lake Zurich, Barrington, Dundee, Elgin, St. Charles, Geneva, Batavia, Moosehart, Aurora, Plainfield, Joliet and York before returning to the motel.

Republican backers of Vice President Nixon engaged in

Continued on Page 28, Column 3

NIXON AND LODGE JOIN IN TV PLEA

Vice President Attacks Rival on Quemoy and Matsu—Pledges Lead in Space

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY

Special to The New York Times.

CINCINNATI, Oct. 25—Vice President Nixon and his running mate, Henry Cabot Lodge, tonight joined forces in a roof-raising rally designed to shift the Republican Presidential campaign into high gear.

For the first time since their nomination in Chicago, Mr. Lodge and Mr. Nixon appeared on the same platform for a major political rally. They spoke before a cheering, storming crowd of 19,000 at Cincinnati's Gardens Arena. About 10,000 more surrounded the hall unable to enter.

The rally, called the biggest indoor meeting of the Presidential campaign, marked the first nation-wide television campaign appearance by Mr. Nixon.

It was designed not only to stimulate enthusiasm for the Republican cause in the key state of Ohio, but also to increase the momentum of the campaign throughout the country.

The response of his audience was so frequent and loud that Mr. Nixon was unable to give his prepared remarks in full before the end of the half-hour of national television time that had been contracted with Columbia Broadcasting System.

The Vice President ripped into

Continued on Page 30, Column 2

nedy as a strike.

A spot check showed that summons activity was virtually nil for such offenses as illegal parking, not curbing dogs, unswept sidewalks and littering.

However, there was no indication that the traffic and motorcycle divisions, which concentrate on apprehending serious traffic violators such as speeders and drunken drivers, were not carrying out their duties.

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Shows His Anger

Until the report is in, Mr. Kennedy said at a news conference at Police Headquarters, the question of disciplinary action would be held in abeyance. But he made it clear that charges would be preferred against those responsible for the disruption of normal law enforcement.

In a burst of anger, the Commissioner also said that if "there is a strike against the enforcement of traffic regulations, deaths and injuries—especially to older persons and children, the largest part of traffic casualties—can be laid at the feet of those who violate their oath of office."

As far as could be learned this was the first time in the history of the Police Department that there had been concerted action that resulted in mass failure to carry out prescribed duties.

The lack of summons activity was in retaliation against the Commissioner's departmental crackdown on moonlighting—holding outside jobs.

It was a spontaneous underground move "at the grass-

Continued on Page 78, Column 4

11 KILLED, 75 HURT IN ONTARIO BLAST

Rescue Workers Seek More Victims in Windsor Store

By The Associated Press.

WINDSOR, Ont., Oct. 25—An explosion shattered a downtown department store filled with scores of shoppers today. Rescue workers said at least eleven persons had been killed and more than seventy-five injured.

A gas furnace was being installed in the building and Building Commissioner Pat Maguire said "there is every indication" a gas explosion occurred.

The Metropolitan Stores, Ltd., on this border city's busiest thoroughfare, caught fire from broken, crackling power lines after a major part of it went down in a heap. The fires were extinguished, however, before the death toll was increased.

Seven bodies have been recovered and an eighth person died in a hospital. A Civilian Defense worker said there still were at least three buried in debris that crashed into the basement as the 100-foot-wide building's rear roof and second floor collapsed.

One witness, only 100 feet away when the blast occurred shortly after 2 P. M., said the building "blew up like thunder" and that people were strewn over the street.

An insurance adjuster at the scene estimated damage at $500,000, "not counting stock."

The store, directly across from a Detroit River tunnel

Continued on Page 16, Column 4

Castro Seizes 166 U.S. Concerns; Americans to Shun Cuba Sugar

Havana Retaliates

By R. HART PHILLIPS

Special to The New York Times.

HAVANA, Oct. 25 — The Castro regime nationalized today 166 more enterprises owned by United States companies or United States citizens. The move was in retaliation for the United States embargo on exports to Cuba.

The embargo on exports, which was ordered last Wednesday, exempted food and medical supplies. The Castro regime immediately termed the embargo "another economic aggression."

The nationalization decree was signed shortly after midnight at the Presidential Palace. There was no official announcement, but the decree was printed this morning in the Government press.

Together with previous na-

Continued on Page 19, Column 1

Quota Set at Zero

By E. W. KENWORTHY

Special to The New York Times.

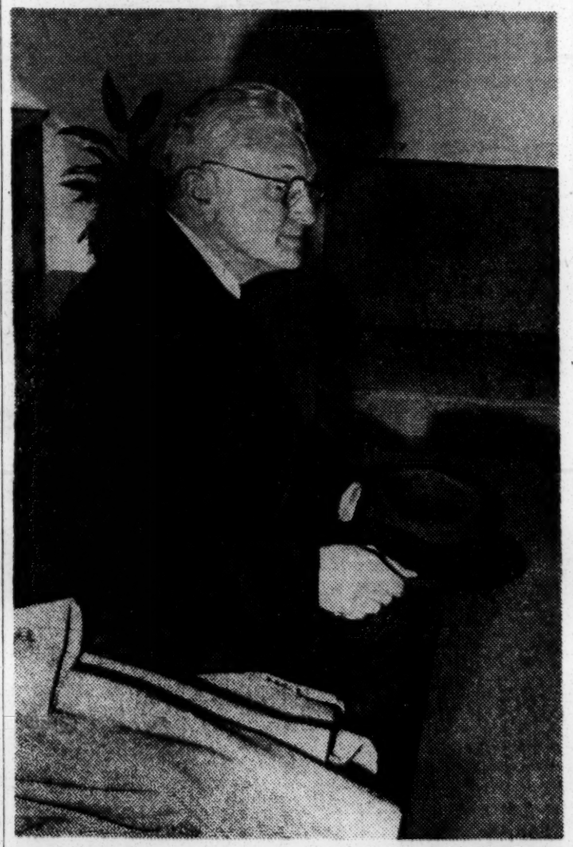
WASHINGTON, Oct. 25—The United States will not need to buy sugar from Cuba next year and does not plan to do so, Government officials said today.

Last July, Congress granted President Eisenhower authority to halt further purchases of Cuban sugar under this year's quota allotments. At that time Cuba had delivered 2,396,000 tons, about 75 per cent of her quota of 3,200,000 tons.

The executive authority to suspend purchases expires March 31. Officials said President Eisenhower was expected to ask for an extension of this authority before he left office Jan. 20.

This extension will be necessary, officials explained, be-

Continued on Page 21, Column 3



The New York Times (by Arthur Brower)

HAT IN HAND: George Alpert, president of New Haven Railroad, waits in an anteroom of Governor Rockefeller's office here. In another room, talks were going on in effort to steady precarious financial condition of the railroad.

250 Million Trade Center Here Wins Backing of Port Authority

By CHARLES GRUTZNER

A $250,000,000 World Trade Center adjoining New York's downtown financial district appeared assured yesterday.

The Port of New York Authority, which has been studying the feasibility of such a project since February, will recommend before the end of this year that it be constructed.

The authority has yet to decide whether it will finance and operate the center or will recommend the creation of a separate corporation to do so.

David Rockefeller, chairman of the executive committee of the Downtown-Lower Manhattan Association, told 450 business and financial executives and city officials yesterday that the Port Authority had twenty-eight staff members working full time on the World Trade Center study.

A report will probably be issued in December, he added.

While Mr. Rockefeller did not predict the survey findings, a subsequent check with some of the survey members showed that, with their studies 85 per cent completed, there was every indication that such a project could be started, operated, and financed successfully.

Mr. Rockefeller spoke at the Banker's Club, 120 Broadway, at the first showing of a thirteen-minute color film "The Downtown Story." It depicts developments since the Downtown-Lower Manhattan Association outlined its plan two years ago for a billion-dollar redevelopment of the area between City Hall and the Battery.

The general redevelopment program, which would involve private and government invest-

Continued on Page 32, Column 4

40 MILLION 'FOUND' FOR CITY'S BUDGET

Cut in 'Rainy Day' Allotment Being Weighed by Council

By CHARLES G. BENNETT

The Wagner administration proposed a plan yesterday to provide a "painless" $40,000,000 to $50,000,000 for the expense budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1961.

Basically, the plan would call for diverting to the city's general fund about 75 per cent of the proceeds from the public sale of properties seized by the city for unpaid taxes.

At present the entire proceeds of such sales go into the stabilization reserve fund — the so-called "rainy day fund" set up in 1955 primarily as a hedge against any excessive estimate of general fund revenues by the Controller. Under the proposed plan the "rainy day fund" would get only about 10 per cent of the sale proceeds.

It also became known yesterday that city fiscal experts were estimating that the 1961-1962 expense budget would be at least $100,000,000 higher than

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Slalom, anyone?

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SOVIET BIDS U. N. SLASH ITS BUDGET

Proposes Annual Outlay Not Exceeding $50,000,000—Hammarskjold Blamed

By DAVID ANDERSON
Special to The New York Times.

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Oct. 25—The Soviet Union proposed today that the United Nations drastically cut its expenditures to operate on a budget of not more than $50,000,000 net.

This figure would be "quite enough," in the opinion of Aleksei A. Roschin, Soviet delegate in the General Assembly's Budgetary Committee, to run the Secretariat and its affiliated agencies as well as implement important measures in the economic and social fields. The current budget hovers around $68,000,000.

Mr. Roschin told the committee that in the six years since Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold had assumed office the cost of the United Nations had risen by $20,000,000, or 50 per cent.

He recommended four steps to "restore" fiscal order:

1. Reorganization of the financing system to "make it impossible for some members to embark on political and economic programs at the expense of other member states."
2. Better utilization of existing plant and personnel—"an end to the swelling of departments, bureaus and sections."
3. Curtailment of appropriation increases, with a budget ceiling not exceeding $50,000,000. Certain items of an operative nature, subject to approval, could be covered in a special budget.
4. Improved controls and planning at headquarters.

Earlier Antoni Czarkowski of Poland asserted that Mr. Hammarskjold had contributed to a runaway budget through "lavish and wasteful spending." He echoed the concern of many delegates over mounting costs and management procedures.

The Polish spokesman objected specifically to the Secretary General's activities to ease world tension. He said that in reality they were "cold-war" maneuvers on behalf of the Western powers.

"We are under the impression that there is not sufficient control of spending and there are instances of lavish and wasteful spending," said M. Czarkowski.

He also spoke of "unchecked and spontaneous increases in costs that may have grave repercussions if resolute measures are not taken to limit them to reasonable levels." He predicted that "a considerable" number of members otherwise would find themselves unable to pay "the contributions imposed on them."

M. Czarkowski was not alone in voicing anxiety about the upward budget trend. Several delegates referred to an initial budget for 1961 of $68,085,250, a revised estimate of $72,000,000 or more and the likelihood that supplementary estimates might bring the figure closer to $75,000,000.

"The Secretary General is simply at liberty to present unlimited supplementary estimates," asserted M. Czarkowski, "and this system makes it very difficult for delegations to arrive at adequate evaluations of the merits of his proposals."

Kenjiro Chikaraishi of Japan said that since it was clearly impossible to pay for everything, a well-balanced order of priorities was needed. He declared he could not agree that expanding activities must always be accompanied by staff increases.

Economy of personnel, budget priorities and stability in appropriations were also endorsed by Martin Wong of Nationalist China and Albert Parisis of Belgium.

The Belgian delegate likewise urged "sound practice" in the supplementary estimates and "proper" controls and verification methods, as had M. Czarkowski.

U.A.R. JAILS FOREIGNERS

Six Convicted as Israeli Spies Get Terms of 7 to 15 Years

CAIRO, Oct. 25 (AP)—Six foreigners convicted of espionage for Israel were sentenced today to prison terms ranging from seven to fifteen years.

The court ordered death sentences for three of the eleven Egyptians who had been tried with the foreigners. The others got prison terms ranging up to ten years at labor. The only woman defendant, an Egyptian, was given a six-month sentence.

The foreigners and their sentences were Ferdinando Paciallo, an Italian, and Meewis Goudsward, a Dutchman, fifteen years; Raimondo di Pietro, an Italian; Dr. Fritz Katz, a West German, and Nicola Coys, a Greek, ten years, and George Stamatiou, a Greek, seven years.

The espionage charge could have meant the death penalty for the foreigners as well as for the Egyptians.

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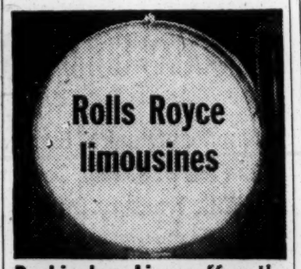

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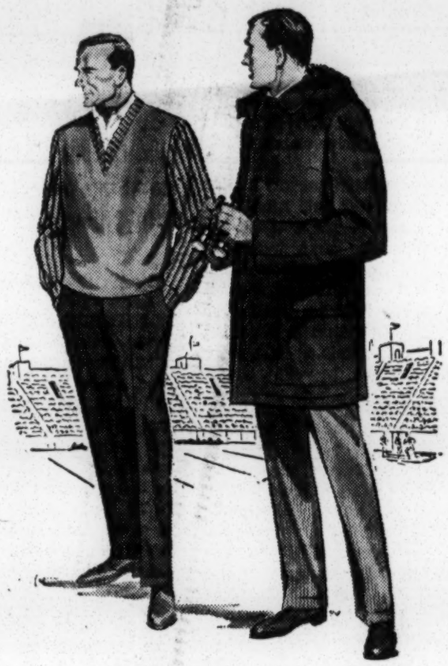

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SECOND SECTION
THURSDAY
OCTOBER 27, 1960

New York World-Telegram
The Sun

27

SECOND SECTION
EDITORIALS
COMICS—FINANCE

By RICHARD STARNES

Spritely Reading

BLESS ME, I just don't know what I'd do without the Sunday Pictorial, a weekly for the young in heart published in Fetter Lane, London, E.C.4.

The Pictorial practices a brand of hyperthyroid journalism which, happily, is seldom seen in this country. I mean, in Blighty if a chap wants to stay current on the life and loves of Nellie McGrail, a widow who won 200,000 quid in a football pool, he jolly well has to cough up 4d. for the Pictorial. Likewise if he wants to remain abreast of the problems of the poor chap who pulled seven years in Wormwood Scrubs prison on a bum rap, or the fact that Queen Farah has been assured by court physicians that they are 80 percent certain her expected child will be a boy.

Richard Starnes

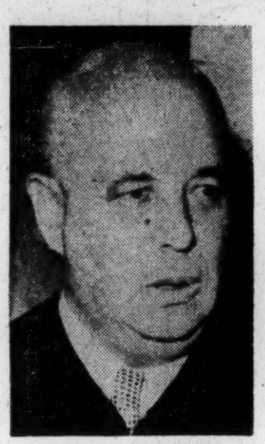
My diet of periodical literature ranges from the Harvard Business Review to Mad magazine, but nowhere in this spectrum is a journal where a man can go to find out what's doing fairywise. That is why I read the Pictorial, and you can use that as an indorsement if only you'll spell the old name correctly. The Pictorial has a chap, Tom Riley by name, who is simply wizard at staying up with the doings of these elfin sprites, and he writes about them with an insouciance that fair warms the heart. Why just in last Sunday's Pictorial, colleague Riley wrote a smashing interview with one Marjorie Johnson, of Nottingham, who is secretary of the Fairy Lore Society. She is about to publish a book on the results of a life spent in the study of these shy creatures. The working title is "Fairy Vision," and in Mr. Riley's restrained prose, it "is believed to be the world's first 'Kinsey Report' on THE SEX LIFE OF FAIRIES."

Naturally any red-blooded reader is going to snort like a moose after gumming his way through a lead paragraph of that octane rating, and I got blood as red as the next chap's. In any event, I tore through every nourishing paragraph of Mr. Riley's story and I am now in a position to report that fairies are polygamous, bisexual and disappear at will in the presence of non-believers. This, of course, explains why people who don't believe in fairies never see them; and, to be sure, they never will as long as they continue not to believe in them. Non-believers are a churlish and suspicious lot, and few are going to become believers in fairies unless they do see one. It is a vicious circle, like.

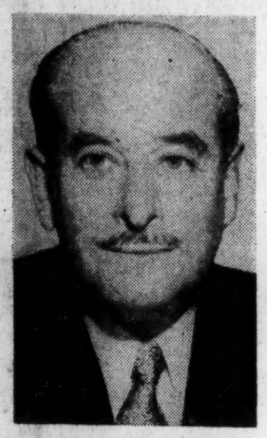
But Miss Johnson of Nottingham is beloved by all fairies and, with the help of a corps of "fairy spotters" placed at likely hives through the United Kingdom and, of course, Eire, she has amassed a tremendous fund of knowledge regarding fairies. "It has taken me years of study to win their friendship and discover the secrets of their sex life," Mr. Riley quotes her. "But anyone who is admitted to their circle of fairy friendship is very fortunate."

Say what you will, fairies live on a higher plane than we mortals do. They, so to speak, think their children into being, which sounds a lot less troublesome than our own system. Fairy babies are usually tucked away in the petals of a flower until they are ready to solo. That is a beautiful concept when you think about it.

No one wants to [illegible]


JUDGE LEIBOWITZ.

JUDGE VALENTE.


JUSTICE COOPER.

D. A. HOGAN.

When Justice Goes Awry

Sentences Vary Widely for Identical Offenses

This article concludes a report on the rate of crime in the city and the chances of getting away with it. The author's findings are based on an extensive survey.

By WILLIAM LONGGOOD,
World-Telegram Staff Writer.

Buried deep in the files of the Kings County Court is the case of three bookmakers—a story with a moral for all who are interested in the travails of crime and punishment, of justice and injustice.

The story was played out several months ago when Kings County Court Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz sentenced two brothers who were making book to three months and one year respectively in city prison. Their leader jumped bail but more than a year later surrendered and went before another judge—to be sentenced to only a $500 fine on the bail-jumping charge and a suspended sentence for making book.

Major Injustices.

This dramatizes a major injustice that is a cancer in the administration of criminal law—the disparity of sentences given offenders.

Judge Leibowitz recently drew a bead on this aspect of [illegible] might dole out a sentence of one year while another judge of the same court, for a similar crime, may mete out a 10-year term. The terms of sentence vary, not because of different circumstances, but because two judges have different feelings about the same type of crime.

No Formula.

"A downstate court may slap a burglar's wrist while an upstate court may impose the maximum term. There is no formula or pattern—no objectivity. Imagine what happens to the prisoner when he learns in prison that he will spend years behind bars while his cellmate is looking for [illegible] more vicious than their earlier crimes?"

Perhaps more important, he continued, is the problem of rehabilitation.

"In the Middle Ages a prison was operated as a place of incarceration and punishment. Today the public expects that prisons should also rehabilitate; that the prisoner leave the prison a better person—a more useful person—an asset to the community.

"What a fine philosophy! Our rehabilitation system in practice has been an abject, dismal failure."

The problem of sentencing also has led to sharp exchanges between judges and prosecutors. Two years ago [illegible] the judge's integrity, but he still disagreed with the sentence.

At the same time Assistant DA Jerome Kidder charged that "wrist-slapping" had become a pattern in General Sessions in fraud cases.

Cooper's Frustration.

The thorny question of sentencing criminals has caused many conscientious judges sleepless nights. Irving Ben Cooper resigned last year as Chief Justice of Special Sessions because he felt unable to mete out just sentences.

"I knew we were just guessing on justice," he said. "You can't tell if a young fellow is a hoodlum by looking at him. I was just sick at heart not to be able to give true justice."

After 21 years on the bench, Justice Cooper said he was dismayed because of the city's failure to provide adequate probation services so that justices could be fully acquainted with a defendant's background before sentencing.

Difficult Question.

Another judge who has brooded over the question of sentencing is Francis L. Valente, of the New York Appellate Division, Supreme [illegible]

WHAT THEY SAY . . .

JUDGE SAMUEL LEIBOWITZ: We have a "chaotic hit or miss system" of imposing sentences on criminals—a system "long past due for complete overhaul."

JUDGE FRANCIS L. VALENTE: "Sentencing is one of the most difficult problems that confront a judge of a criminal court."

FORMER JUSTICE IRVING BEN COOPER: "I was just sick at heart not to be able to give true justice."

DISTRICT ATTORNEY FRANK HOGAN: He called a judge's failure to jail a convicted swindler "a complete perversion of justice."

By DICKSON PRESTON

The Best Days Of Pat's Life

ON TOUR WITH NIXON, Oct. 27.—For Pat Nixon the two best days of this Presidential campaign will be the day it began and the day it will end.

She's tired. It shows in her finely drawn face, in her eyes when she's off guard, in the thinner lines of her always-slim figure. Win or lose, she'll be glad when it's over.

Dickson Preston

She recalls—as if it were years ago—that rainy morning in September when she and Dick set off from Baltimore with President Eisenhower waving farewell.

The great adventure was just beginning, and to Pat Nixon it *was* a great adventure—then.

On that first day she felt the excitement as the fresh campaign party traveled by jet plane in a single day to all parts of the country—East, Midwest, South, Far West. They ended up "back home" in San Francisco.

Jet age campaigning was wonderful.

Now it is many plane trips, motorcades, train rides, speeches, teas, interviews and receptions later.

"I do enjoy campaigning," she says. And the way she handles her role as campaign wife shows she means it. But nothing can be fun forever.

There have been trying moments even on this week's whistle-stop tour of industrial states which in general has been a morale-builder after last week's discouraging days in New York City.

One such came yesterday. Her husband was off the train making a speech, and Pat was alone on the rear platform. Below her, scores of teen-agers were clamoring for autographs.

She passed out the few signed cards she had in her purse and inadvertently started a near-riot. Those who had been left out climbed on the platform, grabbed at her hands and yelled for more.

She rushed into the Presidential car, grabbed a huge bouquet of red roses and tossed them to the youngsters. Then she retired inside for a few moments of peace.

"Train campaigning is tougher than airplane campaigning," Pat has decided. "On a train, there is seldom a time when you can just relax and be by yourself. There are always people to greet and shake hands with."

Plane or train, there are incidents like the one last night in Lima, Ohio. There the Nixons' open convertible was cut off by a cheering crowd as it returned to the train from a rally.

No one could move because of the press of hundreds of people who'd been waiting all day to shake the hands of the Nixons.

For half a dozen reporters, jammed so close to the car we could scarcely breathe, it was a rare chance to fire questions at the Republican Presidential candidate.

For 10 minutes he fired back answers. Since most of them were highly technical, dealing with the major speech he was to make in Toledo a few hours later, the event undoubtedly made journalistic history as the first press con-

a moose after gumming his way through a lead paragraph of that octane rating, and I got blood as red as the next chap's. In any event, I tore through every nourishing paragraph of Mr. Riley's story and I am now in a position to report that fairies are polygamous, bisexual and disappear at will in the presence of non-believers. This, of course, explains why people who don't believe in fairies never see them; and, to be sure, they never will as long as they continue not to believe in them. Non-believers are a churlish and suspicious lot, and few are going to become believers in fairies unless they do see one. It is a vicious circle, like.

But Miss Johnson of Nottingham is beloved by all fairies and, with the help of a corps of "fairy spotters" placed at likely hives through the United Kingdom and, of course, Eire, she has amassed a tremendous fund of knowledge regarding fairies. "It has taken me years of study to win their friendship and discover the secrets of their sex life," Mr. Riley quotes her. "But anyone who is admitted to their circle of fairy friendship is very fortunate."

Say what you will, fairies live on a higher plane than we mortals do. They, so to speak, think their children into being, which sounds a lot less troublesome than our own system. Fairy babies are usually tucked away in the petals of a flower until they are ready to solo. That is a beautiful concept when you think about it.

No one wants to criticize a fellow toiler in this happy vineyard, but I was faintly disappointed that Mr. Riley went on about fairies for a column and a half and never once answered the first question that popped into my head. I mean, what with this speedy reproduction and all, what about a population explosion of fairies? Just think of the U.N. some day hearing a real fairy making a speech pleading for *lebensraum*. But the best I could do was to draw inferences from the following bit of expertese from Miss Johnson: "A fairy never dies. It merely passes to a higher plane."

Not a wholly satisfactory answer, of course, but if you think I'm going to Nottingham to improve on it, you've gone crackers.

crime and punishment, of justice and injustice.

The story was played out several months ago when Kings County Court Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz sentenced two brothers who were making book to three months and one year respectively in city prison. Their leader jumped bail but more than a year later surrendered and went before another judge—to be sentenced to only a $500 fine on the bail-jumping charge and a suspended sentence for making book.

Major Injustices.

This dramatizes a major injustice that is a cancer in the administration of criminal law—the disparity of sentences given offenders.

Judge Leibowitz recently drew a bead on this aspect of "justice" when he labeled prisons as "stew pots where the good is destroyed and the bad is nurtured and developed." Emphasizing that he wasn't taking pot shots at any judge or court, he continued:

"What I am castigating is a dangerous antedeluvian system that borders on silliness and is long past due for complete overhaul. . . .

"A judge in one court no formula or pattern—no precedent has been an object, objectivity. Imagine what happens to the prisoner when he learns in prison that he will spend years behind bars while his cellmate is looking forward to parole because he got a break."

Charging that we have a "chaotic hit or miss system," Judge Leibowitz said:

"How successful have we been when 60 percent of the discharged prisoners throughout the nation recidivate and in New York City 85 percent of the discharged prisoners commit new crimes, many dismal failure."

The problem of sentencing also has led to sharp exchanges between judges and prosecutors. Two years ago Frank Hogan, New York County DA, exploded when General Sessions Judge John M. Cannella failed to jail Maurice Spiritos of Newburgh, a lawyer convicted of masterminding a $100,000 fake-claim swindle on insurance companies.

"An outrage," cried Mr. Hogan, "a complete perversion of justice." The district attorney emphasized that his blast in no way reflected on felt unable to mete out just sentences.

"I knew we were just guessing on justice," he said. "You can't tell if a young fellow is a hoodlum by looking at him. I was just sick at heart not to be able to give true justice."

After 21 years on the bench, Justice Cooper said he was dismayed because of the city's failure to provide adequate probation services so that justices could be fully acquainted with a defendant's background before sentencing.

Difficult Question.

Another judge who has brooded over the question of sentencing is Francis L. Valente, of the New York Appellate Division, Supreme Court. In reducing the sentence of a convict he felt had been dealt with too harshly, he stated:

"Sentencing is one of the most difficult problems that confront a judge of a criminal court. After guilt has been established or acknowledged, when to be severe, when to be merciful, when to impose no sentence at all can cause many uneasy moments for the conscientious judge. . ."

WHAT THEY SAY . . .

JUDGE SAMUEL LEIBOWITZ: We have a "chaotic hit or miss system" of imposing sentences on criminals—a system "long past due for complete overhaul."

JUDGE FRANCIS L. VALENTE: "Sentencing is one of the most difficult problems that confront a judge of a criminal court."

FORMER JUSTICE IRVING BEN COOPER: "I was just sick at heart not to be able to give true justice."

DISTRICT ATTORNEY FRANK HOGAN: He called a judge's failure to jail a convicted swindler "a complete perversion of justice."

and inadvertently started a near-riot. Those who had been left out climbed on the platform, grabbed at her hands and yelled for more.

She rushed into the Presidential car, grabbed a huge bouquet of red roses and tossed them to the youngsters. Then she retired inside for a few moments of peace.

"Train campaigning is tougher than airplane campaigning," Pat has decided. "On a train, there is seldom a time when you can just relax and be by yourself. There are always people to greet and shake hands with."

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No one could move because of the press of hundreds of people who'd been waiting all day to shake the hands of the Nixons.

For half a dozen reporters, jammed so close to the car we could scarcely breathe, it was a rare chance to fire questions at the Republican Presidential candidate.

For 10 minutes he fired back answers. Since most of them were highly technical, dealing with the major speech he was to make in Toledo a few hours later, the event undoubtedly made journalistic history as the first press conference on atomic energy ever held in the middle of a howling mob.

But for Pat Nixon, it was one more moment to be patient.

She passed out more autographed cards, shook more hands, kept her campaign smile on straight. When a teen-age boy shouted, "gee, the next President of the United States!" she gave him a special smile and a big bunch of autographs.

"Here, honey," she said. "Why don't you pass these out yourself?"

And she sat and thought of that second best day of the campaign—Nov. 9—when she'll be able to relax and once more be herself, whether as first lady or simply as wife and mother.

By INEZ ROBB

Biggest Sit-in of All

IT IS possible, probably, to please all of the people some of the time and some of the people all of the time, but never, never, NEVER all of the people all of the time in an election year.

Granted the above premise, still and all, the Presidential election year of 1960 will surely go down in history as the one distinguished by the highest percentage of malcontents among the voters.

Inez Robb

A careful study of the polls, from Gallup to breakfast, indicates that the American voter believes that on Nov. 8, he faces Hobson's choice and wants none of it.

The most common and widespread reaction to the pollsters' query re the voter's Presidential choice is, and I quote:

"I don't like either guy and I'm gonna sit this one out. I'm not gonna waste my time votin'."

There is every indication that the Presidential election of 1960 may go down in history as The Great Wallflower Election, with everyone sitting it out, no one wanting to waltz either candidate and the band playing "Take Me Out to the Ball Game" or "They're All Out of Step But Me."

* * *

Polls and pollsters have multiplied like rabbits since 1936 when the tottering old Literary Digest, may it rest in peace, followed down the drain its stubborn and unfaltering poll that predicted right up to election day that Alfred M. Landon would murder F. D. Roosevelt. (I have often suspected that the late Literary Digest tossed into the wastebasket all ballots like mine that suggested FDR had an outside chance.) chance.)

In 1960 I am particularly impressed by the newspapers that have sent out their own individual pollsters to cross the country by foot, bus and pogo stick. These lads may not cross-question many voters but, by golly, no one can deny they are turning up some characters who are dillies.

But the polls, whether professional or parochial, all indicate that what the Democrats and the Republicans are running is an Unpopularity Contest. There are days when I get the impression that only two small groups are going to turn up at the polls on Nov. 8: the Kennedys and Mrs. Nixon and Checkers.

* * *

During the past four Presidential elections, it was loudly acclaimed that citizens of the United States go to the polls not to vote FOR but to vote AGAINST a party and a candidate. But the election of '60 is unique in that the electorate is hedging all bets by being against not one but both candidates, according to the polls. Two for the price of one, as 'twere.

The polls have turned up a lot of dreamers, too, who rearrange the tickets nearer to their hearts' desire. That's America, that's unreconstructed idealism for you! There are the Democrats who say they'd go to the polls if only LBJ headed the ticket and Jack were in the second slot. And there are wistful Republicans who could vote on Nov. 8 if only Hank were No. 1 and Dick continued as Vice President.

* * *

The pollsters have turned up still another furious category of shut-ins come Nov. 8. They're jes' gonna set and rock on Election Day because neither party had the sense to give the voters a ticket headed by Sen. Barry Goldwater and seconded by Sen. Harry Byrd.

Another equally vociferous group believes it has been cheated of political salvation by the lack of a ticket headed by Sen. Byrd with Sen. Goldwater as his running mate.

With so many citizens madder'n a hatter, planning to go climb a poll and pull it up after them, it doesn't hardly seem worthwhile to hold an election for the handful of us who are still strangely for voting.

SIDE GLANCES

I'd like to try whatever it is that's referred to as 'the works'!

By HARRIET VAN HORNE

Wonders Never Cease

CAN MACHINES think?

I don't know about you, but questions of this sort tend to unsettle me. It's like the Sunday supplement articles that used to ask, "Will insects inherit the earth?"

Accompanying these articles—this was back in the days of my childhood when Sunday supplements weren't written for children—was an artist's sketch. It showed us what a giant beetle with 24 claws would do to the half-naked blondes of this planet 100,000 years hence.

Harriet Van Horne

Well, there were no artist's fantasies accompanying last evening's program about thinking machines. There were some wildly funny film clips, though, showing mad inventors invoking their muse with whirring masses of Rube Goldberg machinery. One wished there were more. For the electronic computers at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology—the real stars of this show—were on the dull side.

This CBS special, one of several to be offered under the general heading of "Tomorrow!" made an earnest effort to tell us how computing machines compute. Everything was said three times in patient words of one syllable.

For example, an MIT scientist would tell us, "The computer is dependent upon the information man feeds into it."

Lest this point be over our poor heads, David Wayne, our most amiable host, then would say, "You mean, Doctor, that the machine has to operate by a set of rules man sets up for it?"

* * *

This may not be a precise quote but it's the true flavor of the colloquy between Dr. Science and Mr. Layman, whose first name has doubtless been whispered to the computer as "Ignorant."

During our seminar at MIT last night we saw a computer play checkers and close the game with, "Too bad you lost. Thanks for the game." I wonder—has anybody up at MIT ever slugged a computer?

We saw scenes from a television Western written by the TX-O, a big, talented computer that ought to hire an agent (a small, dapper computer that calls everybody Sweetheart) and submit some scripts to Gunsmoke. Nothing much happened in this machine-tooled Western. But it's the sort of thing that happens 30 times a night on your screen and mine.

One amusing bit crept in, probably over the prostrate form of the scientist tending this machine. Levers jammed somewhere—you've heard of writer's block?—and for a full minute the sheriff drank the robber's whisky while the robber just stood there, spinning the barrels of his gun. I suspect there's a moral in this scene but I'm not going to spell it out. Suffice to say, the giant beetle may be out there in the wings right now, chomping on the cactus.

* * *

One of the experiments shown last night struck me as too elementary to make such a fuss and bother about. As I hardly need point out, I'm no scientist, but I fail to see the point of "demonstrating" to the nation a simple fact known to the average child. That is, that ducks have an instinctive fear of hawks.

A duckling raised in isolation was shown a silhouette of a goose. No response. Then over his innocent duckling head there passed the dark shadow of a hawk. Absolute terror. Nobody conditioned this fear in the duckling, therefore we call it instinct. The computer's instinct, by contrast, is given it by man.

What made the duckling experiment remarkable in my eyes was that the cut-out of the hawk looked exactly like a child's model airplane. Now, then, do ducklings have an instinctive fear of model airplanes? There's a question to put to TX-O some day when it's not playing checkers.

It was lovely of CBS and MIT to go to all the trouble of showing us computers at work. My trouble is that I can't get interested in the problems computers work on.

By ANDREW TULLY

Both Candidates Have Top Flight Help

AS A MEMBER of the party in power, Vice President Richard M. Nixon has a big advantage in both the number and celebrity of his campaign helpers as the Presidential race goes into its stretch run.

Andrew Tully

Mr. Nixon will get aid and comfort during the next 10 days from President Eisenhower and a stable that includes New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller and a batch of Cabinet officers. His Democratic opponent, Sen. John F. Kennedy, has former President Harry S. Truman and Adlai E. Stevenson, plus a scattering of Senators and Governors.

The Vice President's biggest asset is Gen. Eisenhower, who is scheduled for three campaign appearances during the stretch drive.

Cabinet officers and other high officials are fanned out over the country, speaking in Mr. Nixon's behalf. Both Labor Secretary James R. Mitchell and Welfare Secretary Arthur S. Flemming are making five appearances this week. Commerce Secretary Frederick H. Mueller is making three.

* * *

Mr. Nixon is benefiting from campaign talks by Dudley C. Sharpe, Under Secretary of the Air Force; Murray Snyder, Assistant Secretary of Defense, and Gilmore Flues, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. By the weekend, Gov. Rockefeller will have made seven appearances this week and former New York Gov. Thomas E. Dewey two.

Traveling with Mr. Nixon are Attorney General William C. Rogers and Interior Secretary Fred A. Seaton. The weekly GOP Political Calendar also listed a speech by Secretary of the Navy William B. Franke at chartering ceremonies of the Rutland, Vt., council of the Navy League.

Of the other Cabinet officers, Secretary of State Christian A. Herter and Defense Secretary Thomas S. Gates Jr. are not campaigning, although Mr. Gates was listed as a speaker at a GOP fund-raising dinner in Oregon last January. (His speech was read for him when his plane was grounded.)

* * *

Treasury Secretary Robert B. Anderson has made only one speech, and Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson, on an official tour of South America, has not been asked to campaign "extensively."

For Sen. Kennedy, Mr. Truman was in Seattle today and will be in New York Nov. 2 and 3, and in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh Nov. 3 and 4. Mr. Stevenson was in New York's Westchester County today, and will be in Chicago Saturday, Portland, Ore., Sunday, and California Nov. 1-5.

Meanwhile, Tennessee Sen. Estes Kefauver is on a month-long, 21-state swing for Sen. Kennedy—the most sustained of any in support of the Democratic candidate. Also scattering about the country, generally for one-shot appearances, are Sens. Stuart Symington (Mo.), Albert Gore (Ten.) and J. William Fulbright (Ark.).

Facing election contests of their own, Sens. Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.) and Paul Douglas (Ill.) are sticking to their own states, but Connecticut Gov. Abraham Ribicoff and California Gov. Pat Brown are doing what they can wherever called upon.

From Georgia Voters' Registration Act (As Amended Through 1960)

SECTION 17

When an applicant appears before the Board of Registrars for examination, the Board shall proceed as hereinafter provided.

(a) If the applicant applies for registration and seeks to qualify on the basis of literacy, the Board shall submit to him a section of the Constitution of Georgia or of the United States and the applicant shall be required to read it aloud and write it in the English language. If the applicant reads the section intelligibly and writes it legibly, possesses the other necessary qualifications and is not disqualified for any reason, the card shall be marked approved and the applicant shall be considered a registered voter. Otherwise, the registration card shall be marked rejected. If the applicant states that solely because of physical disability, he is unable to read or write, the section shall be read to him by any member of the Board and he shall be called upon to give a reasonable interpretation thereof. The interpretation shall be in the applicant's own words, giving words the significance ordinarily attached to them by a layman of average intellect and attainments. If, in the opinion of the Board, the applicant gives such a reasonable interpretation, possesses the other necessary qualifications and is not disqualified for any reason, the card shall be marked approved and the applicant shall be considered a registered voter. Otherwise, the registration card shall be marked rejected.

(b) If the applicant applies for registration and seeks to qualify on the basis of his good character and his understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government, he shall be given an examination based upon a standard list of questions as hereinafter provided.

(c) In all situations arising under this law where the applicant of the voter, as the case may be, is required to be served with a notice of a hearing, said notice, unless otherwise provided herein, shall specify a date not less than one nor more than 30 days after the date of the notice. The notice may be served by mailing it to the applicant or the voter at the address given on his registration card. The registrars, if present or in session at the time an application is filed, may proceed to the examination of the applicant instanter and without notice.

(d) Failure to appear at the time specified in any notice given under the provisions of this law shall constitute cause for rejecting an application or of removing a voter's name from the list. In either event, no new application for registration shall be received from any such person until after the beginning of the new calendar year. Provided, however, an application may be reinstated and a voter's name returned to the list on motion of such person if he can prove in fact that he was not servedwith or furnished with a notice.

(e) In all cases under this section and under this law where an application is rejected or a voter's name is removed from the list, the registrars on the day of such event shall notify such person by mail addressed to the address shown on the registration card. If any adverse decision is reached when such person is present and he is so notified by the Board, no written notice shall be required.

PROVISIONS OF CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1960

TITLE I

Provided that persons who obstructed or interfered with any order issued by a federal court, or attempted to do so, by threats or force, could be punished by a fine of up to $1,000, imprisonment of up to one year, or both. Such acts could also be prevented by private suits seeking court injunctions against them.

TITLE II

Made it a federal crime to cross state lines to avoid prosecution or punishment for, or giving evidence on, the bombing or burning of any building, facility or vehicle, or an attempt to do so. Penalties could be a fine of up to $5,000, or imprisonment of up to five years, or both.

Made it a federal crime to transport or possess explosives with the knowledge or intent that they would be used to blow up any vehicle or building. Allowed the presumption, after any bombing occurred, that the explosives used were transported across state lines (therefore allowing the FBI to investigate any bombing case), but stipulated that this would have to be proved before the person could be convicted. Penalties could be imprisonment of up to one year and/or $1,000 fine; if personal injury resulted, 10 years and/or $10,000 fine; if death resulted, life imprisonment or a death penalty if recommended by a jury.

Made it a federal crime to use interstate facilities, such as telephones, to threaten a bombing or give a false bomb-scare, punishable by imprisonment of up to one year or a fine of up to $1,000, or both.

TITLE III

Required that voting records and registration papers for all federal elections, including primaries, must be preserved for 22 months. Penalties for failing to comply or for stealing, destroying or mutilating the records could be a fine of up to $1,000, and/or imprisonment for one year.

Directed that the records, upon written application, be turned over to the Attorney General "or his representative" at the office of the records' custodian.

Unless directed otherwise by a court, the Justice Department representative must not disclose the content of the records except to Congress, a government agency, or in a court proceeding.

The federal district court where the records were located, or in which the demand for the records were made, could force voting officials to comply.

TITLE IV

Empowered the Civil Rights Commission, which was extended for two years in 1959, to administer oaths and take sworn statements.

TITLE V

Stated that arrangements might be made to provide for the education of children of members of the armed forces when the schools those children regularly attended had been closed to avoid integration and the U.S. Commissioner of Education had decided that no other educational agency would provide for their schooling. Amended the laws on aid to impacted school districts (PL 81-815, PL 81-874) to this effect.

TITLE VI

Provided that after the Attorney General won a civil suit brought under the 1957 Civil Rights Act to protect Negroes' right to vote, he could then ask the court to hold another adversary proceeding and make a separate finding that there was a "pattern or practice" of depriving Negroes of the right to vote in the area involved in the suit.

If a court found such a "pattern or practice", any Negro living in that area could apply to the court to issue an order declaring him qualified to vote if he proved (1) he was qualified to vote under state law; (2) he had tried to register after the "pattern or practice" finding; and (3) he had not been allowed to register or had been found unqualified by someone acting under color of law. The court would have to hear the Negro's application within 10 days and its order would be effective for as long a period as that for which he would have been qualified to vote if registered under state law.

State officials would be notified of the order, and they would then be bound to permit the person to vote. Disobedience would be subject to contempt of court proceedings.

To carry out these provisions, the court may appoint one or more voting referees, who must be qualified voters in the judicial district. The referees would receive the applications, take evidence, and report their findings to the court. The referee must take the Negro's application and proof in an ex parte proceeding (without cross-examination by opponents) and the court may set the time and place for the referee's hearing.

The court may fix a time limit of up to 10 days, in which state officials may challenge the referee's report. Challenges on points of law must be accompanied by a memorandum and on points of fact by a verified copy of a public record or an affidavit by those with personal knowledge of the controverting evidence. Either the court or the referee may decide the challenges in accordance with court-directed procedures. Hearings on issues of fact could be held only when the affidavits show there is a real issue of fact. The referee's report would be the deciding factor in issues of the applicant's literacy. If the objections were dismissed, either the court or the referee could issue the Negro a certificate declaring him qualified to vote.

If a Negro has applied for a court certificate 20 or more days before the election, his application is challenged, and the case is not decided by election day, the court must allow him to vote provisionally, provided he is "entitled to vote under state law", and impound his ballot pending a decision on his application. If he applies within 20 days before the election, the court has the option of whether or not to let him vote.

The court would not be limited in its powers to enforce its decree that these Negroes be allowed to vote and their votes be counted and may authorize the referee to take action to enforce it.

The referees would have the powers conferred on court masters by rule 53(c) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure. (Rule 53(c) gives masters the right to subpena records, administer oaths and cross-examine witnesses.)

In any suit instituted under these provisions, the state would be held responsible for the actions of its officials and, in the event state officials resign and are not replaced, the state itself could be sued.

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INSTRUCTIONS TO INSPECTORS

All references made herein are to sections of the "Election Laws of Hawaii Revised —1960," a booklet compiled for the purpose of facilitating the conduct of the elections.

BOARD OF ELECTION INSPECTORS

Sec. 11-27

APPOINTMENT:

The Inspectors shall be appointed by the Governor, so far as reasonably practicable, from opposing political parties.

VACANCY:

In case of inability, failure or refusal of any person so appointed to act as such Inspector, the Governor shall, so far as reasonably practicable, appoint a person to fill such vacancy from the same party that such Inspector so failing to act belonged to; **provided**, however, that if it is impossible to communicate with the Governor in time for him to make such appointment before the election is held, the remaining Inspector or Inspectors shall make the appointment.

AUTHORITY OF:

The Board of Election Inspectors of each voting unit shall have authority as such Inspectors only in its unit.

NUMBER OF:

(a) In precincts of only one voting unit there shall be 3 Inspectors, one of whom shall be Chairman.

(b) In precincts of more than one voting unit there shall be 1 Chairman for all the voting units, and 2 Inspectors for each voting unit.

The Chairman, and the 2 Inspectors of each voting unit shall constitute the Board of Election Inspectors of the respective units.

QUALIFICATION:

Inspectors shall be registered voters of the precincts in which they serve.

RATE OF PAY:

Voting units having registered voters of—

not more than 200	$20 Chairman $15 each Inspector
201 to 400	$25 Chairman $20 each Inspector
more than 400	$30 Chairman $25 each Inspector

CLERKS

Sec. 11-29

APPOINTMENT:

The Clerks of each unit are appointed by the Chairman, and the 2 Inspectors of the unit.

Where 2 Clerks are authorized by law they shall be selected, as far as reasonably practicable, from the opposing political parties.

NUMBER OF:

(a) In precincts of only one voting unit and having from 301 to 500 registered voters — 1 Clerk may be appointed

(b) In precincts of only one voting unit and having more than 500 registered voters — 2 Clerks may be appointed

(c) In precincts of more than one voting unit.
2 Clerks may be appointed for each unit

(d) In precincts of only one voting unit and having more than 800 registered voters the Governor may authorize the appointment of additional Clerks.

QUALIFICATION:
Clerks shall be registered voters of the precincts in which they serve.

CANDIDATE NOT ELIGIBLE:
No candidate shall be eligible to serve as Clerk in the same election in which he is a candidate; no candidate who failed of nomination in the Primary Election shall be eligible to serve as Clerk in the General Election next following the Primary Election.

RATE OF PAY:
$20 for each election.

Duties of Inspectors Prior to Election Day

Par. 1. **CHAIRMAN:** The Chairman is responsible for the performance by himself and by his board of those acts which are required of him and the other Inspectors to be done by law. When necessary, the duties required of the Chairman may be performed by any Inspector.

Par. 2. **POSTING REGISTER OF ELECTORS:** Sec. 11-14 and 11-30(a). The "Official Register of Electors" is sent direct to the Chairman by the County Clerk, and it is the duty of the Chairman to post them as soon as received. Where there are two or more voting units at a polling place, the County Clerk shall furnish separate "Official Register of Electors" for each unit.

Par. 3. **POSTING ELECTION PROCLAMATIONS:** Sec. 11-30(b). Election proclamations shall be posted at least seven days before election day in three public and frequented places in each precinct.

Par. 4. **BALLOTS:** On no account open the sealed packages of ballots until Election Day: Sec. 11-44 and then only in accordance with Sec. 11-50, par. 2.

Par. 5. **PREPARATION OF POLLING PLACES:** Sec. 11-30(d) and Sec. 11-32 through 36. The Inspectors shall see to it that their respective polling places are prepared in accordance with the provisions of these sections. These matters should be attended to a sufficient length of time before each election to insure that the polling place be ready for use on election day at 7:00 a.m. They should also see to it that the ballot boxes are in condition for use at elections.

Par. 6. **WITHDRAWAL OF CANDIDATES:** Sec. 11-3, par. 4 and 5 and 11-41 and follow the procedure these outline. See also Sec. 11-30(j), as to **Posting Withdrawals and Names of New Candidates,** and Sec. 11-42, as to **Insertion of Names of New Candidates** on ballots. Further instructions will be furnished by the Office of the Lieutenant Governor or the County Clerk, as the case may be, when the occasion arises.

Duties of Inspectors During Election Day
Conduct of Election During Voting Hours

Par. 7. **IN CHARGE OF ELECTION:** The Inspectors preside at the election, have full charge of same and preserve order at the polls: Sec. 11-30(d). They also may administer oaths, whenever authorized so to do by the law governing elections: Sec. 11-31. For **general duties,** see Sec. 11-30, and for **conduct of elections:** Secs. 11-46 through 59.

Par. 8. **HOURS FOR VOTING:** On Primary Election Day, the polls in the **First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh** and **Eighteenth Representative Districts** shall be opened by the Inspectors at 7:00 a.m., and shall be kept open continuously until 5:00 p.m. on said day; the polls in the **Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth,** and **Seventeenth Representative Districts** shall

be opened by the Inspectors at 7:00 a.m., and shall be kept open continuously until 5:30 p.m. on said day; on General Election Day, the polls shall be opened by the Inspectors at 7:00 a.m. and shall be kept open continuously until 5:30 p.m. on said day; **provided, that if, at the closing hour for voting, any voter desiring to vote shall be standing in line outside the entrance of the booth with the purpose of entering and voting, but due to the booth being overcrowded has been unable to so do, he shall be permitted to vote irrespective of the closing hour for voting; provided, however, that no voter shall be permitted to enter or join such line after the prescribed hour for closing the polls:** Secs. 11-46 and 11-102. If all of the registered voters of the precinct have polled their votes previously to the closing time, the polls may be closed earlier and the votes counted as by law provided: Sec. 11-46.

Par. 9. **ADMISSION WITHIN POLLING PLACE; PENALTY.** The Inspectors shall, prior to opening the polls, set apart an area of three hundred feet in radius around the polling place (excepting private residences, buildings, and other private establishments falling within such radius) to prevent interference with the conduct of the election, and no person, other than the inspectors, the candidates and such voters as are for the time being actually engaged in voting or going to and returning therefrom, shall be permitted within the area so set apart during the time appointed for voting, except that public sidewalks, alleys, roads, streets and highways falling within such three hundred foot radius shall be open to persons and vehicles passing through on such alleys, roads, streets and highways. **Any other person who remains or loiters within the area so set apart during the time appointed for voting shall be fined not more than $500 or imprisoned not more than six months, or both; provided,** that in the event a voter is manifestly physically disabled, such voter may be assisted by anyone through the area so set apart, and (see Sec. 11-58) any voter who is assisting a disabled voter in marking his ballots, shall be permitted within the space so set apart during the time appointed for voting: Sec. 11-47. **No Inspector, Clerk, candidate or any other person,** shall do any electioneering, solicit a vote, or speak to a voter on the subject of marking his ballot in the polling booth or within the space set apart above. No person other than the Inspectors, such Clerk or Clerks as are allowed by law to certain Boards of Election Inspectors, and voters in the act of preparing their votes, or voting, and any voter assisting a disabled voter in marking his ballots (see Sec. 11-58), shall be admitted within the guard rail, except by authority of the Inspectors for the purpose of keeping order and enforcing the law: Sec. 11-34. No person in military service shall go to any polling place for any purpose in uniform, unless he is a registered voter of the State, nor shall any military or other organization march or go to a polling place in a body: Sec. 11-49.

Par. 10. **POSTING SPECIMEN BALLOTS:** Two copies of each of the Specimen Ballots shall be forwarded to the Inspectors at the same time with the Official Ballots, and the Inspectors shall post one of each of such Specimen Ballots on either side of the entrance to the polling place: Secs. 11-37, and 11-30(b).

Par. 11. **POSTING CARDS OF INSTRUCTIONS:** A card of instructions to voters shall be posted at or in each voting compartment and not less than three such cards posted in conspicuous places outside the polling room: Sec. 11-30(b) and Sec. 11-50, par. 3.

Par. 12. **POSTING OFFICIAL REGISTER OF ELECTORS:** In order to facilitate the conduct of the election it would be well to post a copy of the "Official Register of Electors" in a conspicuous place on the outside of the polling room. Where there are two units the County Clerk shall furnish separate "Official Register of Electors" for each unit.

Par. 13. **PENCILS:** See that a black lead pencil is kept in each of the voting compartments of the booth.

Par. 14. **BALLOT BOXES OPENED AND CLOSED:** At the opening of the polls the Chairman shall, in the presence of any bystanders, publicly open the ballot boxes and expose them to all persons present, that it may be seen that they are empty. The

ballot boxes shall then be closed and locked, and on no account opened until the poll is closed: Sec. 11-50, par. 1.

Par. 15. **OPENING BALLOT PACKAGES:** When the ballot boxes have been closed and locked, and not before, the seals of the packages of "Printed Ballots" shall be publicly broken and the packages opened by the Chairman: Sec. 11-50, par. 2.

Par. 16. **DIVISION OF DUTIES:** This is a matter which the Inspectors should regulate themselves. It is suggested, however, that one Inspector be at the head of the guard rail and in charge of the "Official Register of Electors" for the purpose of ascertaining if the name of the person proposing to vote is on such register and placing a check mark before his name when the ballots are delivered to him, and ruling out the name on the register when such person has voted and presents his ballots to the Inspector for deposit in the ballot boxes; that one Inspector have in his charge the folding and delivering of the ballots to the voter; that the third Inspector be placed in charge of the ballot boxes, as well as the "Roster of Voters" (record of persons who have voted), for the purpose of entering thereon the name of the voter who has voted, and of the "Record of Proceedings," for the purpose of entering therein matters required by law, and Minutes of the Board of Election Inspectors. Some Boards of Election Inspectors have found it more efficient to have one Inspector in charge of both the "Official Register of Electors" and the "Roster of Voters." This system, however, may be used in polling booths where there are only three Inspectors and no Clerk. Where there is a Clerk he may be placed in charge of the ballot boxes, or may assist in any capacity.

Par. 17. **METHOD OF FOLDING AND DELIVERING BALLOTS:** Read carefully Secs. 11-51 and 11-52.

Par. 18. **METHOD OF VOTING:** The procedure is set out in Sec. 11-54. The Inspectors should also read and follow the "Voters' Instruction Card" furnished for posting at the polling place.

Par. 19. **EXPLANATION AND ASSISTANCE TO VOTER:** The Inspectors may, and upon request, explain to the voter the mode of voting: Sec. 11-53, and if the voter is disabled, assist him, if he so requests, in marking the ballots; any disabled voter may, however, designate **any qualified voter** (not necessarily an Inspector) to assist him in marking the ballots: Sec. 11-58. The Inspectors should be careful to refrain from giving advice as to any choice of candidates, even though such advice is asked, as is sometimes the case. The Inspectors may mark the ballots in the places indicated by the disabled voter, but, before doing so or rendering any assistance, the Board of Election Inspectors must be satisfied that physical disability exists which brings the voter within the provisions of Sec. 11-58. The Inspectors may explain to any voter, whether disabled or not, the mode of voting, but can render actual assistance to only those who are physically disabled: Sec. 11-58.

Par. 20. **SPOILED BALLOTS:** If a voter spoils a ballot he may obtain another, upon returning the spoiled one. The ballot thus returned shall be cancelled immediately, and the reason for such cancellation indorsed on the back thereof and signed by the Chairman: Sec. 11-59.

Par. 21. **SECRECY OF BALLOT:** No voter shall exhibit his ballot to any other person, nor shall any person look at or ask to see the contents of the ballot of any voter, except as provided in Sec. 11-58, in which provision is made for assistance of disabled voters; nor shall any person within the space set apart for a polling place attempt or influence a voter regarding for whom he shall vote. When a voter is in the voting compartment for the purpose of marking his ballot, no other person shall, except as provided in Sec. 11-58, be allowed to enter the compartment or to be in a position from which he can observe how the voter is marking his ballot: Sec. 11-56, see also Secs. 11-34, 11-47, 11-48.

Par. 22. **NOT TO REMOVE OR EXHIBIT BALLOT:** No person shall take a ballot out of the voting booth; and if any voter having received a ballot shall leave the voting

booth without first delivering the same to the Inspector as provided in Sec. 11-54, or shall wilfully exhibit his ballot except as provided in Sec. 11-58, after the same shall have been marked, he shall thereby forfeit his right to vote, and the Chairman shall cause a record to be made of such proceeding in the "Record of Proceedings": Sec. 11-57.

No ballot shall be taken out of the voting booth for any reason by an Inspector, Clerk, Elector, Candidate, or any person.

Par. 23. **DEPOSIT BALLOTS IN BALLOT BOXES:** After having marked his ballots the voter shall refold them in the same folds as when they were handed to him, deliver them, folded separately, to the Inspector in charge of the ballot boxes whose duty it shall be to deposit the ballots in the proper ballot boxes: Sec. 11-54, par. 2. The voter may watch the Inspector deposit his ballots, but shall leave immediately thereafter.

Complaints have been made that the Inspector in charge of the ballot boxes has been examining each ballot presented to him for deposit in the box, by holding the ballot up and looking from the back for the impression of the cross marks thereon. **This is forbidden.**

The law provides that the Inspector **shall examine the ends of the ballot sufficiently to be satisfied that there is but one ballot enfolded, whereupon the ballot shall be immediately dropped into the proper box by such Inspector:** Sec. 11-54, par. 2.

Before depositing the ballots the Inspector in charge of the "Roster of Voters" (Record of Persons who have voted) shall call out the name of such voter as having voted, and shall record the same. At the same time the Inspector in charge of the "Official Register of Electors" shall run a pencil line through the name of such voter on the register.

Par. 24. **CHALLENGES, ETC.:** Any person rightfully in the polling place may challenge the right of any person presenting himself to the Inspectors to vote. The challenge shall be on the ground: that the elector is not the person he alleges himself to be **(this is a question of identity only)**; or that the elector is not entitled to vote in that precinct **because he does not reside in the precinct.** This latter challenge must be substantiated to your satisfaction before denying the person the right to vote. It may be well to seek the advice of the County Clerk as to your procedure in the matter. No other or further challenge shall be allowed. The challenge shall be considered and decided immediately by the Inspectors, a ruling of the majority thereof being final: Sec. 11-103.

However, **if there were a mistake by the County Clerk in placing the name of the elector on the Official Register of Electors of a precinct in which he does not actually reside, such elector shall nevertheless be allowed to vote therein, if otherwise qualified;** and it shall be the duty of the Chairman to notify the County Clerk of the error in order that the name of such elector may be placed on the next succeeding Official Register of Electors of the precinct where he actually resides: Sec. 11-6.

If the Board of Election Inspectors decides that "an elector deliberately and fraudulently registers in the wrong precinct his name must be stricken from the list of voters and he may not vote without reregistration in the precinct of his actual residence": 39 H. 291. The County Clerk should be advised of your decision and the proceedings recorded in your minutes.

The Official Register of Electors is the sole guide to the Inspectors of the persons entitled to vote in their respective precincts. This register is conclusive on the right of a person to vote: Secs. 11-5 through 11-26. **See following paragraph re Change in Register of Electors.**

Par. 25. **CHANGE IN REGISTER OF ELECTORS:** The change in the "Official Register of Electors" **may be made only upon written order of the Board of Registration or by decision of the court, or by the decision of the Inspectors themselves re subparagraph 3 of Par. 24.** Under no other condition shall the "Official Register of Electors" be altered, added to, amended, or tampered with. It is the duty of the Inspectors to make such changes, when ordered so to do in conformity with law: Sec. 11-17. The

name, date, and reason for each such change or correction should be entered in the "Record of Proceedings," and the change or correction made as well upon the "Official Register of Electors": Sec. 11-30(i). Should the Inspectors know, of their own knowledge or upon advice of others, of error in the spelling of the name of any voter, they may note the same in the "Record of Proceedings."

Par. 26. **ABSENTEE VOTERS, AND VOTING BY PATIENTS OF HOSPITALS AND INSTITUTIONS, AND BY DISABLED VOTERS CONFINED TO THEIR HOMES; VOTERS IN MILITARY SERVICE:** Sec. 11-130 through 149. The Inspectors should read these sections carefully.

Duties After Voting Hours

Par. 27. **COUNT, PUBLIC:** Insofar as the limits of the room in which the voting takes place shall reasonably allow, no person shall be prevented from attending the counting of the ballots on election day, unless it is necessary so to do to preserve the peace: Sec. 11-61. (See Par. 34.)

Par. 28. **VOTES CAST:** Immediately after the close of the polls and before opening the ballot boxes the Inspectors should count the names that have been checked off the "Official List of Registered Electors." This number should correspond with the number of names recorded in the "Roster of Voters" as having voted. If there is a difference the Inspectors should check the List as against the Roster. (The error is usually in the Roster—the name of the voter not having been recorded; or on the Official List of Registered Electors where a checkmark was not placed before the name or the name not ruled out.) Whatever number is agreed upon as being correct, shall be recorded as the number of Votes Cast for that precinct, regardless of whether or not, when the votes are tallied, that there be some blank or rejected ballots: Sec. 11-60.

Par. 29. **OPENING BALLOT BOXES:** Immediately after the close of the polls and after the Votes Cast have been determined, the Chairman shall open the ballot boxes and proceed to count the ballots: Sec. 11-62.

Par. 30. **FIRST COUNT:** The whole number of ballots in the ballot boxes shall first be counted to see if their number corresponds with the number of Votes Cast as recorded by the Inspectors: Sec. 11-62.

Par. 31. **MORE BALLOTS THAN RECORDED, PROCEDURE:** If there are more ballots than such record calls for, the Chairman shall replace all the ballots in the ballot box, and close, lock and shake the same so as to thoroughly stir the ballots.

The box shall then be opened and a cloth laid over it, and the Chairman, having first held up his open hand with the arm bared to his elbow, shall introduce his hand under the cloth covering the ballot box and draw therefrom, without looking, one ballot at a time, until the number of ballots in the ballot box is reduced to correspond with the number of names of voters who have voted, as recorded.

The ballots so removed shall be marked immediately, before proceeding further with the count, in such manner that they can afterwards be identified, and signed by the Chairman, and shall be preserved with the records: Sec. 11-62.

If the Inspectors, after withdrawing a ballot because the number counted exceeds the number checked off, discover that they have omitted to check off the name of one who has voted, they should recount the ballots, including the one withdrawn: 8 H. 734.

Par. 32. **NOT MORE THAN RECORDED, PROCEDURE:** If the number of ballots corresponds with the number of voters recorded by the Inspectors as having voted, or shall be less than such number, or shall, by the means provided in Par. 31 above have been made to correspond therewith, the Inspectors shall then proceed to count the votes for each candidate: Sec. 11-63.

Par. 33. **ORDER BALLOTS SHALL BE COUNTED:** The ballots for Congressional Officers shall be counted first.

Par. 34. **COUNTING SHALL BE PUBLIC:** (See also Sec. 11-61). The counting of the ballots shall be public and be conducted at the voting booth behind unlocked doors in the presence of bystanders. Any person may watch the counting but shall not be permitted to handle or count the official ballots, nor have any voice in deciding questions before the Board of Election Inspectors. The counting shall be conducted without adjournment until completed and the results declared.

Par. 35. **BOARD OF ELECTION INSPECTORS NOT TO SEPARATE IN GROUPS ON COUNTING OF BALLOTS:** The counting shall be conducted by all Inspectors, and Clerks, if any, who shall relieve each other in the duties pertaining thereto. **They shall not constitute themselves into separate groups in an attempt to conduct more than one count of the ballots at the same time. Only one ballot shall be counted at a time:** Sec. 11-62.

Par. 36. **ONLY ONE MANNER OF TALLY:** No tally shall be done on a separate slip of paper and then copy the result on the Official Results of Votes Cast or on the Tally Sheets. All tallying must be done on the Official Tally Sheets provided for that purpose and no one but the duly appointed members of the Board of Election Inspectors, and the duly appointed Clerks shall be permitted to assist in calling, tallying, or any other work of the board.

Par. 37. **BALLOTS READ ALOUD AND IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER:** The Chairman or any one of the Inspectors shall withdraw one ballot at a time from the ballot box, hold the ballot up so that as far as practicable others may readily see it, show it to other Inspectors for proper marking, etc., and if the ballot is not rejected, the Inspector shall then read from it in a loud clear voice the names of the candidates for whom voted. One Inspector shall at the same time make a record thereof on the Tally Sheet, one Inspector watching the Inspector reading the names, and where there may be a Clerk, the Clerk shall watch the Inspector tallying: Sec. 11-62, par. 6, and Sec. 11-66.

IMPORTANT: The following which concerns the Primary Election only should be read and studied very carefully:

Sec. 11-102, second paragraph, fourth sentence—A voter shall mark his ballot only for candidates of the same party or only for nonpartisan candidates.

Sec. 11-104. Rejection of ballots—in addition to any other ground provided by law for the rejection of ballots, a ballot and all it contains must be rejected if marked for candidates who are not all of the same party or who are not all nonpartisan candidates.

Par. 38. **REJECTED BALLOTS AND CLASSES OF BALLOTS HELD INVALID:** Secs. 11-64, 11-64-B, 11-104.

Par. 39. **CLASSES OF BALLOTS HELD VALID:** Sec. 11-64-A.

Par. 40. **A BALLOT MARKED FOR TOO MANY OF ONE CLASS OF OFFICERS IS NOT THEREBY INVALIDATED AS TO OTHER CLASSES:** 18 H. 131, and see Sec. 11-64-B, par. 1, last sentence.

The whole ballot is rejected if more candidates were voted for all classes of officers.

The whole ballot is also rejected if the Board of Election Inspectors decides that there is an **identification mark on the ballot.**

If a lesser number of candidates is voted for, the ballot is in proper form and the whole ballot shall be counted.

Par. 41. **VALIDITY OF BALLOTS; GENERAL RULE:** The Inspectors are the judges of the validity of the ballot. If the majority of the Inspectors are satisfied from the method employed in marking the ballot or from marks, figures or symbols on the ballot or for any reason shown by the ballot that the voter intended that the ballot should thereby be identified, the whole ballot should be rejected.

Par. 42. **VALIDITY OF BALLOT DECIDED IMMEDIATELY:** All questions as to the validity of any ballot shall be decided immediately, and the opinion of the majority of the Inspectors shall be final and binding: Sec. 11-65.

Par. 43. **MARKING INVALID BALLOTS:** Each ballot held invalid shall be indorsed on the back by the Chairman with his name or initials and the word "Rejected": Sec. 11-64.

Par. 44. **DECLARATION OF RESULT:** When the Inspectors have ascertained the number of votes received by each candidate, they shall make public declaration of the whole number of votes cast, the names of the candidates voted for, and the number of votes for each candidate: Sec. 11-67. It has been the practice, and a good one, of the Inspectors to post a copy of the "Result of Votes Cast" on the outside of the voting booth.

Par. 45. **RECORDING RESULT:** The Chairman shall cause a full record to be made of the same in the "Record of Proceedings"; Two copies of the Results for Candidates, shall be sent to Lieutenant Governor of the State. One of each to be posted outside the booth; one of each to be sent to the Clerk of the County or City and County, as the case may be; one of each to be inserted in the "Record of Proceedings," and one of each to be retained by the Chairman for his own record, and one of each to be sent to the political parties.

Great care should be taken in posting the number of votes received by each candidate recorded on the Tally Sheets to the "Result of Votes Cast."

NOTE: The copies of the "Result of Votes Cast" and the Tally Sheets to be sent to the Lieutenant Governor and County Clerk shall not be put in the bag, but are to be enclosed in separate envelopes provided for such purpose and either delivered or mailed immediately to said officials.

Par. 46. **TALLY SHEETS:** The Tally Sheets used in counting the ballots shall be attached to the **official** "Results of Votes Cast" and delivered or mailed in sealed envelopes provided for the purpose.

Par. 47. **RECORDS, ETC.; DISPOSITION:** At the completion of the count, after the close of the polls and the public announcement of the same, the Inspectors shall immediately, in the presence of the candidates or of their agents, and of any voters desiring to be present make up into a packet all of the ballots sent to the Inspectors, including ballots used or not, cancelled or rejected; together with the register and detailed record of voters received from the Board of Registration, and all other records appertaining to the election, except the "Roster of Voters," the copies of the "Result of Votes Cast," and the "Tally Sheets," **which are not to be inclosed in the bag.** Such packet shall be sealed by the Inspectors with their own seal or seals, and the seals of such candidates or agents of candidates as may desire to seal the same: Sec. 11-69.

Par. 48. **BAGS OF RECORDS, WHERE SENT:** The State bag of records shall be delivered or shipped to the Lieutenant Governor, and the County bag to the Clerk of the County.

Par. 49. **BALLOT BOXES AND MATERIAL:** The ballot boxes, and the material used for the preparation and construction of the voting booths should be preserved for use at future elections.

N.Y. Cut stencil 200 copies

Official Restriction of the Opportunity

of Negroes to Register and Vote

in Macon County, Alabama

1951 - 1960

For more than twenty years, Negro citizens in Macon County, Alabama, in their efforts to register and vote, have almost continously met strong official resistance. Various techniques have been employed to limit or prevent the participation of Negroes in politics. Although Negroes have constituted more than four-fifths of the total population, they have only just recently constituted one-fourth of the total voters in the County.

Between January 1, 1951 and December 31, 1959 (nine years), certificates of registration were issued to only 510 (32%) of the 1,585 Negroes from whom applications were accepted. This was an average of 56.7 per year.

Following is a list of techniques which have been employed by the white officials to limit or prevent Negroes from political participation:

1. Requiring Negroes and Whites to register in separate rooms and in separate parts of the Macon County Courthouse.

2. Registrars frequently reporting for work late and leaving work early, thus reducing the number of hours available to Negro applicants.

3. Permitting only two Negro applicants in the registration room at the same time.

4. Requiring Negro applicants to read and transcribe articles from the Constitution of the United States, in addition to filling out the voter registration questionnaire.

5. Conversing with applicants as they write, which practice disturbs them, and stimulates making errors.

6. Permitting a Negro voter to vouch for <u>only</u> <u>two</u> applicants per year.

(See Reverse Side)

7. Preventing some Negro voters from vouching for any applicant.

8. Failing to issue certificates of registration to Negroes immediately upon the successful completion of the requirements for registration.

9. Failing to inform unsuccessful applicants of their failure to fulfill the requirements for registration.

10. Failing to work on many registration days.

11. Resigning from the board in order not to register Negroes.

To the foregoing restrictions, other County officials have

1. Refused to appoint any Negro voter to serve in any capacity as one of the 108 workers at the polls on election days.

2. Refused to appoint any Negro to serve on the seven-member County Board of Public Welfare.

The State Legislature has also contributed to the restrictive measures by enacting legislation which

1. Permits Boards of Registrars to use twelve of their working days for clerical work only, and in even years to use up to twenty additional days in the precincts away from the courthouse. (There is no requirement that the Board announce in advance which days will be so used.)

2. Gerrymandered the city of Tuskegee in such a manner as to eliminate from residence in the city 400 of its 410 Negro voters. (Not a single white voter was removed from the city).

Supplementing the foregoing, many local white citizens refuse to accept appointment to serve on the Board of Registrars, and the Governor and his two associates (the State Appointing Board) refuse to appoint qualified Negro voters to serve.

Civil Rights Suits Brought by Department of Justice under the Acts of 1957 and 1960

Terrell County, GEORGIA, carried to Supreme Court, back to District Court, settled in September.

Macon County, ALABAMA, carried to Supreme Court

Fayette County, TENNESSEE, settled out of Court

Haywood County, TENNESSEE, settled

Bienville Parish, LOUISIANA

Washington Parish, LOUISIANA

(for particulars on all of these, see sheets attached)

The Department of Justice has required the production of voting records under Acts of 1960 in the following counties:

Alabama - WILCOX COUNTY - 8,218 Negroes of voting age; 3,056 whites
Negro voters, none - whites 3,040 (New York Times 5-10-60)

SUMTER COUNTY - 8,700 Negroes, 3,600 whites of voting age.
Negro voters 175; whites 2,858 (New York Times 6-7-60)

MONTGOMERY COUNTY - 34,079 Negroes of voting age, 51,869 Whites
Negro voters 3,480; whites 25,520
(New Orleans Times-Picayune)

Florida - UNION COUNTY - Democrats, white 1,752; Negro 2
Republicans, white 3; Negro 1

Georgia - WEBSTER COUNTY - 1,296 Negroes of voting age; 949 whites
Negro voters, none - whites 934 (New York Times 5-10-60)

FAYETTE COUNTY - 1,255 Negroes, 3,387 whites of voting age
Negro voters 25, whites 3,402 (New York Times 6-7-60)

EARLY COUNTY - 4,774 Negroes, 5,045 whites of voting age
Negro voters 226, whites 3,402 (New York Times, 6-7-60)

Louisiana - EAST CARROLL PARISH - 5,330 Negroes and 3,223 whites of voting age
Negro voters none, whites 2,212

EAST FELICIANA PARISH - 6,235 Negroes, 6,214 whites of voting age
Negro voters 76, whites 2,414

OUACHITA PARISH - 14,532 Negroes, 31,331 whites of voting age
Negro voters 727, whites 24,257
(Times Picayune, 5-24-60

Mississippi - BOLIVAR COUNTY, La Flore

FOREST COUNTY - 12,958 Negroes in county, less than 25 have been permitted to register. Included in the remaining 12,933 Negroes are doctors, teachers, preachers, laymen disfranchised simply because they are Negroes.

South Carolina - MCCORMICK COUNTY - 2,625 Negroes, 2,077 whites of voting age
Negro voters 0, whites 1,399. (New York Times reports now 49 Negro voters)

HAMPTON COUNTY - 4,607 Negroes, 4,617 whites of voting age
Negro voters 250, whites 3,210

CLARENDON COUNTY - 9,279 Negroes and ? whites of voting age
Negro voters 250, whites 3,210

QUESTIONS OF 1958 REGISTRATION LAW
GEORGIA

1. What is a republican form of government?
2. What are the names of the three branches of the United States government?
3. In what State Senatorial District do you live and what are the names of the county or counties in such District?
4. What is the name of the State Judicial Circuit in which you live and what are the names of the counties or county in such Circuit?
5. What is the definition of a felony in Georgia?
6. How many Representatives are there in the Georgia House of Representatives and how does the Constitution of Georgia provide that they be apportioned among the several counties?
7. What does the Constitution of Georgia prescribe as the qualifications of Representatives in the Georgia House of Representatives?
8. How does the Constitution of the United States provide that it may be amended?
9. Who is the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia and who is the Presiding Justice of that Court?
10. Who may grant pardons and paroles in Georgia?
11. Who is the Solicitor General of the State Judicial Circuit in which you live and who is the Judge of such Circuit?
12. If the Governor of Georgia dies, who exercises the executive power, and if both the Governor and the person who succeeds him die, who exercises the executive power?
13. (a) What does the Constitution of the United States provide regarding the suspension of the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus?

(b) What does the Constitution of Georgia provide regarding the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus?

14. What are the names of the persons who occupy the following State offices in Georgia?

(1) Governor

(2) Lieutenant Governor

(3) Secretary of State

(4) Attorney General

(5) Comptroller General

(6) State Treasurer

(7) Commissioner of Agriculture

(8) State School Superintendent

(9) Commissioner of Labor

15. How many Congressional Districts in Georgia are there and in which one do you live?

16. What is the term of office of a United States Senator?

17. What is the term of office of a State Senator?

18. What is the county site of your county?

19. How does the Constitution of Georgia provide that a county site may be changed?

20. What are the qualifications for jury service in Georgia?

21. What are the names of the persons who occupy the following offices in your county?

(1) Clerk of the Superior Court

(2) Ordinary

(3) Sheriff

22. How may a new state be admitted into the Union?

23. On what day and how often is the general election held in Georgia at which members of the General Assembly of Georgia are elected?

24. What does the Constitution of the United States provide regarding the right of citizens to vote?

25. In what Federal Court District do you live?

26. What are the names of the Federal District Judges of Georgia?

27. Who are citizens of Georgia?

28. What is treason against the State of Georgia?

29. In what body does the Constitution of the United States declare that the legislative powers granted in such Constitution shall be vested?

30. How many electoral votes does Georgia have in the electoral college?

Literature asking clemency for Braden distributed here

Page 2 - Augusta Chronicle Saturday, December 16, 1961

Literature calling for abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and seeking clemency for Carl Braden, who is serving a one-year sentence for contempt of Congress, has been circulated in Augusta.

The literature was distributed by Braden's wife, Mrs. Anne Braden of Louisville, Ky., during a "private" meeting Dec. 4 at Bethlehem Center, 1336 Conklin Ave.

Mrs. Braden is a field secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The meeting was arranged by Miss Ruby Berkley, director of Bethlehem Center, and Mrs. Nancy Lubka, a volunteer worker at the center, both of whom said they are personal friends of the Bradens.

At least four items of literature were distributed here:

1) Petitions for clemency in behalf of Braden directed to President Kennedy. In them, Miss Berkley is listed as one of the Georgia signers and they solicit additional signatures.

2) Copies of the Journal and Guide, issued by the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, for the Southern Conference Educational Fund. It reviews the Braden case in detail and includes numerous reprints of articles critical of the Un-American Activities Committee.

3) Copies of the Southern Patriot, a four-page tabloid monthly publication, an organ of the SCEF. Carl and Anne Braden are listed as editors. (Braden also is a field secretary for the group.)

4) Copies of a 20-page booklet dealing with the Braden case and seeking abolition of the House committee. It also was published by the SCEF.

Mrs. Braden spoke to about 20 persons at the meeting. She made a strong appeal for abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and distributed the literature. A question and answer period followed.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund is an organization devoted to integration activities, with headquarters in New Orleans.

It was identified in July, 1958, by Richard Arens, staff director for the House Un-American Activities Committee, as having been labeled to congressional investigators as an offspring of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an alleged Communist-front organization.

It was during the Atlanta hearing of a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities in 1958 that Braden cited the First Amendment (Freedom of Speech, etc.) in refusing to answer questions put to him by the subcommittee.

He was indicted by a federal grand jury in Atlanta on Dec. 2, 1958, for contempt of Congress. His trial took place in January, 1959, and Arens told the jury, "It was our (the subcommittee's) information that Mr. Braden was a member of the Communist Party. That he was going over the Southland . . . doing Communist work."

Braden was convicted and on Feb. 2, 1959, Federal Judge Boyd Sloan sentenced him to 12 months. His conviction was upheld by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on Dec. 14, 1959.

Then on Feb. 27, 1961, the U.S. Supreme Court, in a 5-4 decision, upheld the conviction of Braden and Frank Wilkinson of Los Angeles, who also refused to answer questions during the Atlanta hearing. In its decision, the Supreme Court reaffirmed the authority of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to investigate communism.

Braden and Wilkinson began their terms May 2.

Miss Berkley said she met the Bradens in Dallas, Tex., prior to accepting the position as director of Bethlehem Center in 1960. She said Mrs. Braden distributed some literature and "just brought the group up to date on her husband's activities."

She also emphasized that it was a private meeting and that she knew of no plans to organize any sort of local group or to hold another such meeting. She said she assumed "such efforts would be pushed through local organizations already in existence." In this connection, she mentioned specifically the Augusta Chapter of the Georgia Council on Human Relations and the League of Women Voters.

Dr. Victor Vaughan, chairman of the local Human Relations Chapter, said the group's agenda does not include a discussion of promoting either clemency for Carl Braden or abolition of the House Committee.

Mrs. J. W. Banister, president of the League of Women Voters who attended the meeting, said there were no plans to include any program connected with Carl Braden in the League's activities. "I don't think the Augusta board would approve it in the first place," she said.

Mrs. Lubka, hostess for Mrs. Braden during her visit here, said the racially-mixed meeting was more of a "party" for people who had told her they wanted to meet Anne Braden "when she returned to Augusta." She said that she and her husband had known the Bradens for some time and also stated that there are no plans for any local organization or additional meetings.

Bethlehem Center was established in Augusta in 1911 as a project of the Women's Society of the Methodist Church. It now has a full-time staff of two white persons and five Negroes, plus several part-time workers.

In addition to church funds from New York City, funds for the Center's operation include $625 per month from the United Fund of Augusta and North Augusta.

Bethlehem Center's program is arranged by Miss Berkley and her staff, assisted by a local advisory board of about 20 persons, described by Miss Berkley as "not too active."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

state laws governing election.

Alabama, reads write an article of the U.S Constitution in English. Exemptions are given to owner or his spouse of 40 acres of land or real estate assessed at $300.00 Poll taxes must be paid for 2 preceding years.

The questions he fills out

Georgia - read along "intelligibly" and write legibly" in English a section of the constitution -

qualify on good character - understanding of the duties & obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government such understanding to be demonstrated by answering 20 out of 30 questions

Mississippi

Who Not Allowed to Register:

The registrar shall allow no person to register:

(1) Unless he be able to read any section of the Constitution of the State of Mississippi, or, in case he cannot read, unless he be able to understand any section thereof when read to him, or to give a reasonable interpretation thereof; and in addition thereto demonstrate to the county registrar a reasonable understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a constitutional form of government in the manner provided by Section 244 of the Constitution.

67 in "voting & election laws"

Poll tax receipt for 2 years

~~La~~ ~~[illegible]~~

Page 27 Election law of Miss

(over)

N.C. .68 Voters & electors

S.C. registration blank — requires
Date of birth, race, sex Hair, eyes weight
height.

only one requires race

N.C. Read and write any section
of state constitution in English
no male eligible to vote in any
state on Jan 1 1867 or a lineal descendant
of such a person shall be denied right
to register & vote because of failure
to pass this test provided he was
registered before Dec 1, 1908

Poll tax
Alabama 1.50 must be paid for
2 preceeding years
Arkansas 1.00
Texas 1.75
Virginia $1.50 new voters citizen
of Va must pay for
3 previous years

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Atlanta 2-8764

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MRS. M. E. TILLY
1013 HIGHLAND VIEW, N. E.
ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA

three restraining political currents had to disengage or be driven from defense of the Negro before racism could triumph in the South

Northern liberalism withdrew in 1877

The Populist abandoned the Negro in the late 1890's

Conservatism was the 3rd when troops were withdrawn from the South it left it in the hands of the racist ~~but~~ of the old Democrats - but the Conservatist (the old ~~trigs~~ whigs)

Unfinished Revolution

(over)

Civil Rights 1961

Places a burden of securing voting rights on the individual Negro and subjects him to a maze of expensive legal red tape - this bill can only discourage him from prosecuting his rights judically

Tom Kahn -
Unfinished Revolution

which the parties raised such questions as self-incrimination, double joopardy, forced confessions and the right to counsel.

With only a few exceptions, we cover here cases in which the Court granted a hearing and reached a decision on the merits. In a number of the cases described, no opinions were written but the Court's disposition of the matter nevertheless established legal principles. We have not attempted to cover the many rulings declining to hear cases (by dismissing an appeal or denying a petition for writ of certiorari) except where such action seemed significant. In the area of civil rights, however, where these rulings reflect to some extent the policies of the Court, they have been treated in some detail.

I. CIVIL RIGHTS

A. Voting

The Supreme Court issued several decisions during the past Term interpreting the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 dealing with the right to vote. In United States v. Raines, 80 S. Ct. 519, the Court unanimously upheld the key section of that Act, which added a number of paragraphs to an 1870 law protecting the right to vote. The original law declared that all otherwise quali- . citizens should be allowed to vote in any state or local election without regard to race. One of the sections added in 1957 empowered the United States Attorney General to bring suits in the name of the United States to restrain violations of the 1870 law.

Terrell Co

The present action was brought by the Attorney General against the registrars of Terrell County, Georgia, for discriminating against Negroes who wanted to register and vote in a state election. The defendants moved to dismiss on the ground that the legislation was unconstitutional. The Federal District Judge

granted this motion. He noted that the Federal Government has power to prevent racial discrimination by state officials but not by private persons. He interpreted the 1870 law as applying to private action as well as to official action. This, he said, made the whole statute unconstitutional. The government appealed from the District Court directly to the United States Supreme Court.

In an opinion by Justice Brennan, the Court held that the statute was clearly constitutional in its application to the defendants here, since they were all state officials. Hence, it was improper for the Court to consider whether the statute might be unconstitutional in other applications. The lower court had relied on a number of cases invalidating statutes because some aspects were unconstitutional. The Court reviewed these cases in detail. It found many of them inapplicable and suggested that the rest were no longer valid authority.

The defendants also argued that Congress did not have power to authorize the United States to enforce private constitutional rights. The Court replied that the "highest public interest" in the observance of the constitutional guarantees of private individuals is sufficient reason for Congress to act as it did.

Justice Frankfurter added a brief concurrence, in which Justice Harlan joined, saying that he believed the law was constitutional under familiar principles and that it was therefore not necessary to review the many cases "that may generally touch on, but do not govern, the issues now before us."

On the same day that it decided the Raines case, the Court issued a brief per curiam opinion in United States v. Thomas, 80 S. Ct. 612, a voting case arising in Louisiana. This case was also initiated by the Department of Justice under the 1957 Act. Its aim was to restore to the voting rolls the names of 1,377 Negroes stricken in one Louisiana parish at the instance of the White Citizens Council.

District Court Judge J. Skelly Wright directed the names be replaced on the rolls, holding that the state authorities, at the instance of the White Citizens Council, had clearly discriminated against Negroes.

The State appealed to the Federal Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, which granted a stay of Judge Wright's order pending review. The Department of Justice then asked immediate review by the Supreme Court in an effort to get the case decided in time to enable the Negroes to vote in the April 19th election. On February 29, the Court ruled unanimously on the basis of the Raines decision, that the stay granted by the Circuit Court should be vacated and that the judgment of the District Court should be affirmed.

In another per curiam opinion, the Court held unanimously that the Civil Rights Act of 1960 removed any doubt that may have arisen under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 as to whether the U.S. Attorney General could bring suit against a State to prevent discrimination in voting. United States v. Alabama, 80 S. Ct. 924, rehear. den., 80 S. Ct. 1608. This suit was brought by the Attorney General against the Board of Registrars of Macon County, Alabama to restrain activities designed to deprive Negores of their voting rights. After the suit was started, the members of the Board resigned and no one was appointed to take their places. The Attorney General then amended his complaint to join the State of Alabama as a defendant.

3 Ala Price P23

The District Court dismissed the complaint and its decision was affirmed by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The Supreme Court remanded the case to the District Court for further proceedings against the State of Alabama. Without considering whether the 1957 Act allowed a suit against a state, it held that a provision in the 1960 Act expressly allowing such suits applied to this proceeding.

A more difficult question was presented to the Court in Hannah v. Larche, 80 S. Ct. 1502. Here, the Court rejected by a 7-2 vote a claim that the Civil Rights Commission, established under the 1957 Civil Rights Act, was required to reveal the names of complainants and to allow persons under investigation to cross-examine other witnesses. Justices Black and Douglas dissented.

The Commission had secured 67 complaints from individual Negroes charging voting discrimination. On the basis of those complaints, it scheduled a hearing and subpoenaed a number of persons.

Two proceedings were then started to enjoin the Commission hearing -- one by a group of election officials and one by a group of private citizens. The District Court granted an injunction and the government took this appeal to the Supreme Court.

The chief arguments made by the plaintiffs were (1) that they should have been given the names of the complainants and (2) that the rules of the Commission improperly denied them the right to confront and cross-examine persons making allegations against them.[1/]

Chief Justice Warren delivered the Court's opinion. The District Court had relied on last year's decision in Greene v. McElroy, 360 U. S. 474 (see CJCongress' Summary of 1958-1959 Term, pp. 12-14), in which the Court invalidated the Industrial Security Program, saying that it would not assume that the government had established a loyalty procedure that allowed the use of secret testimony in the absence of clear authorization. The opinion clearly implied that confrontation was a constitutional requirement in such cases. Here, Chief Justice Warren

1/ The plaintiffs also claimed that the Civil Rights Act was not appropriate legislation under the Fifteenth Amendment. The Supreme Court dismissed this claim without detailed discussion.

said that the rule of the Greene case required the Court first to consider whether Congress had clearly authorized the Commission's procedure here. After reviewing the terms of the Act and its legislative history, he concluded that it had.

The Court then went on to hold that the Commission procedures did not deny due process. The Commission's "function is purely investigative and fact-finding. It does not adjudicate." The Court stressed that "the Commission does not and cannot take any affirmative action which will affect an individual's legal rights." The Court found that possible harm to individuals was far outweighed by the fact that allowing cross-examinations by accused persons "would make a shambles of the investigation and stifle the agency in its gathering of facts."

The Court stated that the procedure used by the Civil Rights Commission is traditionally used by investigatory bodies, legislative investigating committees, administrative regulatory commissions (when conducting non-adjudicative investigations), and grand juries. It attached to its opinion a lengthy appendix to substantiate that fact.

Justice Harlan filed a one-paragraph concurrence, in which Justice Clark joined, noting that he agreed with the Chief Justice's opinion but also believed that the case was controlled by In re Groban, 352 U.S. 330 (see AJCongress' Summary of the 1956-1957 Term, p. 23), and Anonymous v. Baker, 360 U.S. 287 (1958-1959 Term, pp. 50-51). Those cases held that witnesses in a fire marshal's investigation of the cause of a fire and in a judicial investigation of "ambulance chasing" did not have the right to counsel.[2/]

2/ Chief Justice Warren, who had dissented in the Groban and Baker cases, referred to them only in a footnote in which he noted that the Commission relied on them but that, since they were substantially different from the present case, the Court did not find it necessary to consider them.

County	State	Population % Negro	Number of Negro Voters
Botetourt	Virginia	9	0
McCormick	South Carolina	64	0
Baker	Georgia	64	0
Webster	"	66	0
Lafayette	Florida	7	0
Liberty	"	21	0
Union	"	33	0
Lowndes	Alabama	82	0
Wilcox	"	79	0
Haywood	Tennessee	62	0
Carroll	Mississippi	62	0
Chickasaw	"	43	0
Clarke	"	42	0
George	"	12	0
Humphreys	"	72	0
Issaquena	"	60	0
Jefferson	"	75	0
Lamar	"	15	0
Montgomery	"	46	0
Noxubee	"	72	0
Pearl River	"	24	0
Tallahatchie	"	65	0
Tate	"	60	0
Walthall	"	45	0
Wayne	"	37	0
East Carroll	Louisiana	61	0
Madison	"	67	0
Tensas	"	65	0
West Feliciana	"	73	0

29

The observation that discrimination against Negro voters goes hand in hand with a high Negro-to-white population ratio requires several qualifications:

1. Marked discrimination also occurs in some localities where the Negro-to-white population is low. The above list, for example, shows counties with as low as seven to nine per cent Negro populations maintaining all-white registration lists.

2. Negro registration is high in several localities of large Negro population because of factional politics; there Negroes are registered and encouraged to vote in support of one faction.

3. Of greater importance, there are cultural differences even within the Black Belt which are reflected in more permissive racial attitudes by the white population. For example, voter registration by Negroes tends to be higher in coastal areas. This can be seen along the Georgia coast's five

counties (excluding metropolitan Chatham County) where Negroes register in substantial numbers:

Georgia Coastal Counties	*Population % Negro*	*Registration % Negro*
Bryan	40	29
Liberty	59	54
McIntosh	62	47
Glynn	31	22
Camden	47	35

Another cultural difference is worth noting, although it affects only one state. Louisiana consultants demonstrated in the 1956 voting study that French Catholic parishes of Louisiana are generally more tolerant toward their Negro citizens than are the other parishes.

The Cities

The discussion so far has centered on the rural South. Increasingly, however, Negroes are moving to the cities. In Virginia, over half of the Negro registrants reside in the state's 32 independent cities, although considerably less than half of the Negro population is in those cities. Only about three-eighths of Virginia's white voters are in the cities.

Duval County (Jacksonville) and Dade County (Miami) have about one-third of Florida's Negro voters, about one-fourth of the state's Negro population. Over one-third of Georgia's Negro citizens and voters live in the eight largest counties of the state. Shreveport, Baton Rouge, and New Orleans have about one-third of the Negro voters of Louisiana.

Even where discrimination is highest, what Negro vote there is tends to be urban. In Alabama, about one-half of the total Negro vote is in the cities. In Mississippi, perhaps one-third of the Negro voters are in the three counties in which are located Jackson, Meridian, Biloxi, and Gulfport.

However, Negroes have not found it uniformly easy to register in all Southern cities, for there are variations in the urban areas just as there are within the Black Belt. But, since the natural tendency of an urban environment is toward a more tolerant racial atmosphere, it seems plausible to regard such cities as Atlanta and Jacksonville as more indicative of a future trend than, say, Birmingham. The first two have relatively high Negro voting participation, but in the latter the political status of Negroes is scarcely superior to that of their country cousins.

Parish, was no exception to this, since Monroe has remained provincial during the past 20 years when other Louisiana cities such as Shreveport were developing an urban culture.)

In an urban area located in a plantation culture, like Shreveport, segregationists can advocate the continuance of most forms of segregation, but they are on somewhat shaky ground in advocating the more extreme disfranchisement of Negro voters. Before 1958, after their initial registration, Negroes experienced little difficulty in registering. Nevertheless, the number of Negro registrants was low, primarily because of lack of interest and leadership and the absence of any faction seeking their votes. Then, in early 1958, the United Christian Movement, a group composed mostly of ministers, organized a campaign to increase the number of Negro voters. Instruction classes were held, and eventually 2,000 more Negroes were on the voting rolls. Their difficulties began with this campaign and the appointment of a new registrar. The registrar before 1958 had imposed few difficulties for potential Negro voters.

Dr. C. D. Simpkins, Shreveport dentist who heads the United Christian Movement, said he has in his files about 200 documented cases in which Negroes were impeded in their attempts to register. Two tactics were used frequently: (1) Computing of exact age. If a registrant made a mistake in the calculation of his age in years, months and days, this was considered justification for rejection. (2) Establishment of identification.

An example of the extremes to which the second tactic can be carried came from a Negro woman:

a. On her first trip to the registrar's office she was asked to establish her identity. A doctor's receipt dated 1956, receipts from a mail carrier dated 1957 and 1958, and two hospital receipts dated 1948 and 1958 were not allowed as evidence.

b. She made a second trip the same day to present written identification from friends and neighbors. They were not accepted.

c. The following day she returned to ask what kind of identification would be admitted and was asked to bring a registered voter.

d. The same day she did bring a registered voter but was told that a Negro would not do but that a white voter might establish her identity.

e. She then returned with a white store owner and a white notary. Even this identification was deemed insufficient, although after some delay she finally was allowed to register.

The process usually is not so difficult, but applicants often are required to make an extra trip or two and go to a great deal of trouble to

secure identifying documents. Needless to say, many are discouraged after one trip and still others, hearing of the troubles they can expect to encounter, will not even try to register.

How effective was the slowdown? Despite the registration drive, the number of Negro eligible voters in Caddo Parish dropped 19 per cent between March 1956 and October 1958. In the same period the number of eligible white voters rose five per cent.

Refusal

Although registrars who were determined to deny Negroes their right to vote usually could find some technicality for refusing registration, occasionally they didn't bother to advance a reason.

The Rev. W. D. Ridgeway, pastor of the Trulight Baptist Church, Hattiesburg, Miss., told the 1957 Senate subcommittee hearing on civil rights he had been a minister for 31 years and added:

"I have lived in Forrest County, Miss., for more than 30 years, honoring and obeying the many ordinances and statutes enacted by the state, county, and city governments; paying promptly taxes—state, county, and municipal—to enjoy the privileges of a citizen of a great country and state. I have constantly taught and preached good citizenship for many years. However, even until this day, I have not been permitted to register and vote like other Americans . . .

"The glaring disgrace of Forrest County, Miss., is the uncontested fact that of the 12,958 Negroes in the county, less than 25 have been permitted to register and vote. Included in the remaining 12,933 Negroes are doctors, teachers, preachers, and laymen who are disfranchised simply because they are Negroes.

"On Oct. 16, 1956, I was flatly refused the right to register along with 17 other Negroes who were in the office of the registrar at the same time that I was. Again and again, I have gone to qualify myself so that I might be eligible, along with many other Americans, to cast a vote for federal and state officials, only to find myself and other Negroes turned down.

"It is always so confusing to me and other Negroes in my county and state to explain to our children when they ask the simple question, 'Why is it so easy for foreigners to spend only five years in America and Mississippi, then enjoy all of the freedoms and privileges that our United States Constitution calls for, but, on the other hand, native-born Negro Americans and Mississippians are denied the very basic guaranties that our Constitution provides—the right to vote and petition one's government without intimidations and economic reprisals? We cannot answer the above question . . ."

La —

10th hearing - since Dec 1958

~~59 hearing resumed~~ -

Assumption n Orleans, of the hearing in Shreveport by legal action in 1958

St. Atty General Gremillion sought to enjoin the commission from hearing testimony & case carried to Supreme Court -

Ruled June 1960 - Commission had a right to hold hearings

Dan Koonce, information officer for commission had received complaints

atty general Gremillion was considering inviting new law - 1960 Legislature after

MRS. M. E. TILLY
1013 HIGHLAND VIEW, N. E.
ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA

Gov Jimmie H. Davis declared emergency legislation

Provides imprisonment 1 to 5 yrs. $1000 fine if a person is convicted of making a false fictitious, or fraudulent statement to any federal agency, asserting that a state or parish official has denied any right guaranteed by the U S or state Constitutions

35 witnesses

St Helena Parishes referring to Short Ballot

S U F F R A G E

There is no concrete definition of who shall have the right to vote in the Constitution of the United States. There is only the 14th Amendment:

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

The 15th Amendment:

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The 19th Amendment:

The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS , On the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing among other things, the following , to wit;

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designed part of a State the people whereof shallt then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforth, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedon of such persons, and will do no act to repress such persons, or any of them, in any effort they make for their actual freedom. etc ----

Signed by Abraham Lincoln

By the President
William H, Seward, Secretary of State

Posterity you will never know what it cost the present generation to establish and preserve your freedom O, I hope you will make good use of it. if you don't I shall repent in heaven that I ever took half the pains to bring it about

Elizabeth. Cady Stanton.
Lucretia Mott. Susan B. Anthony

Women Suffrage Convention
Called together in Seneca Falls N.Y.
in 1848 by Elizabeth Cady Stanton
Susan B. Anthony and Lucretia
Mott
the movement ~~started~~ at first was
strangely related to what we are
considering - it was a protest against
conditions which permitted women to
expend their efforts for the cause of
abolition

And yet refused them
recognition, public responsibility, and free
speech - although the 1st expression of the
desire of women to for the franchise in
U.S. ~~this country~~, ~~was~~ the right was
granted Austria, Canada, Czechoslovakia
Denmark, Finland, Germany, Holland, Hungary
Iceland, Ireland, Norway, Poland, Serbia, Sweden
United Kingdom Before it was in U.S.
Congress voted the 19th amendment
(Pres. Wilson called upon Congress in 1918)
in 1919 and ratified by the 3/4 of the States in 1919
1920

Statue basement of halls of Congress
bearing the heads of
a block left for the 4th head - Mary
McCleod Bethune

I never pass by + here

Adams - said -

Title VI -
If under the 1957 Civil Rights Act
to protect the Negro's right to vote,
a civil suit had been won, the attorney
general could ask the court to hold another
adversary proceeding and make separate
finding that there was a "pattern or practice"
of depriving Negroes right to vote in
the ~~area~~ area --

~~Practicant~~ Pattern and practice, if found, any Negro
in that area could apply to the court to
issue an order declaring him qualified to vote
if he proved he was qualified under his
state law - and had tried to register after
the "pattern and practice" finding, or if he had
not found not qualified by someone acting
under the color of law.
The Negro's application would have to be heard
by the court within 10 days and its ~~decis~~ order
would hold for the same time ~~days years~~ as that if
he had been registered under state law.

This land was made for you and me-

This land is your land, it is my land

From California to the New York Islands

From the redwood forests to the Gulf stream waters

This land was made for you and me

76

64

In our Christian Advocate of August 26, 1954, was an article by Rabbi David Polish, entitled "In the Watches of the Night". The long night is filled with peril - but beyond lies the dawn with its challenge of a new day.

He tells us that in the Talmud, there are three watches of the night; the first is by the braying of the ass, the second by the darking of dogs, the third by the weeping of an infant at its mother's breast and a woman talking to her husband. The night time, symbolized by the braying of an ass of spiritual depravity, proclaiming national destiny rests in amassing of deadly weapons. There are other brayings - our Congressional halls and State Capitols have been full of noise hours long, crying state rights - when there are state wrongs.

The barking of dogs is the symbol of intimidation. We have heard plenty of it in the stories you have heard today. "It exerts its paralyzing effects not only on the victin, but to whom he belongs. It plunges a nation into silence. It performs a frontal labotomy on the minds of men, so that they not only lose the capacity to reason, but turn in wrath on those who appeal to reason.".

The danger of our time is not the barking but the terror that fills men's hearts and the silence which grips them when they hear the barking.

The third watch is the imagery of the waking family - here we are the waking family of the Woman's Society of Christian Service talking together, planning together to aid all families in these days of rapid social change. We are the third watch.

The students arrested in Atlanta sang as they were carried down the elevators of Rich's Department Store and in the paddy wagon as they were driven to jail:

"We shall overcome; we shall overcome some day.

O deep in my heart, I d o believe

We shall overcome some day.

The truth shall make us free.

We'll walk hand in hand.

The Lord will see us through.

We shall overcome".

Stanley Jones in his "Christ of the Indian Road" reminds that "The Mayflower that carried the Pilgrim Fathers to religious liberty in America went on her next trip for a load of slaves. The good ship "Jesus" was in the slave trade for our fathers. Is it to be wondered at that race and color prejudice still exist in the West in spite of Christianity? It came in with it" --- and the iniquity of the fathers is visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation.

The Continental Congress was in session in Independence Hall, Philadelphia in 1776. Thomas Jefferson had listened for three days to the vivisection of his brain child, the Declaration of Independence. To relieve his tension he had written in the margin of his paper - and - among these notes, we read: "The clause reprobating enslaving the inhabitants of Africa was struck out in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia. Our Northern brethren also, I believe, felt a little tender under those censures, for their people have very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others". And thus, the Declaration of Independence issued no independence to the slaves of the country. Our country is today suffering nationally and internationally from that which was bequeathed to us by slavery.

And eighty years later we had a war about the question of slavery, as Dorothy Thompson said

> "because there was too little imagination,
> Audacity and grace of God,
> Intelligence and strength of will
> Among the people, North and South".

President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation the 22nd of September, 1962, to become effective January 1, 1963. The war ended - General Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox Court House April 7, 1865.

President Lincoln was shot by John Wilkes Booth in Ford Theater and died April 14, 1865. Vice President Andrew Jackson became President.

December 18, 1866 Congress passed the First Civil Rights Act, the 13th Amendment, abolishing slavery. It was vetoed by President Johnson but enacted by Congress over his veto. President Johnson assured the Negroes that they were free but could not vote.

(Some one lately has said: "The debate and filibuster in Congress suggest that President Johnson's dilemma of 1866 is yet to be resolved).

October 28, 1868 the 14th Amendment as passed, guaranteeing protection to all citizens.

Because there was some dispute as to whether the Negro freedman was given the right to vote, the 15th Amendment was passed and finally ratified.March 30.

Congress adopted another bill known as the Ku Klux Klan Act. All former Confederate States, except Tennessee, were divided into five military districts and each put under the control of a Northern army officer with full power. Former Confederate leaders were disfranchised. The carpet bagger days were bitter days for the South - the Government was in the hands of Negroes and white men who had not been disfranchised for supporting the Confederacy. They began to make laws and distribute offices with a view to their own interests. Corruption and waste in legislation was general. The carpet bagger days were difficult times for the South. Disfranchised white men set about overthrowing all this by fair and foul means. The Ku Klux Klan was organized and white supremacy was reestablished.

Every Plant A Voice

When Rutherford B. Hayes became President of the United States in 1877, he began a policy of appeasement to the South known as the Compromise of 1877. He appointed David Key of Tennessee as Post Master General. "The phase that began in 1877 was inaugerated by the withdrawal of troops from

the South, the abandonment of the Negro as a ward of the nation, the giving up the attempt to guarantee the freedman his civil and political equality and the acquiescence of the rest of the country in the South's demand that the whole problem be left to the disposition of the demanding Southern white people"

Van Woodward, "The Strange Career of Jim Crowe".

Northern opinion shifted to the right, keeping pace with the South, exceeding point after point, so that no time were the sections far apart on race policy. Since the Negro was a symbol of sectional strife, the liberals joined in depreciating further agitation in his cause. Having served as a national scape goat in the reconciliation and reunion of North and South, he now became a sectional scape goat - and became a political foot ball with the Populist Party and the white extremists - opened wounds that could not be healed. The only formula powerful enough was the total disfranchisement of the Negro. The standard devices for accomplishing disfranchisement on a racial basis and evading the restrictions of the Constitution were the invention of Mississippi. Barriers were set up, such as property or literacy qualifications and cut certain loop holes in the barrier through which only could squeeze "the understanding", "the grandfather clause" or good character clause.

Florida, Tennessee, Arkansas and Texas adopted the Poll Tax. But the Negro learned to read; he acquired property and paid his Poll Tax. So the next device was the White Primary - the cluttering of state and local codes with all kinds of segragation laws, such as Jim Crowe waiting rooms - signs of "Colored" and "White" faced you at every turn.

1957 For the first time in 82 years Congressed passed a Civil Rights Bill. It came after months of bickering, parliamentary obstruction and open opposition from the Deep South. Such bills had passed the House nine times

since 1933, but had failed each time in the Senate. Even when the Senate this time was ready to vote, Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina carried on a filibuster that set a record with 24 hours and 18 minutes, exceeding the mark set by Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon.

The final House vote was 286 to 126 - 168 Republicans and 118 Democrats for it - 107 Democrats and 19 Republicans against it. It was approved September 9.

The law establishes a six-member bipartisan Commission on Civil Rights with power of subpoena, to investigate denial of voting rights and equal protection of the laws because of color, race, religion or national origin; provides an additional Assistant Attorney General who can start injunctive proceedings in Federal district courts if the vote is interfered with and authorizes such courts to issue injunctions, start civil contempt proceedings, without a jury, to secure compliance with its orders, as distinguished from punishment for violations of such orders. In criminal contempt cases for disregarding court orders in vote cases, trial may be with or without jury. If the judge imposes a fine of more that $300.00 or a jail term longer than 45 days, the defendant can demand a jury trial. Any citizen 21 or over who has resided in the judicial district one year and is competent may serve as juror.

A Reconstruction statute of 1866, giving the President power to use troops to enforce civil rights laws, was repealed.

S U F F R A G E

There is no concrete definition of who shall have the right to vote in the Constitution of the United States. There is only the 14th Amendment:

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

The 15th Amendment:

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The 19th Amendment:

The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

But there are other Southerners who have changed, who don't like discrimination, who don't believe in segregation. And I am often asked? Why don't they say so?

The truth is that our parents and grandparents paid a terrible price for a security which they believed segregation could give them. When they permitted the system to be set up, they did not foresee that emergency measures would be frozen permanently into state laws. They did not dream that segregation would become a ritual so sacred that it would be given priority over the teachings of Christ in our churches. They did not know a time was ahead when the politician would exert more moral force than the preacher. But the price they paid for security was exorbitant and their children are still paying today. For they have been as surely injured in mind and spirit by segregation as have Negro children: Both have been warped; both have been kept from a free, creative life; both find it difficult to be courageous, strong individuals who can defy conformity and find their own responses to the world.

The clause reprobating enslaving the inhabitant of africa was struck out in complaisance to S C & Ga Our Northern brethren also, I believe felt a little tender under these censures; for tho' they have few slaves themselves yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others

19 Columbia, Tenn

TO -
The Executive Committee of the Jurisdiction Woman's Society of Christian Service-
The Conference Presidents and Secretaries of Christian Social Relations-

From - Mrs. M. E. Tilly - Concerning -"THE COLUMBIA , TENN . TRAGEDY "

Carrying out the action of the Executive Committee, directing me to go to Columbia,-on March 2nd, I went to Nashville and spent two days at Nashville and Columbia. I had some very definite aims in mind - to gather the facts; to study the problems and try to find a line of action for the Jurisdiction Society in this incident amd any others that may arise; to find ways to aid our local societies to so build up human relations in their communities there would be no repetition of this tragedy; to help the local societies, not only to feel their responsibility to act when danger threatens, but to know what to do in the emergency.

Much of this will have to be put into shape by the Jurisdiction Committee on Christian Social Relations. It is a big order and we will need your help. Please therefore, read this long report and " think on these things" and give us your advice.

WHAT I HAVE DONE SO FAR -
Rev. and Mrs. E. U. Robinson met me in Nashville. Mrs. Robinson paved the way for many of the interviews. Mr. Robinson not only drove us to Columbia but most helpful in suggestions and advice. They were both with me through the first day and until rather late in the evening.
Interviews were had with Gov. Jim Nance McCord; Mr. Ferguson, State president of the NAACP; Col. Looby, the Negro attorney who will defend the Negroes; Dean Faulkner and Dr. Jones of Fisk; several Negro women prominent in state organizations; the Methodist minister of Columbia, a filling station operator, a Negro beauty parlor operator, together with chance conversations with most any one in Nashville and Columbia. Visited the office of the Daily Herald of Columbia and secured the issues for the week.

I brought home with me a copy of the proceedings of the NAACP meeting held on Sunday in interest of the Columbia Negroes under arrest and the statement, of Mr. Weaver, the CIO attorney who finally secured the release of the Negroes on bail.

I wrote to Atty. General Clark and urged Federal action . He replied by stating that he had ordered the Federal Grand Jury to meet and go into the matter.

I was in on a conference,held by the Southern Regional Council director, with a representative of Life who was at Columbia soon after trouble started and remained through the week, and Dr. George Mitchell who spent sometime there during the trouble.

While in Nashville, I had two conferences with members of the staff of our General Board of Education. Mrs. Robinson was with me in the first conference. Mr. Horace Williams and Mr. Eleazer were most helpful to us.

I have received an air mail letter from Clark Foreman, head of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare asking me to be vice-chairman of the "United Committee Against Police Terror in Columbia, Tenn" headquarters at 1613 205 East 22nd St. New York . The letter was multigraphed and was a nice imitation of a typed letter so I suppose quite a few others were asked to be vice-chairmen.

I refused to serve - for several reasons -

1. Because on the full page of sponsoring organizations, there were several

with whom we do not travel, such as The Communist Party of U. S. and the one of Michigan, etc.

2. Because we have received a release from Mr. Walter White of the NAACP, stating that he had learned there was being formed a national committee to raise funds for legal defense and publicizing the case, however, the NAACP was the only agency authorized to represent the Negro defendents and it had a national committee to raise funds.
I have sent a small personal check to the NAACP.

3. Because I saw just such a national committee block action that might have been taken in the Mrs. Recy Taylor case in Alabama. I believe a national committee with headquarters in New York riles us so here in the South, it works against the interest of justice. (Why don't we have a Southern Committee right now on this? People of New York could join with us.)
However, I do want to say in this connection, wherever there is trouble in U. S. north, east, south or west, it does affect us all and should be the concern of every person , north, east, so uth or west. Whether it be a race riot in Detroit, slayings in Freeport, L. I. or trouble in Columbia, Tenn., we should voice our concern and our protest.
Whenever we receive letters mimeographed or cards printed in mass to sign, these should be but reminders that we must write personal letters, which will be far more effective and will receive far more attention.

SOMETHINGS WE MUST THINK ON -

1. Our Disinherited Whites who participated in the trouble at Columbia and wherever else they are.

Columbia is in Maury County. The county has an outer rim of limestone on which very poor people "grub" out an existence. The Duck River flows inside this rim and forms a bowl of rich blue grass section that is a veritable little Kentucky Horses are raised here and fine house line the roadsides.

The Negroes in the county feed on the crumbs of the blue grass section and the crumbs are richer than those "grubbed" by the poor whites from the limestone farms.. There are really some well-to-do Negroes in Maury County or rather there were until they were arrested and their businesses wrecked by the State Patrol.
This a part of the back ground of the trouble
The people on "the limestone rims " in our South must have our serious consideration and understanding. Their living on the margin of our economic life prostrates them and frequently produces violent expression and anti-social conduct. Makes them responsive to the political hate - mongers also.
Our Methodist Church seems to have no message for them.
The "sects" have appeal to them. Quoting "Christ and Our Country" -"They gather in the emotionally starved ..... "there are 10 or 12 million people who receive all the spiritual guidance they ever receive from the vagrant sects"
The Catholic church is beginning to reach out its ministry to them here in the South.

All I can think of now is that -

1. Through our Crusade we must find a way to reach them and the way to minister to them after we reach them. If in this year of Evangelism, we fail them, the Crusade fails that far.
In our Rural conferences and schools, these people should be uppermost in our thinking and planning.
Can't our Theological schools train people to preach to them as the Catholic

Church is doing?
Can't we find the funds to give economic security to ministers who would want to give their lives in such service.

I wish I dared say to us of the Woman's Society, one of our MUSTS, must be a rural worker in every District.

All this has been said many times before-, but the Columbia incident has emphasized emphatically the imperative need .

2. We should continue to work for greater appropriations for the Farm Security Administration and for the passage of Federal Aid to Education bill.

3. Encourage the organization of Farmers' Unions. (The Farmers Union takes in the tenant, the share-cropper and the small farm owner)

II. FEARS -- a. Fears of white people of Negroes
I was amazed to find the amount of fear in high places and in low among the white people that Negroes are armed and ready,at any hour, to rise up.
The Governor said to us - "I spoke in Mt. Pleasant to the Rotarians last week Mt. Pleasant is in Maury County , a few miles from Columbia, While there, two men whispered to me that at a funeral a day or so before, 65 Negroes marched in the procession carrying army rifles. (When I told this to Dean Faulkner, he laughed at such a description of a Negro funeral.)
" We found the Negroes had armes at Columbia and by searching their homes, collected 400 guns and 132 pistols,"(They searched about 3,500 homes.), the Governor continued.
We also had this said to us - "The Negroes made a run on a hardware store in Nashville for ammunition on Saturday - but the store was conveniently out of ammunition.
We were also told there are enough arms on Cedar St. (the street on which is located the Capitol and its residents are Negroes) to start another war.

The following are excerpts from the editorials of the week in the Columbia Daily Herald - (Note the veiled threats)

"Keep cool- We urge the white citizens of the city and county to keep calm, cool and collected. The situation is in the hands of the State Troops and State Police. They will round up those responsible for last night's attack and clean up the city. We urge the white citizens not to start any undue demonstrations, but wait and be ready should any eventually arise

.. There is no use in arguing the matter. The white people of the South and Maury County is an integral part of the South, will not tolerate any racial disturbances without resenting it, which means blood shed. The Negro has not a chance of gaining supremacy over a sovereign people , and the sooner the better element of the Negro race realize this the better off the race will be

-- The whole affair is regretable, but maybe there will good come out of the affair. It should teach other sections a lesson, and let them know that the State of Tennessee will not tolerate disregard for law and order or subversive action by any group, and that the State has the materials with which to quell all such uprisings, and will do it in no uncertain terms and that the offenders are bringing down dire trouble upon their heads when they think they can get away with any such actions. The Negro race and the white race should take a lesson from what has happened, and understand that only under the law can our problems be solved

"Thanks and appreciation are due the State Patrolmen and the State Guardsmen of the splendid towns of middle Tennessee who came to help us. We hope it will never be necessary to recipocate, but if it should be, we feel certain that Columbia will respond if called upon by any of our neighbors.
--- The great calamity that has befallen Columbia should not be allowed to occur to any other city or county in the State, and we can best prevent it from happening by fitting ourselves with the necessary prevention by having a State patrol organization and a Guard outfit that will cause those who would have the least idea of inciting a riot, to think twice before acting once. Preparedness is the best medicine. The cure may come forward afterwards, but the cure may be ten times as expensive as the preventive antidote, if the antidote is used at the proper time.
- From Editorials of the Daily Herlad, Columbia, Tenn. Feb. 26- March 2

To all of this, I might add that since Pearl Harbor, I think we all have heard many white people express forebodings of trouble when the Negro service men return.

b. Fears of Negroes of White People

A Negro beauticiam said to Mrs. Robinson and me - "As a race, we are wondering where our refuge is. Is God blind that He can't see the imposition on us? Is His arm shortened? Somewhere and somehow there is a refuge, for we have got to have justice and security. Are we going into another war? Wil He allow a new war to be to bring about retribution? Will this war redeem us?"

I asked a Negro teacher and minister in Nashville if Negroes were afraid even before this happened. He replied, "We never know what a day will bring forth. If our car should touch another, the results could be disasterous."

In this connection, I would like to add that last summer, Miss Venita Lewis, a Negro woman then with OPA and now with UNRRA in China, was with me in a conference. She has just driven through the South and had stopped at towns along the way. She talked to Negroes on sidewalks or wherever she could and asked them the question, "Is this town doing post-war planning?" She said this replied would invatiably come in substance. "The white people are meeting at the court house planning what they will do to us when the war is over.
I told Miss Lewis this was not true. She replied, "It is just as dangerous as if it were true because the Negroes think it is true."

III. POST-WAR ATTITUDES OF THE NEGRO -(This is what I gather)

As the three Negroes shot in the jail were being called for questioning, one of them, William Gordon is reported to have asked his fellow prisoners for a knife, saying, "Somebody is going down in this and it may be me". He did try to shoot"his way out". A white man interpreted this saying and action of Gordon to Mrs. Robinson and me this way - "He knew resistance would be fatal, but felt the effort was worth dying for. It was his intrepretation of dying for democracy."

Some weeks ago, a Negro college professor told me the following and illustrated one section of it by a letter and a story which I will give to you.

"There are two philosophies of though held by the Negro ex-service men.
One is, 'In the war, I was given a gun and taught to shoot to kill, and kill with a definite aim in view --- and we reached that aim.
The cause for which I killed was worthy of being killed myself
The war is ended. We are home again, but things are not right for us and we must make it so as we did across the sea. The cause is worthy of being killed myself.

The other philosophy is- "The intelligence Service found ways of working in enemy countries by making friendly contacts and it had the same definite aim in mind and pursued it just as dilligently as the men who shot to kill --- and the aim was reached.

The war is ended. We are home again, but things are not right for us and we must make it so. I will work as unswervingly against the wrong with just as definite aim in mind as I did across the sea . I will do it in a friendly manner but I will not yield. I will use legal action, if necessary, but not force"

THE LETTER - with names amd place omitted.

To ----County Chapter of 1946 Red Cross Campaign

Your request that I again act as Chairman of the Negro Division in the annual Red Cross Drive has been relayed to me by Mr.---- . I am appreciative of the complimemt implied in this invitation, and as heretofore welcome an opportunity to assist in a worthy cause.

The Campaign structure under which we operated last year is such, however, that neither I, nor any other chairman of the Negro Division could do justice either to the cause or to that portion of the population he is considered as representing. A chairman cannot prosecute with zeal a program which he has had no part in developing, and with which he is acquainted only by pamphlets, and by private conferences from which the mass enthusiasm and experience of similar workers are absent. He cannot fairly call for the whole-hearted support of a group which has had no part in choosing him as its representative. He cannot enjoy the added impetus created by friendly rivalry when he "kicks off" alone, and "attends" report meetings by phone or messenger. He must lay aside , in the name of public service, his self respect, to accept an invitation that is extended only after the other chairmen have been publicly announced. The resulting low morale cannot but extend through his whole organization, and the cause, which should get enthusiastic support, gets much less than that.

Toward the attainment of a more effective campaign, I offer the following suggestions ;-

1. That Negro representation be included at the planning level
2. That the Chairman of the Negro Division be selected by his own constituency
3. That all chairmen be announced at the same time.
4. That all chairmen be expected at all meeting concerning them.

I also offer the alternate, and to me, preferable suggestion that, instead of a Negro Division, each division, as presently and logically set up, have Negro representation to handle that part of the work.

Copies of this are being sent to ____ through whom you communicated with me-- In addition I will poll other public spirited Negro citizens, and will advise you the extent to which they agree with the opinions expressed herein. If such support is considerable and the indicated improvements are effected, I shall then consider it a privilege to serve in any capacity in which I might be helpful ,

Sincerely yours.

THE STORY THAT HE TOLD ME -

A young Negro sergeant , who had been badly wounded in Europe and had been recuperating at Great Lakes, was taking a trip South to see his wife who was soon to become a mother. In the early evening, the conductor approached him and said, "We will cross the Kentucky border very early in the morning, had you rather move out of this car now or shall I waken you when we reach Evansville. Negroes and white people cannot ride in the same car after we cross into Kentucky."

The sergeant replied - I'll remain where I am.

The next morning the conductor awakened the sergeant.

The Sergeant to the Conductor -- What do you want with me?

Conductor - We are crossing into Kentucky, so you must move back . There is a State law which will not permit you to stay in a white coach.

Sergeant - Please show me a copy of the law.

Conductor - I have'nt a copy of the law but it is the law .

Sergeant - Are you familiar with the Federal law concerning inter-state travel. I shall not move.

Conductor - I'll get a M. P. (which he did)

Sergeant to the M. P. - What do you want with me?

M. P. - I do not want anything, but the conductor wants you to move.

Sergeant to the Conductor - Get an officer of my rank and I will talk to him.

The Conductor went off and brought back a Captain.

Sergeant to the Captain- What do you want with me?

Captain - Nothing. The conductor wants you to move but I have no authority to make you (he left)

Conductor - I'll get civil police at Madisonville.

YOung White Girl -- Soldier, why don't you move and not cause so much trouble?

Sergeant - Lady, Hitler was pushing people around in Europe and Uncle Sam sent me and some others over there to stop him. We did, but I was almost killed in doing it. I did not do that over there to come home and be pushed around myself.

(The service men on the car cheered and said, "Brother, we are with you. They gave him their names and addresses, got the number of the train, the name of the conductor , the M. P. and the captain..... and the girl gave him her name)

When the train stopped at M adisonville, the conductor brought in two policemen.

Sergeant to the Policemen - What do you want with me?

Policeman - The conductor wants us to take you off of the train. Perhaps you had better come.

Sergeant I will go with you , but I am wounded and can't lift my bags.

The policemen picked up the baggage and the Sergeant went with them to the police station.

Sergeant to the Chief of Police -
What do you want with me?

Chief of Police - I do not want anything with you. The conductor wanted you to get off of the train. Don't you go and say we took you off? You are not under arrest. We do not want you. Why don't you go.

Sergeant - I do want your names, though, for I was put off of the train and now it is gone and I am sick and I have been delayed in getting to my sick wife. (He got their names)

-------- And now suit has been entered agaist the railroad.

IV. THE BRUTALITY AND VANDALISM OF THE STATE PATROL -
The Patrol was led by chief Lynn Bomar, a giant of a man, who was an All American Star in his days at Vanderbilt. In the arrest of the Negroes there was a general melee of clubbing, beating and shoving (See Time magazine for pictures) The Negro business section was wrecked and there was general vandalism by the Patrol. The caskets in the funeral home were broken and embalming fluid poured over the linings. On a strip of velevet , used at funerals, the letters K. K.K. were printed with white powder. All files and papers, including mortgage notes were torn in pieces. Atlanta Life Insurance office was wrecked and papers destroyed. The till in the barber shop was robbed of its day's receipts of $60 and the cash register broken beyond repair and the seats and arms of the barber chairs were ripped to pieces; the Negro drug store was looted of all candy, cream, cigars amd cigarettes; the cafe was wrecked, etc. etc,. etc.
In the midst of the wreck, stands unscathed the ice house and another business owned and operated by white people.

One reporter of a national magazine said "Mink Slide. the Negro section, looks like a European village wrecked by. war.

A question that is in my mind is - ARE STATE PATROLS LEGALIZED MOBS?

V. STATE GUARDS - President Truman's propaganda for universal military training is meeting with results in Tennessee. Boys of 16 and 17 can become members of the State Guards , if permission is given by the parents. In the 1,500 sent to Columbia through the week were many school boys. Baxter School for Boys, a Metodist inclined school , was well represented there.
While I was in Nashville I heard that some of the mothers were very much concerned. One of the Nashville boys was an eye witness to the killing in the jail and was made to search the bodies of the Negroes. I understand that he was in state of hysteria and another boy had not slept for 36 hours.

I saw an item in a Nashville paper which said the High School boys of Lebanon had written the Governor they would join the Guards if they would be allowed to go to Columbia. The article continued, "they have not received permission yet, but probably will."

VI. DOMESTIC SERVICE HAS ITS PLACE IN THE PICTURE
Soneone told us that ever since he had been living in Columbia people had been saying, "Columbia is on the verge of a race riot". We asked the basis for the fear. He replied in about these words-

The Government allows $20 a week unemployment conpensation and some of our Negroes are getting this and $4 a day is more than the wage of the county.

"Every time white women get together they talk in anger about not having servants and I feel that women everywhere in the South are doing this and there is dynamite in it

"Through your woman' societies help white women to know that God never decreed that women of one race should be the servants of another. Try to get them to see that to feel so is inconsistent with the Christian concept of brotherhood. To talk in anger of this is to sow seeds of discord and hate that is like "sowing the wind and reaping the whirlwind"

Jennings Perry, editor of the Nashville Tennessean in his analysis of "Behind the Scenes in Columbia " , says this-

" The race question has been here since the two races have. Nothing in our times has so edged it, perhaps, as the departure of Negro women from the white kitchens -- some to the mills, some because their men were making enough to take care of them, some because allotments from sons and husbands in the service were more than they make in the kitchens. This has stirred quite a white fury on the distaff side.

"In these parts domestic service is exclusively a Negro province even the poorest whites will not enter it, and there are no gentle German, Polish, Irish and Italian immigrants to fall back upon. White matrons, who have always had cooks and housekeepers at $4 to $8 a week, have been impatient waiting, some with anticipatory gloating; war will be over and Mary or Anna will"come begging back'. Mary and Anna, quite understandingly, do not mean to go back to that if they can help it. This, I would say, is the worst fly in the ointment of race relations in Tennessee today"

Surely, surely , we of the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Southeastern Jurisdiction have a job to do on this.

VII. LIQUOR PLAYS ITS PART -

We heard on every side of the drinking of the white people as they mulled about the square. A filling station operator told us that boot-legging flourished and expressed the opinion there would have been no trouble if there had been no drinking. He added, "The whites had to have liquor to be brave enough to be smart. The Negroes had to have it to be brave enough to defend them selves."

Two very drunk white men were arrested and there were empty and part-empty whiskey bottles gathered up in the search of places where the Negroes were congregated.

One thing we must face is that liquor has played its part in every lynching and race riot we have ever had -

SOME SUGGESTIONS OFFERED TO ME AS A LINE OF ACTION FOR OUR WOMAN'S SOCIETY

From Governor McCord - Let the church preach the Gospel.

From a Columbia Citizen- Organize an interracial committee in every community. If there had been one here, there would have been understanding and confidence enough between the two races to have prevented this occurrance or to have stopped it after it began

Help women to adjust themselves to the servant situation.

From Mr. Ferguson of the NAACP and Col. Looby, Negro Attorney

1. Help get justice in this case. What is done here will be the pattern used anywhere the Columbia tragedy might be repeated.

Write to Atty. General Clark urging Federal investigation and action.
It is serious that the Negroes are charged with insurrection and attempt to murder.
Help get compensation from the State for the property destroyed by the State Patrol/

2. Form inter-racial committees in every community.
3. See that State Guards are more mature than 16 and 17 year old boys.

4. Work to build public opinion so that we may have Negro police, Negro deputies in the towns and counties and Negroes on State Guards and State Patrol. Work to get all police a living wage. Demand training for them. The office of a defender of safety should be made so self-respecting it would lure the best of our citizens to accept it as a life service.

5. Lead law enforcement and city officials to have an intelligent understanding of the organizations that are working for the good of the Negro. They should be invited to the meetings of these organizations.

6. Get preachers to preach "less on the Bible" and more on how it relates to every day living; to preach more on how to look and act in public- in fact preach on public conduct , and along with this strengthen people so they will be able to meet crises in the communities.

7. Reach the poor white people the organized church is not reaching now -- the people who usually cause the trouble.
You can reach them through the radio on Saturday night. Put messages in hill-billy songs. They listen to them

- --- - - - - -

In connection with "getting justice in the case, I quote you some excerpts from a letter wrtitten by Dr. Albert Barnett to Gov. McCord. I feel sure Dr. Barnett would want you to have this as we think in terms of justice at Columbia (THis letter ought to make you write a letter to the Governor, yourself)

"When I read the accounts of the recent disturbance at Columbia in the Nashville Tennessean, the name of C. H. Denton caught my eye.
He is the magistrate who fixed the bond for the Negroes of Columbia . Looking back into my file on the Cordie Creek lynching of December 15, 1933, I discover that the automobile of this same C. H. Denton was used in the abduction of Cordie Creek. Armed men abducted the Negro boy, only 17 years of age, from his uncle's home in Nashville when a Maury County Grand Jury had adjourned without indicting him. Threw him into C. H. Denton's car. Drove to a point on the Columbia - Lewisburh road, and in the presence of 500 to a 1000 spectators hanged him to a cedar tree by the roadside. White residents of Maury County told me that invitations to the lynching were telephoned from C. H. Denton's home telephone to people all about Maury County notifying of the time and place of the lynching and inviting them to see the show.

It is a travesty on justice that Negroes under arrest at Columbia in the present situation should have their bond set or denied by a magistrate whose car was used in the abduction and lynching of Cordee Creek and over whose telephone invitations were allegedly issued to people to witness the lynching ..... I wrote this case up in detail for the late Senator Edward P. Costigan at the time the Costigan - Wagner Federal Anti-lynching bill was being considered in committee. I can furnish you with a copy of the study if you desire it."

Same letter mailed to:
Miss Louise Young
Mrs. Glenn James, Box 1086, Tallahassee
Mrs. Frank S. Craft

September 7, 1960

Mrs. E. H. Spearman, Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

We are in need of a copy of the South Carolina voter registration laws. We would write directly to the State Capitol but I am afraid they would not send it to a person out of the state, therefore please be so kind as to get a copy and send it to us very quickly.

Thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec

Same letter to:
Dan Bowers
Nat Griswold

September 7, 1960

Dr. Rufus B. Atwood
Chairman
Kentucky Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 338
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Atwood:

We are in a rather hurried process of gathering together the voter registration laws of our Southern states. Please secure them for Kentucky and rush them to us. I would write directly to the Capitol but I am not sure they would send them to a person out of the state.

Thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec

September 7, 1960

Mrs. Moreland Smith
3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Smith:

This is a most hurried request for you, because we do have need of the voter registration laws of the state of Alabama. Please get them for us and mail them to us. This is an emergency.

I hope you will be at the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop, November 15-16.

Thanks and best wishes to you and yours.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec

September 7, 1960

Mrs. J. A. Burt
4235 Meadowland Drive
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Martha:

Here is something I am asking you to do quicker than you can. This is an emergency. Please get from your state capitol the voter registration laws for Mississippi and mail them to me. This is an S. O. S.

Love and thanks.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec

BETTYE FRINK
SECRETARY OF STATE

STATE OF ALABAMA

OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE

MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA

October 3, 1960

Miss L. E. Cummings
550 Ashby Street, N. W.
Apartment 2
Atlanta 13, Georgia

Dear Miss Cummings:

In compliance with your request of September 28th I am enclosing Act No. 426, Regular Session, 1951. I believe this act will give you the desired information.

It is a pleasure to be of service to you in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Bettye Frink

Bettye Frink
Secretary of State

Enclosure

Each Probate Judge, Sheriff, and the Clerk and Register of the Circuit Court is required by law to preserve this slip or pamphlet in a book kept in his office until the Act is published in permanent form.

ALABAMA LAW

(Regular Session, 1951)

Act No. 426 S. 235—Pinson, Golson, Bonner, Quarles, Locke (Choctaw), Locke, Sr. (Perry), Johnston, Andrews, Sollie, Byars, Eddins, High, Foster, Thagard

AN ACT

To propose an amendment of Section 181 of the Constitution of Alabama fixing the qualifications to register as an elector and providing therefor and ordering an election upon such proposed amendment to be held on the first Tuesday after the expiration of three months after the final adjournment of the present session of the Legislature.

Be It Enacted by the Legislature of Alabama:

Section 1. The following amendment of Section 181 of the Constitution of Alabama is proposed to become valid as a part of the said Constitution when approved by a majority of the qualified electors voting thereon at the election provided for in Section 2 hereof, the result of such election to be made known by proclamation of the Governor.

AMENDMENT

"Section 181. The following persons, and no others, who, if they are citizens of the United States over the age of Twenty-one years and have the qualifications as to residence* prescribed in Section 178 of this Article, shall be qualified to register as electors provided they shall not be disqualified under Section 182 of this Constitution: those who can read and write any Article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language which may be submitted to them by the Board of Registrars, provided, however, that no persons shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the Constitution of the United States and under the Constitution of the State of Alabama, and provided, further, that in order to aid the Members of the Boards of Registrars, who are hereby constituted and declared to be Judicial Officers, to judicially determine if applicants to register have the qualifications hereinabove set out, each applicant shall be furnished by the Board of Registrars a written questionnaire, which shall be uniform in all cases with no discrimination as between applicants, the form

*In the State of Alabama - 2 years.
In the County - 1 year.
In the precinct or ward - 3 months.

and contents of which questionnaire shall be prescribed by The Supreme Court of Alabama and be filed by such Court with the Secretary of State of the State of Alabama, which questionnaire shall be so worded that the answers thereto will place before the Boards of Registrars information necessary or proper to aid them to pass upon the qualification of each applicant. Such questionnaire shall be answered in writing by the applicant, in the presence of the Board without assistance, and there shall be incorporated in such answer an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Alabama and a statement in such oath by the applicant disavowing belief in or affiliation at any time with any group or party which advocated the overthrow of the government of the United States or the State of Alabama by unlawful means, which answers and oath shall be duly signed and sworn to by the applicant before a member of the County Board of Registrars. Such questionnaire and the written answers of the applicant thereto shall be filed with the records of the respective Boards of Registrars. The Board may receive information respecting the applicant and the truthfulness of any information furnished by him. Those persons who have registered as electors under the Alabama Constitution of 1901 shall not be required to register again. Provided, further, that if solely because of physical handicaps the applicant is unable to read or write, then he shall be exempt from the above stated requirements which he is unable to meet because of such physical handicap, and in such cases a Member of the Board of Registrars shall read to the applicant the questionnaire and oaths herein provided for and the applicant's answers thereto shall be written down by such Board Member, and the applicant shall be registered as a voter if he meets all other requirements herein set out."

Section 2. An election upon the proposed amendment is ordered to be held on the first Tuesday after the expiration of three months after the final adjournment of the present session of the Legislature. The election shall be held in accordance with the provisions of Sections 284 and 285 of the Constitution of Alabama, as amended, and Chapter 1, Article 18, Title 17 of the Alabama Code of 1940.

Section 3. Notice of the election and of the proposed amendment shall be given by proclamation of the Governor, which proclamation shall be published once a week for four successive weeks next preceding the day appointed for the election in a newspaper in every county of the State in which a newspaper is published, and in every county in which no newspaper is published a copy of such notice shall be posted at the courthouse for four successive weeks next preceding the day appointed for the election.

Section 4. Such amendment shall be known as the "Voters Qualification Amendment".

Constitutional Amendment.
Passed the Senate May 25, 1951.
Passed the House August 14, 1951.

I hereby certify that the foregoing copy of an Act of the Legislature of Alabama has been compared with the enrolled Act and it is a true and correct copy thereof.

Given under my hand this 17 day of August, 1951.

J. E. SPEIGHT,
Secretary of Senate.

Dear Miss Tilly:
District Presidents of La, Miss, Ala, Georgia, Fla
S. C. N.C Tenn. Va. Ky are ticked off
1960 Sincerely
Margaret T. May
Soc. Secy

FIRST EPISCOPAL DISTRICT

Charlotte District
W. Mrs. Dellacy Grecian-Donawa, 320 S. Alexander St., Charlotte, North Carolina
Y. Mrs. Roberta McCain, Box 626, Charlotte 3, North Carolina
B. Mrs. Addie B. Little, 1814 Oaklawn Ave., Charlotte, North Carolina
S. Mrs. Eleatha Watson, City Mounted, 332 Box 982, Charlotte, North Carolina
C. Mrs. Mary Kirkpatrick, 3515 Old Sardis Rd., Charlotte, North Carolina

North Charlotte District
W. Mrs. Lucy Lowery, 823 East 7th Street, Charlotte, North Carolina
Y. Mrs. Arlena Roper, 1819 Baxter St., Charlotte, North Carolina
B. Mrs. Savannah McDowell, 816 Polk Street, Charlotte, North Carolina
S. Mrs. Elizabeth Michael, 927 Druid Circle, North Charlotte, North Carolina
C. Mrs. Allie S. Clark, 426 Willow St., Mocresville, North Carolina

Salisbury District
W. Mrs. Barbara J. Taylor, Box 51, Cleveland, North Carolina
Y. Mrs. Margaret Willis, 315 Copee St., Kannapolis, North Carolina
B. Mrs. Vodie Morrison, General Delivery, Troutman, North Carolina
S. Mrs. Minnie Bonner, Box 533, Kannapolis, North Carolina
C. Mrs. Pearl Younge, 527 West Monroe St., Salisbury, North Carolina

Winston-Salem District
W. Mrs. C.E. Norment, Route 3, Box 386, Winston-Salem, North Carolina
Y. Mrs. Mattie Davis, 1514 Mickey Mill Rd., Winston-Salem, North Carolina
B. Mrs. Alta Ervin, Route 1, Winston-Salem, North Carolina
S. Mrs. Watty Blakey, 420 Dunleith Ave., Winston-Salem, North Carolina
C. Mrs. Estelle Phelps, Route 2, Box 82, Clemmons, North Carolina

Statesville District
W. Mrs. Claler Lohr, Route 1, Newton, North Carolina
Y. Mrs. Roberta Heath, 122 N. Mulberry St., Statesville, North Carolina
B. Mrs. Nan Seagle, 2521 LaSalle St., Charlotte, North Carolina
S. Mrs. Ethel Watt, 431 First St., S.W., Hickory, North Carolina
C. Mrs. Minnie Hewitt, 113 8th Ave., Dr., S.E., Hickory, North Carolina

Lincolnton District
W. Mrs. Jetta Gladden, 115 Wagner St., Statesville, North Carolina
Y. Mrs. Laura Wilkins, Box 88, Avondale, North Carolina
B. Mrs. Smillie Barrow, Box 3, Morresboro, North Carolina
S. Mrs. Margaret Meeks, 304 E. Ridge St., Kings Mountain, North Carolina
C. Mrs. Bessie Pagan, 307 West Sullivan Ave., Gastonia, North Carolina

NEW ENGLAND CONFERENCE

Boston District
W. Mrs. Gertrude T. Woodhouse, 617 Shawmut Ave., Boston, Mass.
Y. Miss Cleo Merritt, 80 Alston St., Cambridge, Mass.
B. Miss Ruth Scott, 185 Ivy St., Providence, R.I.
S. Mrs. W. Taylor, 4A Forest St., East Roxbury, Mass.
C. Mrs. Sadie Thornhill, 209 Walnut St., Roxbury, Mass.

Hartford District
W. Mrs. Cornelia Parks, 86 James St., Bridgeport, Conn.
Y. Mrs. Sinclara Gunn, Box 409, Stockbridge, Mass.
B. Mrs. Anne Benford, 167 West Washington St., Forrestville, Conn.
S. Mrs. M.L. McDew, 28 Edwards St., New Britian, Conn.
C. Mrs. Inez Jefferson, 123 Locust St., Waterbury, Conn.

NEW YORK CONFERENCE

Brooklyn
W. Mrs. Gertrude Broglin, 753 Nassau Rd., Uniondale, N.Y.
Y. Mrs. Effie I. Williams, 122-34 Long St., Baisley Park, Jamaica 34, N.Y.
B. Mrs. Victoria Dargan, 2351 Coney Island Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
S. Mrs. Catherine V. Roan, 645 N. Barry Ave., Mamaroneck, N.Y.
C. Mrs. Joeana Richards, 80 Sickles Ave., New Rochelle, N.Y.

Hudson River District
W. Mrs. Annie L. Hill, 145 W. 135th St., Apt. 10, New York 30, N.Y.
Y. Mrs. Fredella Brewer, 35 Mt. Morris Park, W., Apt. 4-B, New York, N.Y.
B. Mrs. Margaret Guellette, 100 Main St., White Plains, N.Y.
S. Mrs. Eva L. Nixon, 86 Widley St., Tarrytown, N.Y.
C. Mrs. Pocahontas V. Lynn, 128 West 138th St., New Y ork, N.Y.

Long Island District
W. Mrs. Christine B. Findley, 163 Burd St., Nyack, N.Y.
Y. Miss Lyllian G. Elmore, 400 Convent Ave., Apt. 35, New York, N.Y.
B. Mrs. Hettie Corse, 1344 Lyman St., Bronx, N.Y.
S. Mrs. Daisy Douglas, 164-25 109th Dr. Jamaica, New York.
C. Mrs. Elizabeth White, 430 East 169th St., New York, N.Y.

WESTERN NEW YORK CONFERENCE

Albany
W. Mrs. P.J. Stoud, 39 Delaware St., Albany, N.Y.
Y. Mrs. Mary Williams, 24 Park Place, Schenectady, N.Y.
B. Mrs. Phillipa Laws, 2613 Fifth Ave., Troy, N.Y.
S. Miss Deborah Tucker, 2258 6th Ave., Troy, N.Y.
C. Mrs. N.V. Jones, 3 Lydia St., Troy, N.Y.

Syracuse District
W. Mrs. Ella Tillman, 300 Ashwood Drive, Rochester, N.Y.
Y. Mrs. Josephine Hogan, 609 Lake St., Elmira, N.Y.
B. Mrs. Eleanor Jackson, 508 Clarissa St., Rochester, N.Y.
S. Mrs. Ruth Anderson, 118 Cleveland Ave., Ithaca, N.Y.
C. Mrs. Constance Whitfield, 407 Park Ave., Utica, N.Y.

Buffalo District
W. Mrs. Rosa Proctor, 711 East Fayette St., Syracuse, N.Y.
Y. Mrs. Edna Powell, 229 Brunswick Blvd., Buffalo, N.Y.
B. Mrs. Drucilla Hemphill, 164 Glenwood, Buffalo, N.Y.
S. Mrs. Theora Isaac, 27 Eaton St., Lackawanna, N.Y.
C. Mrs. Fannie B. Ware, 67 West 15th St., Jamestown, N.Y.

SECOND EPISCOPAL DISTRICT

PHILADELPHIA AND BALTIMORE CONFERENCE

Philadelphia District
W. Mrs. Adelaide Fassett, 11 North 50 th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Y. Mrs. Ella M. Thomas, 5705 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
B. Mrs. Mary Alston, 844 North 40th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
S. Mrs. Katheryn Brown, 1341 North 56th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
C. Mrs. Creola B. Cowan, 4061 Aspen St., Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Salisbury District
W. Mrs. Mildred Quille, 1920 Druid Hill Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
Y. Mrs. Susie Brugess, 319 Ianvale Street, Baltimore, Md.
B. Mrs. Willie Crawford, 923 Lombard Street, Wilmington, Delaware
S. Mrs. Ella Whaley, 402 Lake Street, Salisbury, Md.
C. Mrs. Edith Showell, 708 Hill Street, Salisbury, Md.

Washington District
W. Mrs. Elsie G. Keyes, 1312 Eight Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
Y. Mrs. Georgia Mason, 125 You Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
B. Mrs. Jane Sedgwick, 1736 Williard St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
S. Miss Connie McIlwain, 1714 Second St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
C. Mrs. Mildred Jackson, 1736 Webster St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

CENTRAL NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh District
W. Mrs. E.B. Young, 423 South Hillsboro St., Franklinton, N. Carolina
Y. Miss Flora J. McLean, Route 6, Box 110, Lillington, N. Carolina
B. Mrs. Annie H. Tharpe, 124 East Cabarrus St., Raleigh, N. Carolina
S. Miss Annie M. Bethea, Kipling, North Carolina
C. Mrs. Sandra Byrd, Apt. 6-A, Washington Terrace, Raleigh, N. Carolina

Sanford District
W. Mrs. C.T. Hadkins, P.O. Box 2164, Greensboro, N. Carolina
Y. Mrs. Nezzie J. Kelly, Carthage, N. Carolina
B. Mrs. Louvine McKinzie, Carthage, N. Carolina
S. Mrs. Isabella Hodges, Manchester, N. Carolina
C. Mrs. Pauline Waddell, Washington Ave., Sanford, N. Carolina

Fayetteville District
W. Mrs. Grace Hatch, 605 S. Wilson Ave., Dunn, N. Carolina
Y. Mrs. Julia McKay, Route 4, Box 526, Fayetteville, N. Carolina
B. Mrs. Lena Walker, 609 Magnolia St., Dunn, N. Carolina
S. Mrs. L.M. Howard, Dunn, N. Carolina
C. Mrs. E.J. Elliott, Route 6, Box 121, Fayetteville, N. Carolina

Durham District
W. Mrs. Gertrude Long, 407 Formosa Ave., Durham, N. Carolina
Y. Miss Georgia Turner, 609 Ender St., Sanford, N. Carolina
B. Mrs. Byrd Poole, 1007 Moreland Ave., Durham, N. Carolina
S. Mrs. Allie Avant, Route 5, Sanford, N. Carolina
C. Mrs. Gaither Iassiter, Route 3, Paex, N. Carolina

Laurinburg District
W. Mrs. Carrie Hoskins, 906 Caledonia Rd., Laurinburg, N. Carolina
Y. Mrs. Mary B. Whitted, Pamford, North Carolina
B. Mrs. Hattie Covington, McCall, South Carolina
S. Mrs. Heather, McKeithan, St. Paul, North Carolina
C. Mrs. Lola Shine, 507 Forker St., Laurinburg, North Carolina

WEST CENTRAL NORTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE

Greensboro District
W. Mrs. Mary B. Sawyer, 2011 Ashboro Street, Greensboro, N. Carolina
Y. Mrs. Annette B. Speight, 205 Price St., High Point, N. Carolina
B. Mrs. Irene M. Lawrence, 310 Percy St., Greensboro, N. Carolina
S. Mrs. Eva Leake, P.O. Box 415, Biscoe, N. Carolina
C. Mrs. Gertrude B. Stanton, 1008 Leonard St., High Point, N. Carolina

Rockingham District
W. Mrs. Bessie Leak, 400 Rockingham Rd., Rockingham, N. Carolina
Y. Mrs. Minnie Morgan, P.O Box 141, Rockingham, N. Carolina
B. Mrs. Inez Tyson, Route 1, Box 295, Hamlet, N. Carolina
S. Mrs. Lillie Covington, Route # 1, Hamlet, N. Carolina
C. Mrs. Edna Dawkins, General Delivery, Hamlet, N. Carolina

Concord District
W. Mrs. Ollie C. Webb, 818 Kershaw St., Cheraw, S. Carolina
Y. Mrs. C.W. Boulware, 106 Chestnut St., Concord, N. Carolina
B. Mrs. Viola Lilly, Route 2, Box 298, Kannapolis, N. Carolina
S. Mrs. Julia Thredgill, Route 2, Wadesboro, N. Carolina
C. Mrs. Ann Saunders, Route 3, Box 308, Concord, N. Carolina

Wadesboro-Monroe District
W. Mrs. Geneva West, P.O. Box 41, Lilesville, N. Carolina
Y. Mrs. Ona Lee Redman, 1014 Massey St., Monroe, N. Carolina
B. Mrs. Thara S. Anderson, Route 3, Wadesboro, N. Carolina
S. Mrs. Jamie Walkup, Lilesville, N. Carolina
C. Mrs. Maggie Lillie, Route 1, Lillesville, N. Carolina

THIRD EPISCOPAL DISTRICT

CAPE FEAR CONFERENCE

Clarkton District
W. Mrs. Josephine Freeman, Route 2, Box 249, Clarkton, N. Carolina
Y. Mrs. Cassie Monroe, Bladensboro, N. Carolina
B. Miss Catherine Smith, R.F.D., Elizabethtown, N. Carolina
S. Mrs. Blanche Perkins, 722 E. 10th St., Lumberton, N. Carolina
C. Mrs. Lessie Mumford, Route 1, Box 2E, Clarkton, N. Carolina

Wilmington District
W. Mrs. Dorothy Peoples, 1216 King St., Wilmington, N. Carolina
Y. Mrs. Ruth Joyner, 1011 S. 7th St., Wilmington, N. Carolina
B. Mrs. Alice Lee, Southport, N. Carolina
S. Mrs. Isabel Pearsall, 1009 Orange St., Wilmington, N. Carolina
C. Mrs. Susan Keith, 702 Dawson St., Wilmington, N. Carolina

Wilson District

W. Mrs. Letitia H. Fisher, 301 North Vick St., Wilson, N. Carolina
Y. Mrs. A.M. Hobbs, 414 South George St., Goldsboro, N. Carolina
B. Mrs. Gaynell Outlaw, Box 242, LaGrange, N. Carolina
S. Mrs. Marie Johnson, 115 Pendla St., Wilson, N. Carolina
C. Mrs. Sarah Thomas, 507 West Hines Street, Wilson, N. Carolina

Goldsboro District

W. Mrs. I.B. White, Route 5, Box 342, Fayetteville, N. Carolina
Y. Mrs. Nellie Sheffield, Route 3, Box 34, Rose Hill North Carolina
B. Mrs. Lila M. Fisher, P.O. Box 651, Roseboro, N. Carolina
S. Mrs. Bertha Fennell, 306 Brazil St., Goldsboro, N. Carolina
C. Mrs. Addie M. Highsmith, Route 4, Box 129-A, Clinton, N. Carolina

NEW JERSEY CONFERENCE

Camden District

W. Mrs. Mahala Atchison, 151 Penn. Ave., Newark, New Jersey
Y. Mrs. Alice Lyons, 304 North Willow St., Trenton, N.J.
B. Mrs. Carrie Corbin, 204 W. Bergen Place, Red Bank, N.J.
S. Mrs. Grace Dodson, 43 Wyckoff St., Matawan, N.J.
C. Mrs. Adele Small, 32 North Conn. Ave., Atlantic City, N.J.

Jersey City District

W. Mrs. Alleyne Houston, 36 South Maple, East Orange, N.J.
Y. Mrs. Irene Stewart, 433 East 35th St., Paterson, N.J.
B. Mrs. Lolita Davis, 187 High Street, Hackensack, N.J.
S. Mrs. Josephine Wilson, 119 Myrtle Ave., Jersey City, N.J.
C. Miss Lydia Emanuel, 44 South Gaston Ave., Sommerville, N.J.

PALMETTO CONFERENCE

Columbia-Camden District

W. Mrs. Corrine G. Ward, 1300 Blossom St., Columbia, S. Carolina ✓
Y. Mrs. Charlotte T. Harris, 805 Dibble St., Camden, S. Carolina
B. Mrs. C.M. Boulware, 224 California Ave., York, S. Carolina
S. Mrs. Lucille Wider, Route 1, Box 22½, Eastover, S. Carolina
C. Mrs. Lottie Thomas, 1701 Scott St., Camden, S. Carolina

Spartanburg District

W. Mrs. S.V. Moreland, Clinton College, Rock Hill, S. Carolina ✓
Y. Mrs. Lillie Stewart, Carlisle, S. Carolina - Box 87
B. Mrs. Carrie L. Hillian, P.O. Box 16, Carlisle, S. Carolina
S. Mrs. Catherine Manning, 200 Enterprise St., Union, S. Carolina
C. Mrs. Ida Moore, 128 Fletcher St., Spartanburg, S. Carolina

BAHAMA CONFERENCE

Nassau District

W. Mrs. Beatrice Forbes
Y. Mrs. Madelyn Wilkerson
B. Mrs. Mary Davis
S. Mrs. Arabella Kemp
C. Mrs. Mary J. Rolle

All mail is sent to : Grant Town Post Office, Nassau, Bahama Island, B.W.I.

SOUTH FLORIDA CONFERENCE

Jacksonville District

W. Mrs. Bessie Love, 1704 Blue Street, Jacksonville, Fla.
Y. Miss Faye Souder, 608 N. 1st St., Gainsville, Fla.
B.
S. Mrs. C.M. Robert, Moncrief Village, Apt. 1637, Jacksonville, Fla.
C. Mrs. Clarine Limbrie, 1814 Kings Rd., Jacksonville, Fla.
(Y's Asst. Miss Effie Crosby, 1618 Tyler St., Jacksonville, Fla. Will receive all mail.)

Tampa-East Coast District

W. Mrs. Ollie Lee, 3420 Machado St., Tampa, Fla.
Y. Mrs. Mollie Boone, 2611-26th Ave., Tampa, Fla.
B. Mrs. Ertha Curry, 2619 - 29th Ave., Tampa, Fla.
S. Mrs. Lucille Williams, 1408 Garcia St., Tampa, Fla.
C. Mrs. Tempy Hayes

Miami District

W. Mrs. Exie Hooper, 702 Whitehead St., Key West, Fla.
Y. Mrs. Pauline Ferguson, 1623 N.W. 5th St., Miami, Fla.
B. Mrs. Florence Symonette, 114 Angela Street, Key West, Fla.
S. Mrs. Flossie Sands, 413 Smith Lane, Key West, Fla.
C. Mrs. Arcenia Dean, 312 Virginia St., Key West, Fla.

FOURTH EPISCOPAL DISTRICT
ALLEGHENY CONFERENCE

Braddock District

W. Mrs. Adeline W. Pollard, 7238½ Susquehanna St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Y. Mrs. Estella Monk, 423- 3rd Ave., Rankin, Pa.
B. Mrs. Helena Lyons, 368 Independence St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
S. Miss Ruth King, 742 West Otterman St., Greensburg, Pa.
C. Miss Marie Sherman, Box 167, Josephine, Pa.

Pittsburgh District

W. Mrs. Willa Mae Rice, 7134 Upland St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Y. Mrs. Margaret Powell, 173 Gormley Ave., Oakdale, Pa.
B. Mrs. Harriet Coleman, P.O. Box 46, Southview, Pa.
S. Mrs. Guy T. Reynolds, 140 Elm St., Washington, Pa.
C. Miss Mabel Aston, Box 72, Carnegie, Pa.

MICHIGAN CONFERENCE

Detroit District

W. Mrs. Edna Perrin, 17403 Main Street, Detroit, Mich.
Y. Mrs. Mary Wells, 4414 Mt. Elliott St., Detroit 7, Mich.
B. Mrs. Naomi Washington, 631 Rosedale Ave., Detroit, Mich.
S. Mrs. Earnestine Paris, 1110½ Pinewood St., Toledo, Ohio
C. Mrs. Gertrude Casey, 3403 Mayo St., Toledo, Ohio

Chicago District

W. Mrs. Clara B. Jones, 1632 Van Buren St., Gary, Ind.
Y. Mrs. Mary Meeks, 4444 South Ellis St., Chicago, Ill.
B. Mrs. Laura B. Reid, 2412 Conn. St., Gary, Ind.
S. Mrs. Isadora B. Johnson, 4627 Calumet Ave., 2nd Apt., Chicago, Ill.
C. Mrs. Ada Tipp, 2106 E. 140th St., E. Chicago, Indiana

OHIO CONFERENCE

Akron District

W. Mrs. Anna Hedge, 441 Centennial Ave., Sewickley, Pa.
Y. Mrs. Guernia Morgan, 799 Diagonal Rd., Akron 20, Ohio (Diagonal Rd.)
B. Mrs. Marion Jackson, 312 Cabot St., Youngstown, Ohio
S. Mrs. Jessie Comer, 1628 McClelland Ave., Erie, Pa.
C. Mrs. Margaret Hardy, 816 Bryn Mawr Rd., Pittsburgh, Pa

Columbus-Cincinnati District

W. Mrs. Louise Gamble, 3592 Van Antwerp Place, Cincinnati 29, Ohio
Y. Mrs. Julia M. Dunn, 3596 Van Antwerp Place, Cincinnati, Ohio
B.
S. Mrs. Novella Jackson, 6229 Sierra St., Cincinnati 27, Ohio
C. Mrs. Josephine Marshall, 895 Paririe Ave., Woodlawn 15, Ohio

Cleveland District

W. Mrs. Josie Fuller, 10915 Dremel Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
Y. Mrs. Rutherman, 10915 Lee St., Cleveland, Ohio
B. Mrs. Ida M. Woods, 931 Johnson St., Massilon, Ohio
S. Mrs. Nettie Flowers, 8619 Beckman, Cleveland 8, Ohio
C. Mrs. Valtene Ware, 1586 East 115th St., Cleveland, Ohio

Erie District

W. Mrs. Katherine Scott, 426 West 2nd St., Erie, Pa.
Y. Mrs. Artilla Thomas, 902 West 37th St., Ashtebula, Ohio
B.
S.
L.M. Mrs. Willie B. Twillie, 852 E. 19th St., Erie, Pa.

INDIANA CONFERENCE

Indianapolis District

W. Mrs. Mattie W. Anderson, 2719 Schriver Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
Y. Mrs. Mattie Jones, 1031 North Belmont Ave., Indianpolis, Ind.
B. Mrs. Katherine Dunn, 2817 North Kenwood St., Indianpolis, Ind.
S. Mrs. Mary Marlin, 1138 North Sheffield Ave., Indianapolia, Ind.
C. Mrs. Carrie Watson, 514 West Tennessee St., Evansville, Ind.

FIFTH EPISCOPAL DISTRICT

BLUE RIDGE CONFERENCE

Asheville District

W. Mrs. A.M. Howell, 901 Henry St., Morristown, Tenn.
Y. Mrs. Katie Olden, Route 1, Box 25, Parrottsville, Tenn.
B. Mrs. Nannie Dykes, 304 White Oak Ave., Newport, Tenn.
S. Mrs. Edith Logan, 6 White St., Biltmore, North Carolina
C. Mrs. Ada Howell, 901 Henry St., Morristown, Tenn.

Hendersonville District

W. Mrs. Erie B. Cook, 137 South Grove St., Asheville, N. Carolina
Y. Mrs. Elizabeth Houston, 3 Cumberland Pl. Asheville, N. Carolina
B. Mrs. R.K. Stokes, Box 583, Rutherfordton, N. Carolina
S. Mrs. Edith Crews, Route 1, Box 84, Union Mills, N. Carolina
C. Mrs. Pearl Lipsey, Box 533, Marion, N. Carolina.

ALBEMARLE CONFERENCE

Edenton District

W. Mrs. I.E. Rogerson, P.O. Box 87, Winfall, North Carolina
Y. Mrs. Cleo A. Tyner, 123 South Elm St., Williamston, N. Carolina
B. Mrs. C.V. Brown, Route 2, Box 202, Edenton, N. Carolina
S. Mrs. R.R. Ebron, Winfall, N. Carolina
C. Mrs. L.J. McRea, 215 East Church St., Edenton, N.Carolina

Elizabeth City District

W. Mrs. Carrie L. Singleton, 313 Culpepper St., Elizabeth City, N. Carolina
Y. Mrs. E.L. Burton, 215 Perry St., Elizabeth City, N. Carolina
B. Mrs. Gladys Seymour, Box 32, Moyeck, N. Carolina
S. Mrs. Cleo Dunston, Coinjack, N. Carolina
C. Mrs. Marjorie Stephens, 305 Culpepper St., Elizabeth City, N. Carolina

NORTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE

East Newbern-Beaufert District

W. Mrs. Savannah Faulkner, 1131 West 5th St., Greenville, N.Carolina
Y. Mrs. E.O. Bryant, 511 Cedar St., Beaufort, N. Carolina
B. Mrs. Lillian Lewis, Bayboro, North Carolina
S. Miss Geraldine Dennis, 407 Craven St., Beaufort, N. Carolina
C. Mrs. P.V. Susan, 1203 Bridges St., Greenville, N.Carolina

Newbern District

W. Mrs. B.L. Garrett, Route 3, Box 404, Newbern, North Carolina
Y. Mrs. L.S. Hill, 1019 E. Caswell St., Kinston, N. Carolina
B. Mrs. S.E. Brown, 5 G. ~~Mitchell~~ Courts, Wooten, N.Carolina (Mitchell Courts)
S. Mrs. Janie Hill, Box 225, Maysville, North Carolina
C. Mrs. S.E. Moore, 303 Jones St., New Bern, N. Carolina

Washington District

W. Mrs. Carrie L. Spaulding, 402 Highland Ave., Rocky Mountain, N. Carolina
Y. Mrs. Etta DuPree, 1209 West 4th St., Greenville, N. Carolina
B. Mrs. Nena Cherry, 1213 Green St., Greenville, N. Carolina
S. Mrs. Maggie Strong, Route 2, Ayden, N.Carolina
C. Mrs. E.R. Hudson, 1005 North John St., Goldsboro, N. Carolina

TENNESSEE CONFERENCE

Knoxville District

W. Mrs. Sylvester F. Johnson, 2430 Cecil St., N.E. Knoxville, Tenn.
Y. Mrs. Jeannette Brandenburgh, Route 5, Harris Rd., Knoxville, Tenn.
B. Mrs. Janie Walker, 2223 East Bethel St., Knoxville, Tenn.
S. Mrs. Marco Reed Henley, 1522 Texas Ave., Knoxville, Tenn.
C. Mrs. Katherine S. Wallace, 312 Agnes Ave., Knoxville, Tenn.

Maryville District

W. Mrs. Freddie Caldwell, 324 Harper Ave., Maryville, Tenn.
Y. Mrs. Grace L. Holmes, 2407 Louise St., Knoxville, Tenn.
B. Mrs. Minnie E. Johnson, 544 College, St., N.W., Knoxville, Tenn.
S. Mrs. Prudence Smith, 133 Porter St., Maryville, Tenn.
C. Mrs. Idessa W. Wright, Route 1, Rockford, Tenn.

Chattanooga District
W. Mrs. Bertha Singleton, 921 East 8th St., Chattanooga, Tenn.
Y. Mrs. Lillie D. Smith, 2307-13th Ave., Chattanooga, Tenn.
B. Mrs. Gertrude Glover, 3711 Parola Ave., Chattanooga, Tenn.
S. Mrs. Harriet Smith, 223 Bates St., Cleveland, Tenn.
C. Mrs. Marjorie Simmons, 247 East St., Cleveland, Tenn.

VIRGINIA CONFERENCE

Norfolk District
W. Mrs. Medie G. Warren, 941 Vermont St., Portsmouth, Va.
Y. Mrs. Clara V. Manuel, 2519 Ruffin St., Norfolk, Va.
B. Mrs. Lizzie Mae Sykes, 3405 Trexler Ave., Portsmouth, Va.
S. Mrs. Helen Hampton, 3100 Elm Ave., Portsmouth, Va.
C. Mrs. L.C. Crutchfield, 879, Avenue "A", Forfolk, Va.

Petersburg District
W. Mrs. Naomi B. Arie, 433 Byme St., Petersburg, Va.
Y. Mrs. Alta E. Howard, 405 S. Stafford Ave., Richmond, Va.
B. Mrs. Ethel E. Argo, 2511 East Clay St., Richmond, Va.
S. Mrs. Julia M. Bass, 1603 Idlewood Ave., Richard, Va.
C. Mrs. Ella Merkinson, 740 Harding St., Petersburg, Va.

SIXTH EPISCOPAL DISTRICT

PEE DEE CONFERENCE

Lancaster District
W. Mrs. Willie L. Crosby, 116 Loomis St., Chester, South Carolina
Y. Mrs. Florence Funderburk, 407 Clinton Ave., Lancaster, S. Carolina
B. Mrs.
S. Mrs. Bessie Barnes, Route 3, Box 75, ~~Box~~ Heath Spring, S. Carolina
C. Mrs. Flossie Foay, Route 3, Box 66, Heath Spring, S. Carolina
(Mrs. M.A. Monsur, Box 173, Salisbury, N.C. sent in last report)

Cheraw-Bennettsville District
W. Mrs. C.V. McQueen, Route 2, Box 295, Cheraw, S.Carolina
Y. Mrs. Lulu Moore, 322- 2nd, Cheraw, S. Carolina
B. Mrs. Eliza Cox, 324 High St., Cheraw, S. Carolina
S. Mrs. Mabel Brown
C. Mrs. Laura Johnson, Box 141, Chesterfield, S. Carolina

SOUTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE

Rock Hill District
W. Mrs. Lena Whiteside, 512 Whitner St., Rock Hill, S. Carolina
Y. Mrs. Lecla Boyce, 512 Trade St., Rock Hill, S. Carolina
B. Mrs. Sallie Medlock, 969 Crawford St., Rock Hill, S. Carolina
S. Mrs. Maggie Beard, 543 Lige St., Rock Hill, S. Carolina
C. Mrs. Louise Jones, Clinton College, Rock,Hill, S. Carolina

York-Chester District
W. Mrs. Fennie V. Cohen, Box 90, Chester, S. Carolina
Y. Mrs. Vassie Douglas, 224 Rock St., Rock Hill, S. Carolina
B. Mrs. Elizabeth Brewer, 122 Bailey St., Chester, S. Carolina
S. Mrs. Mary McIntyre, 541 Sycamore St., Gaffney, S. Carolina
C. Mrs. Mamie Channell, Richburg, S. Carolina

GEORGIA CONFERENCE

Summerville District

W. Mrs. Hastie A. Bitting, Box 223, Summerville, Ga.
Y. Mrs. Lillian Carter, Box 44, Summerville, Ga.
B. Mrs. Charlotte T. Hasberig, Cove Rd., Route 2, Chickamauga, Ga.
S. Mrs. Lille Mae Walker, 698 Highlight Ave., Summerville, Ga.
C. Mrs. Velma McGhee, Chattanooga Valley, Chattanooga, Tenn.

Atlanta District

W. Mrs. Sadie Potter, 1616 Ezra Church Drive, Atlanta, Ga.
Y. Mrs. Tinsley Underwood, 707 Graham St., Rome, Ga.
B. Mrs. Laura Carter, 279 Baker St., Atlanta, Ga.
S. Mrs. Erline Lewis, 380 Cartress St., S.E. Atlanta, Ga.
C.

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SOUTH GEORGIA CONFERENCE

Augusta District

W. Mrs. Elfleta Green, 1541 Picquet Ave., Augusta, Ga.
Y. Miss Arizona Godson, 1339 Twigg St., Augusta, Ga.
B. Mrs. Susie Cooper Box 99, Sardis, Ga.
S. Mrs. Catherine Lee Walker, Gaugh, Ga.
C. Mrs. Isabelle Walker, 1631 12th St., Augusta, Ga.
(Correction for Buds-Mrs. I.B. Walker, 1631-12th St., Augusta, Ga.)

Winder District

W. Mrs. Odessa Bankston, 1738 East Broad St. Athens, Ga.
Y. Mrs. Lela Bloodsaw, Route 1, Compton, Ga.
B. Mrs. ~~Sarah~~ Sallie Britton, 425 Capital Ave., Winder, Ga.
S. Mrs. Fannie M. Hill, Athens, Ga.
C. Mrs. Serene McCoy, Monroe, Ga.
(Correction for Y's- Mrs. Odeilian Gather, Box 291, Loagansville, Ga.

EAST TENNESSEE & VIRGINIA CONFERENCE

Bristol District

W. Mrs. Hazel Stacy, 729 Sevier Ave., Kingsport, Tenn.
Y. Mrs. Ola Leak, 329 Buchanan St., Bristol, Tenn.
B. Mrs. Mildred Rhea, 419 Clinton Ave., Bristol, Tenn.
S. Mrs. Clara O. Coffey, 215 Garland Ave., Bristol, Tenn.
C. Mrs. Bessie Smith, 918 Maple St., Kingsport, Tenn.
(Correction for Y's-Mrs. Mary C. Hazzard, 540 Woodlawn Ave., Bristol, Tenn.)

Johnson City District

W. Mrs. M.C. Spurgeon, 110 East Adams St., Johnson City, Tenn.
Y. Mrs. Gladys M. Rodgers, 911 Alabama St., Bristol, Tenn.
B. Mrs. Lula Sundy, Box 148, Lynch, Ky.
S. Mrs. Florida Stafford, R.F.D., Box 25, Church Hill, Tenn.
C. Mrs. Izetta Coffey, 724 Spencer St., Bristol, Tenn.

Bluefield District

W. Mrs. Elizabeth Woodford, Box 274, Dante, Va.
Y. Mrs. Clara Bundy, 212 Davidson St., Bluefield, West Va.
B. Mrs. Daisy Davis, Box 91, Dante, Va.
S. Mrs. Willie Mitchell, 601 Lester St., Bristol, Va.
C. Mrs. Georgia Vernon, Gary, West Va., Box 87

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SEVENTH EPISCOPAL DISTRICT
KENTUCKY

Louisville

W. Mrs. Abbie C. Jackson, 2303 West Chestnut St., Louisville, Ky.
Y. Mrs. Bessie Anderson, 800 Cecil Ave., Louisville, Ky.
B. Mrs. Frankie Harris, 514 S. 21st St., Louisville, Ky.
S. Mrs. Fenimore Hardesty, 527 High St., Springfield, Ky.
C. Mrs. Mattie Ellis, 212 S. 28th St., Louisville, Ky.

Madisonville District

W. Mrs. Maxie Claybon, 467 Hopewell St., Madisonville, Ky.
Y. Mrs. Viride McCain, 520 West Center St., Madisonville, Ky.
B. Mrs. Ethel Lewis, 1421 Hazel Street, Louisville, Ky.
S. Mrs. Cattie Winstead, Nebo, Ky.
C. Mrs. Irene Dunlap, 564 East 5th St., Russelville, Ky.

WEST TENNESSEE & KISSISSIPPI
CONFERENCE

Memphis District

W. Mrs. Amanda Ballard, 389 Lucy Ave., Memphis 6, Tenn.
Y. Mrs. Amanda Smith, 717 Walker Ave., Memphis 6, Tenn.
B. Mrs. S.O. Brown, 389 Lucy Ave., Memphis 6, Tenn.
S. Mrs. Johnie Fuller, 3354 Horn Lake Rd., Memphis 9, Tenn.
C. Mrs. Mary E. Murphy, 688 Tate Ave., Memphis 5, Tenn.

Marks District

W. Mrs. Blanche Lou Stacks, 2308 - 6th St., Clarksdale, Miss.
Y. Mrs. Ruth Hall, 2806 - 6th St., Clarksdale, Miss.
B. Mrs. Mable Jones, 427 Magnolia Ct., Clarksdale, Miss.
S. Mrs. Rosa Williams, Route 4, Box 213, Lambert, Miss.
C.

Batesville District

W. Mrs. ~~Lxxix~~ Elizabeth Love, Route 5, Box 305, Batesville, Miss.
Y. Mrs. Clyde Brown, Coffeeville, Miss.
B. Miss Martha F. Wesley, Route 3, Box 104, Coffeeville, Miss.
S. Mrs. Mozelle Bobo, Courtland, Miss.
C. Mrs. Beulah Brown, Box 543, Batesville, Miss.

SOUTH MISSISSIPPI CONFERENCE

Canton-Jackson District

W. Mrs. Jennie R. Johnson, Route 2, Box 109, Pickens, Miss.
Y. Mrs. Helen McClinton, Box 14, Tallulah, La.
B. Mrs. Ella Richmond, 2411 Idaho St., Jackson, Miss.
S. Mrs. Ruby Davis, 418 South Union St., Canton, Miss.
C. Mrs. Myra Fulford, 541, Jackson, Miss.

Laurel-Meridan District

W. Mrs. Ethel Key, 1410-36th Ave., Meridan, Miss.
B. Mrs. Belle Alexander, 1310-34th Ave., Meridan, Miss.

WEST ALABAMA CONFERENCE

Mobile District

W. Mrs. Irene Watts, 464 Mobile St., Mobile, Ala.
Y. Mrs. Yvonne Carson, 500 State St., Mobile, Ala.
B. Mrs. Clara Wilson, 551 patton Ave., Mobile, Ala.
S. Mrs. Frances Hackworth, 975 ~~Kentucky~~ Kentucky Ave., Mobile, Ala.
C. Mrs. Cecile Allison, 656 South Warren St., Mobile, Ala.

Jefferson District

W. Mrs. Ethel Alstork, Route 1, Box 134, Demopolis, Ala.
Y. Mrs. Valenta Scott, Route 1, Demopolis, Ala.
B. Mrs. Eddie B. Abrum, Route 1, Myrtlewood, Ala.
S. Mrs. Fannie Lewis, Linden, Ala.
C. Mrs. Lessie Campbell, Pennington, Ala.

Jackson District

W. Mrs. Lena Moe Gill, 1284 Culvert St., Whistler, Ala.
Y. Mrs. Cassie Wilson, Holders Alley, Whistler, Ala.
B. Mrs. Annie Coleman, 1318 Malone St., Whistler, Ala.
S. Mrs. E.M. Taylor, Preswick, Ala.
C. Mrs. L.S. Blackledge, 384 Easterling St., Pritchard, Ala.

EIGHTH EPISCOPAL DISTRICT
CALIFORNIA CONFERENCE

Bay Cities

W. Mrs. S. Anna Magruder, 1431 Steiner St., SanFrancisco, Calif.
Y. Mrs. Lula Balkney, 1022-4th St., Modes to, Calif.
B. Mrs. Thelma Foster, 1925 Filbert St., Oakland, Calif.
S. Mrs. Belle Shepard, 183 South 4th St., San Jose, Calif.
C. Mrs. Mattie I. McCorkle White, 318 North Humboldt St., San Mateo, Calif.

SOUTHWEST ROCKY MOUNTAIN CONFERENCE

Los Angeles-Phoenix District

W. Mrs. Daisy Nelton, 2902 South Wellington Rd., Los Angeles, Calif.
Y. Mrs. Cora G. Carson, 1217 Paloma St., Los Angeles, Calif.
B. Mrs. Eula Mae Marion, 3725 Ocean View Blvd., San Diego, Calif.
S. Mrs. Emma Kinard, 350¼ East 51st St., Los Angeles, Calif.
C. Mrs. Jeannette Madison, 1226 East 35th St., Los Angeles, Calif.

OREGON-WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

Cascade District

W. Mrs. Genela Standifer, 108-31st Ave., Seattle, Washington
Y. Mrs. Mary J. Franklin, 2007 North Williams Ave., Portland, Oregon
B. Mrs. Nellie Thompson, 1217 N.E. Mason St., Portland, Org.
S.
C.

MISSOURI CONFERENCE

St. Louis District

W. Mrs. Sarah I. Moore, 4228 Delmar Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.
Y. Mrs. Virginia R. Walker, 3931 Kennerly Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
B. Mrs. M.R. Cooper, 3008 Lucas St., ~~Louis~~ St. Louis, Mo.
S. Mrs. Sarah H. Buckner, 4030 Labadie Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
C. Mrs. Henrietta Davis, 4228 Delmar Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

Kansas City District
W. Mrs. Octavia R. Thompson, 2108 Eas t 9th St., Kansas City, Mo.
Y. Mrs. Frealy Garrison, 1702 -7th St., Perry,IOWA
B. Mrs. Argile Whisonant, 2920 Mersington Ave., Kansas City, Mo.
S. Mrs. Mary Blanks, 2810 ~~Exxxx9xxxxx~~ St.,Cleveland Ave., Kansas City
C. Mrs. Lucille Coleman, 2410 A. East 26th St., Kansas City, Mo.

NINTH EPISCOPAL DISTRICT

NORTH ALABAMA CONFERENCE

Birmingham District
W. Mrs. F.A. Williams, 1005 North Jackson, Tuscaloosa, Ala.
Y. Mrs. Jerusha T. McMurray, 1524-4th Ave., N., Birmingham, Ala.
B. Mrs. Mary Wells, 916-18th St. N., Birmingham, Ala.
S.
C. Mrs. Brunetta Prenticce, 118 Patton Ave., Bessemer, Ala.

Tuscalloosa District
W. Mrs. Betty Banks, Route 1, Box 92, Woodstock, Ala.
Y. Mrs. Earnestine Hall, 3002-8th St., Tuscaloosa, Ala.
B. Mrs. Pecolia Richardson, 113-22nd Ave., Tuscaloosa, Ala.
S. Mrs. Annie H. Sharper, 1910 -4th East, Tuscaloosa, Ala.
C.

Fayette-Jasper District
W. Mrs. Bertha L. Wilson, Route 2, Box 185, Bankston, Ala.
Y. Mrs. Marie Hibbler, 2120 Dawson Ave., Powderly, Ala.
B. Mrs. Ruth McConnell, 1227 Market St. Fayette, Ala.
S. Mrs. Lelia Davis, Route 1, Box 284, McCalla, Ala.
C. Mrs. Estelle Campbell, 483-37th Lerrece St., Birmingham 7, Ala.

ALABAMA CONFERENCE

Tuskegee District
W. Mrs. A.S. Todd, Route 2, Box 267, Tuskegee, Ala.
Y. Mrs. Boulah Grays, Route 1, Box 268, Tuskegee, Ala.
B. Mrs. W.E. Carson
S. Mrs. Eugenia T. Adams, 202 Church St., Tuckegee, Ala.
C. Mrs. Dannie Mitchell, Box 254, Tuskegee, Ala.

Opelika District
W. Mrs. Johnnie Mae Baskins, Route 2, Box 125, Tuskegee, Ala.
Y. Mrs. Mary Anne Thomas
B. Mrs. A.H. Fisher, 107 Jackson St., Talledega, Ala.
S. Mrs. Cora Gray, 807 South 4th St., Opelika, Ala.
C. Mrs. Vera Hyghley, Torbet St., Opelika, Ala.

Union Springs District
W. Mrs. Susie B. Hammell, Route 1, Box 79-A, Tuskegee, Ala.
Y. Mrs. Susie A. LaGrant, Box 66, Hurtsboro, Ala.
B. Mrs. Ethel Goodson, Roba, Ala
S. Mrs. Emma Fort, Armstrong, Ala.
C.

CAHABA CONFERENCE

Selma District

W. Mrs. Bessie L. Tubbs, Box 291, Centerville, Ala.
Y. Mrs. Paralee Suttle, 1405 St. Phillips St., Selma, Ala.
B. Mrs. Rosie Rembert, 1705 Oliver St., Selma, Ala.
S. Mrs. Mary Horton, Route 3, Marion, Ala.
C. Mrs. Mary E. Jackson, Box 85, Millbrook, Ala.

Greensboro-Demopolis District

W. Mrs. Cora Lee Johnson, Route 1, Box 79, Coatopa, Ala.
Y. Mrs. Julia Holifield, 25 Blount St., Greensboro, Ala.
B. Mrs. Mary Barton, Forkland, Ala.
S. Mrs. Martha Rowls, Route 1, Box 116, Marion, Ala.
C. Mrs. Etta Campbell, Route Box 43, Coatopa, Ala.

CENTRAL ALABAMA CONFERENCE

East Montgomery District

W. Mrs. Prince E. Madison, Route 3, Box 404, Montgomery 10, Ala.
Y. Mrs. Willie Madison, 910 Tatum St., Montgomery, Ala.
B. Mrs. Agnes Watkins, 614 Cleveland Ave., Montgomery, Ala.
S. Mrs. Selena Newman, 206 Adeline St., Montgomery, Ala.
C. Mrs. L.B. Miller, 1001 Hutchison St., Montgomery, Ala.

West Montgomery District

W. Mrs. Willie M. Bascom, 755 Ludie St., Montgomery, Ala.
Y. Miss Mildren Harris, 1612 Rice St., Montgomery, Ala.
B. Mrs. Mollie D. Howard, 2443 Council St., Montgomery, Ala.
S. Mrs. Selena Newman, 635 Watt St., Montgomery, Ala.
C. Mrs. Sylvia Jackson, 2025 Stella St., Montgomery, Ala.

SOUTH ALABAMA CONFERENCE

Greenville District

W. Mrs. Clara B. Crittenden, 316 Oglesby St., Greenville, Ala.
Y. Mrs. Mamie Shine, Pigeon Creek, Ala.
B. Mrs. Catherine Rhodes, Georgiana, Ala.
S.
C. Mrs. Georgia Kelly, 307 East Palmer St., Greenville, Ala.

Brewton District

W. Mrs. C.V. Faddis, 101 Cactus St., Brewton, Ala.
Y. Mrs. Johnnie Coker,
B. Mrs. Gladiola Evans, Route 1, Box 558, Evergreen, Ala.
S. Mrs. Inez Stallworth, 101 Cactus St., Brewton, Ala.
C. Mrs. Ada Jean Mosley, 101 Cactus St., Brewton, Ala.

TENTH EPISCOPAL DISTRICT
LOUISIANA CONFERENCE

New Orleans

W. Mrs. R.C. Pierre, 740 East Pine St., Ponchatoula, La.
Y. Mrs. L.L. Ashes, 484 South 8th St., Ponchatoula, ~~xxxxxx~~ La.
B. Mrs. Florence McWilliams, 1924 Jackson Ave., New Orleans, La.
S. Mrs. R.V. Nicholas, 3515 Paris Ave., New Orleans, La.
C. Mrs. Lessie Belle Kemp, Box 223, Ponchatoula, La.

Amite District
W. Mrs. Lucoal Freeman, Route 1, Box 230, Amite, La.
Y. Mrs. Mattie Randolph, Route 1 Box 166, Amite, La.
B. Mrs. Rosa Curry, Route 1, Box 6, Roseland, La.
S. Mrs. Olivia Dillon, 608 Myrtle St., Amite, La.
C. Mrs. Charlotte Jackson, Route 2, Denham Spring, La.

TEXAS CONFERENCE

Houston District
W. Mrs. Phoebie Bundage, Route 2, Box 331, Navasota, Texas
Y. Mrs. Odessa Malone, Route 2, Box 327, Navasota, Texa s
B. Mrs. Lucille Hubbard, Route 2, Box 331, Navasota, Texas
S. Mrs. Teasy Malone, Route 2, Box 331, Navasota, Texas
C. Mrs. Laura Donald, Box 78, Dobbins, Texas

Dallas District
W.
Y.
B.
S.
C.

FLORIDA CONFERENCE

Pensacola District
W. Mrs. Eugeniz Goldsmith, 619 North "A" St., Pensacola, Fla.
Y. Mrs. Gwendolyn Blount, 505 North "G" St., Pensacola, Fla.
B. Mrs. Annie MdKee, 1607 North Alconiz St., Pensacola, Fla.
S. Mrs. Julia Jefferson, 409 West Cervantes St., Pensacola, Fla.
C. Mrs. Eulise Lowe, 613 Gregory St., Pensacola, Fla.

ARKANSAS CONFERENCE

Pine Bluff
W. Mrs. G.W. Byers, 1015 East 10th St., Pine Bluff, Ark.
Y. Mrs. Mary Watkins, Box 193, Dermott, Ark.
B. Mrs. M.J. Burley, 621 Morris St., Pine Bluff, Ark.
S. Mrs. Ros e G. Kay, Route 1, Warren, Ark.
C. Mrs. Mary Washington, 236 North Norwood St., Dermott, Ark.

Wilmot District
W. Mrs. Lena Ritter, Box 277, Parksdale, Ark.
Y. Mrs. E.L. Coats, 205 North Carolina St., Crossett, Ark.
B. Mrs. G.E. Geroge, 404 North Alabama St., Crossett, Ark.
S. Mrs. Bessie Johnson, Box 219, Wilmot, Ark.
C. Mrs. Anna Marshall, 204 N. Mississippi St., Crossett, Ark.

NORTH ARKANSAS CONFERENCE

Little Rock District
W. Mrs. Minnie S. Cannon, 3125 Center St., Little Rock, Ark.
Y. Mrs. Mattie O. Williams, 1903 Rock St., Little Rock, Ark.
B. Mrs. Ioma Wright. 1217 Ringa St., Little Rock, Ark.
S. Mrs. Ida Wilbert, 1412 West 8th St., Little Rock, Ark.
C. Mrs . Mora Hall, 1207 Spring St., Little Rock, Ark.

Hot Springs District

W. Mrs. Ethel Roseburr, 1320 Harrison St., Conway, Ark.
Y. Mrs. Mattie Mitchem, Route 2, Box 89, Hatieville, Ark.
B. Mrs. O. Williams, 2405 High St., Little Rock Ark.
S. Mrs. Roxie Byers, Star Route, Morrilton, Ark.
C. Mrs. Josephine Lomax, 614½ Gulpha St., Hot Springs, Ark.

OKLAHOMA CONFERENCE

Oklahoma City District

W. Mrs. Annie L. Miles, 634 N.E. 6th St., Oklahoma City, Okla.
Y. Mrs. Lois Risby, 415 East Marshall St., Tulsa, Okla.
B. Mrs. L.S. Hooten, Box 754, Vernon, Okla.
S. Mrs. Carrie B. Dudley, 519 Qyeen St. Tulsa, Okla.
C. Mrs. Roxie Gates, Box 177, Luther, Okla.

COLORADO CONFERENCE

W. Mrs. Susie Mallard, 2338 Clarkson St., Denver, Colo.
Y. Miss Beulah Snider, 2113 Pine St., Boulder, Colo.
B. Mrs. LaVerne Brodnax, 2830 Milwaukee St., Denver, Colo.
S. Miss Carrie Martin, 2145 Williams St., Denver, Colo.
C. Miss May Beckett, 2320 Court Place, Denver, Colo.

SOUTH AMERICA CONFERENCE

VIRGIN ISLAND CONFERENCE

ELEVENTH EPISCOPAL DISTRICT

LIBERIA CONFERENCE

WEST GHANA CONFERENCE

TWELFTH EPISCOPAL DISTRICT

NIGERIA CONFERENCE

EAST GHANA CONFERENCE

I am very happy to have met you, Miss Tilly
With kind wishes Margaret T. Gray

Gen File
FOC

June 7, 1961

AME
File

Mrs. Margaret Mays
Harriet Tubman Home
P. O. Box 114
Auburn, New York

Dear Mrs. Mays:

We appreciate the list of officers that you sent to us. However, we regret that our funds will not permit us to invite all of them. We have to have each of our southern states represented: Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Please select two from each state for us, and two alternates from each state. We will send the information about the Fellowship of the Concerned and an invitation to the Workshop to be here at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

MET/jf

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

38 Hepburn Rd Tu

Mrs. Dorothy Tilly
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Your letter was received last week and I tried to call you over the weekend.

Mrs. Margret May (address)
Harriet Tubman Home
P.O. Box 114
Auburn New York

Sorry you were unable to reach me earlier.

Should you have further difficulty in locating Mrs. May please let me know

Sincerely

Mrs. Sadye W. Potter

503 So 5th Ave
Laurel, Mississippi
Sept. 26, 1961

Negro

Ms. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's work

Accepted

My Dear Ms. Tilly

please forgive me for being so long about answering. I am greatful as well as honored to have been selected to come to this great meeting. Yes I will be able to come. may I again say thank to you and I will be looking to hear from you.

Jane Estelle
(Ms. C. B. Christian)

P.S. If my husband came with me, will we be able to stay in the same place?

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

BETHLEHEM COMMUNITY CENTER
9 McDonough Blvd., S. E.
Atlanta 15, Georgia

Wednesday, May 3, 1961, 10:30 A. M.

Miss Susie M. Cunningham, President

FELLOWSHIP HOUR

CALL TO ORDER - GREETINGS	Miss Susie M. Cunningham
MEDITATION	Mrs. W. A. Mendenhall
INTRODUCTIONS	
REPORTS	
Personnel Committee	Mrs. Eva B. Parks
Services Committee	Miss Estelle Clemmons
Building and Grounds	Mrs. James P. Brawley
Public Relations	Mrs. Ida Prather
Key Women	Mrs. James C. Thoroughman
Finance - Treasurer	Mrs. George W. Longino
PRESIDENT'S REPORT	Miss Susie M. Cunningham
MUSICAL SELECTION	Kindergarten Children
REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE	Mrs. Eva B. Parks
ELECTION	
Members of the Board	
Officers	
INSTALLATION SERVICE	Mrs. Arthur Styron Mrs. H. L. Thompson
THE STAFF REPORTS	Robert E. Shrider Mrs. Susie P. Brown Mrs. Josephine Davis Mrs. Hazetta Moss Mr. John L. Moulton Miss Peggy Wade Mrs. Clara Lowe Miss Barbara Samuels
CLOSING PRAYER	Rev. F. W. Montgomery
ADJOURNMENT	

ANNUAL REPORT - 1961

Bethlehem Community Center

9 McDonough Blvd., S. E.

Atlanta 15, Georgia

MArket 2-0919

Robert E. Shrider, Executive Director

May 30, 1961

Mrs. Neva J. Dennis
530 Jones Street
Elberton
Georgia

Dear Mrs. Dennis:

It is always very difficult for me to secure a list of the C.M.E. women to be invited to the Fellowship of the Concerned.

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned will be held at Clark College on November 6 and 7. We need to get our invitation to the presidents of the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, the Carolinas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

I would ceretainly appreciate hearing from you at once.

Sincerely,

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

1 follow of letter sent. 9-12-61

530 So. Jones Street

Elberton, Georgia

July 20, 1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilly

Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

I hope by now that Mr. Tilly is much improved and that you are feeling fine. Our work is progressing nicely and I am fine.

I finally heard from our Council President and I am sedning you the list of presidents which she sent. The Council enjoyed the report made last year by Mrs. A.M. Montgomery of Mississippi and we are looking fo ward to more from these persons:

Mrs. E.W.F. Harris, Council President (D) Ref 2nd Pl
L208 East Marshall St. Greenville, Texas

Mrs. L.B. Clark 704 E. 32½ Street (a)
Houston, Texas

Mrs. Ruby Harling 404 17th Street. Columbus, Ga.
Mrs. A.M. Montgomery, Water Valley, Miss. a
Mrs. A.C. Shanks 1714 Pine St. Little Rock, Ark
Mrs. Marie Penn. Lane College, Jackson, Tenn. (a)
Mrs. Willie Williams 828 W. 39th St. Savannah, Ga. a
Mrs. E.T. Woods 940 4th Street, Birmingham, Ala. (a)

Yours Mrs. S. Dennis

Water Valley, Miss
August 28, 1961

Mrs M.E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Friend:

A few days ago your letter came with regard to the South-Wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, for which we thank you, & shall try to be present on the opening hr on 9th of Nov.

We believe these Southern Women Concerned are truly helping to make many barriers & yet our own State seems to be the most unrelenting, but we believe in the power of prayer & that we will continue to do.

We will be pleased to have reservations for us on the Campus of Atanto U. as you suggest.

Thanking you for everything, we are
Sincerely yours, (Mrs) W.T. Montgomery

August 29, 1961

Mrs. Willie Williams
828 West 39th Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Williams:

Yours is the first and only communication I have received from anyone from your Institute. No findings have ever come to me, nor do I know to whom to write to get them.

Perhaps you can find them, and if you still want them mimeographed, we will be glad to do it.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

828 W.39th.St.
Savannah,Ga.
Aug.19th.,1961

Mrs.M.E.Tilley,
1013 Highland View,N.E.
Atlanta 6,Ga.

Dear Mrs.Tilley,
I have planned to write you for some time,but I have been very busy,and have delayed in doing so.

I received your letter concerning the meeting of the South-wide workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, which will meet at Clark College,Nov.6-7th,I thank you for the invitation and will plan to attend.

I have also letters from those attending the Institute, asking for copies of the findings,if you have them ready please send three copies to Mrs.Joel W.Hooper,Lorena, Texas,also send ten,(10) copies to me,our annual committee meeting will be held at Scarritt College soon and I would like copies to take there.

Thank you for your kindness in helping with the Institute, and your kind offer to get the findins ready for us,if you do not have all names and addresses send them to me and I will see that each one get a copy.

Thank you,and,
Best wishes,
Willie Williams

Willie Williams

September 1, 1961

Mrs. Neva J. Dennis
530 So. Jones Street
Elberton, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Dennis:

The following of your Council Presidents have accepted the invitation to participate in the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Mrs. A. M. Montgomery, and Mrs. Willie Williams.

A follow-up letter will be sent to those who have not responded at all, within the next week.

Please accept my apology for being so late in getting this information to you. Due to the illness and passing of my husband, I have been delayed in many things.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

METtmm

LANE COLLEGE

JACKSON, TENNESSEE

September 11, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Woman's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc. Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am just back from California and found your letter upon my arrival. I appreciate you notifying me of the workshop. I had referred your letter to Mrs. E. W. F. Harris, who is President of our Woman's Missionary Council.

I was not quite sure as to persons I should contact whether it will be the Bishop of the Church or Mrs. Harris. If I am to attent this meeting, I am sure that one of these people will notify me. I am interested and I hope I will get a notice.

With sincere regards.

Sincerely yours,

Marie M. Penn

Mrs. Marie Penn
Dean of Women

MP:ah

704 E. 32 1/2
Houston 9, Texas
September 18, 1961

accept.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs Tilly:
Your letter of September 15, was received to day.
We were told some time ago, by our Council President Mrs E. W. T. Harris, that our name had been sent in, for the purpose of attending the Southwide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held at Clark College, Atlanta, at a date to be given later. She furthered stated that we would hear from you, but until to day we had received no such information.

We are grateful for the invitation, and will be happy to attend the Workshop.

Cordially yours,
L. B. Clark.

940 4th Street N.
Birmingham 4, Alabama
September 18, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Room 32
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

This letter is to inform you that I am accepting the invitation to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held at the Clark College, Atlanta, Ga. on November 6th and 7th. I shall attend. I am, very

Yours very truly,

Mrs. E. T. Woods

Mrs, E. T. Woods

ETW/etw

Note:

Mrs. M. C. Merriweather who attended this meeting last year is very desirous of attending again this year. Will you please write her at 1029 7th Ave. North, Birmingham, Alabama and invite her to come again thie year, also?

Thank you,

E. T. W.

Mrs. E. T. Woods.

Woman's Missionary Council
Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
Jackson, Tennessee

MRS. EULA W. F. HARRIS, President
1208 East Marshall St.
Greenville, Texas

Sept. 19. 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I received your letter today concerning the South-wide workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, which will be held at Clark College November 6th & 7th.

I did not receive your first letter extending the invitation which I really appreciate.

I regret very much that I can not attend because of a previous engagement on the same date. Please if possible, let Mrs. E. M. Richardson 392 Wilder St. Dallas, Texas serve on the Committee. She has had experience in this line of work. Please extend me the invitation next year.

Yours truly,
Eula W. F. Harris

LANE COLLEGE

JACKSON, TENNESSEE

September 27, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I have just received a letter from Mrs. Harris asking me to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, which will be held at Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia. I think I told you that I had referred your letter to her.

Please make reservations for me at Atlanta University's Women Dormitory. Mrs. Harris also stated that funds for traveling, entertainment would be furnished from your department.

Thank you for the invitation.

Sincerely yours,

Marie M. Penn

Mrs. Marie Penn
Dean of Women

MP:ah

REPORT OF TRIP TO
BIRMINGHAM, ALA., NEW ORLEANS and BATON ROUGE, LA.
May 24-25, 1956
Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Birmingham, May 24

"The Fellowship of the Concerned" of Birmingham met at the Episcopal Church of the Advent, jointly presided over by the Chairman of the Christian Social Relations of the United Church Women of Alabama and the President of the Birmingham Negro Council of Church Women (unfortunately the United Church Women of Birmingham has two sections).

The Council of Negro Women led the worship. The worship service was so great it lifted you to new heights and was splendid preparation for the meeting that followed. The hymn was "What a Fellowship, What a Joy Divine!" - How they sang it! The Negro women felt the joy of fellowship with sisters of the faith of another race. (At a planning meeting last year, one of the Negro women said, "For the first time we have communication in our city with Church women across racial lines).

I came away from Birmingham with new hope and courage and a stronger feeling that the Church women would be the salvation of the South.

Some things they said they would do....

"Invite members of the Legislature to speak to our Church group with a question and answer period..." "Have groups of persons of both races to meet in homes to discuss matters of mutual concern..." "Bring children and young people together to discuss their ideas on integration..." "Organize interracial study groups..." "Encourage the P-T.A. to work together across racial lines..." "Organize prayer groups to concentrate on changing attitudes"

The Church of the Advent did much in being real hosts to the Fellowship - more than I ever saw any Church do for any group. Two ministers were the speakers - a young white Methodist minister and a Negro Baptist minister. Both speeches were what we needed.

New Orleans, Evening of May 24

Stories given me by Mrs. Goldthwait, President of United Church Women of Louisiana:

1. The "Southern Gentlemen" (Citizen's Council of Louisiana) had just held a meeting in New Orleans with Gov. Griffin of Georgia as the speaker. At this meeting were read the names of white people whom they had found held membership in the Urban League and some other organizations which they named as "Red sympathizers." (The New Orleans Times-Picayune of May 25 carried a letter of protest from a Catholic priest and a somewhat apologetic reply from the man who read the list of names at the meeting).

2. At Hammond, Louisiana, are camps for migrant berrypickers (both races). The living conditions are deplorable. The employers evade the State and National Child Labor law by claiming the children work for their families, so all children from five years of age and older pick berries, and the four-year-olds are the baby-sitters.

Disturbed by both the living conditions and child labor, the United Church Women secured a trained Church woman to work with the migrants, centering the activities in a little Methodist Church (white).

The young minister announced on Sunday morning the program to be carried out by the worker: the first week Vacation Church School for the white children four years old and younger, with family conferences scheduled for one evening, with the women of the Church serving cookies and a drink. The same program for the Negro children and their parents to be carried out the next week. His Church really supported him in this program.

There was a stranger who heard the announcement and started opposition. While the minister was eating his Sunday dinner a man he did not know drove up and called him outside and told him he was going to be ridden out of town on a rail, etc., if he carried out that program. The young minister let him say all he wanted to say and then said, "Are you through?" The man replied that he had told him what to expect. Then the young minister ordered him to leave the grounds - and the coward left, and the program for the white migrants went through as planned.

The first program for the Negro migrants was the family night. The Negroes were to sit on the lawn and see films thrown on the walls of the Church. The minister left his parsonage for the Church early. After he had gone, his wife looked out the window and saw cars driving up from all directions and forming around the Church. She slipped out the back way and went to her husband as he stood on the steps of the Church quietly listening to the insults and threats of the crowd. She asked him if he did not want her to call for help. He replied, "No, I am not afraid." When the crowd exhausted themselves, he asked them if they were through, and when they replied they were, he told them to get off the grounds, and they did. However, no Negro showed up for the program that had been planned. Had they been threatened?

3. In the city of Ruston there is a branch of the Louisiana Polytechnic Institute. There is a Methodist Church very close to the College. Every year the Methodist Youth Fellowship of both races of Louisiana have a joint meeting in this Methodist Church with the women of the Church serving the dinner. When publicity was given the meeting this year, very strong pressure was brought to bear on the minister of the Church with the result that the dinner was not served in the Church building, but in the recreation hall.

That evening, when one of our Church women arrived at the Church, she found cars lined up in every direction, so parked that their lights shone into the large plate glass windows of the building. Threats and abuses were being hurled by the men in the cars. The youth paid no attention to them, however, and finished their meeting.

There is a Deaconess working with the Methodist Youth who stood by, and when the "Southern Gentlemen" left, she and two students patrolled the grounds all night, but nothing happened. The next day a man came in to see her and told her that before he got through with her not a shred of her character would be left. She listened quietly and then said, "I'm not afraid of you."

Baton Rouge, Evening of May 25

I had been invited to speak Friday evening to another group at the Methodist Church on the grounds of our Methodist College. When I found a great deal of publicity had been given the meeting through the newspapers, I felt sure I had to be prepared to face heckling.

There were about one hundred people at the meeting - Protestants, Jews, Catholics, Quakers, students. They let me speak and then as soon as I finished I told them they could have a question and answer period. An angry man arose and told me he was a steward of the Church and asked me a question which he did not give me time to answer, but left the Church. On the front seat on the left sat the Editor of the paper of the "Southern Gentlemen." On the right sat a rather large man who identified himself as a member of that organization. The questions began to come.

Excited Woman: I have in my hands the figures on venereal diseases and illegitimacy. (She read the figures showing the greater prevalence of venereal disease and illegitimacy among Negroes). Now you will make me send my children to school with Negro children!

Reply: I haven't that much power. I haven't tried to do anything about you and your children. I have never seen you before. I am glad, however, that you have those figures, and I suppose that if everybody in Louisiana had them and would be disturbed like you, you would work out a program to eradicate both the evils - it can be done.

A Crippled Young Man: You mention the Jews. Don't you know that the Talmud says that Jesus was a crook?

Answer: Did you read this in the Talmud?

Reply: I can't read Hebrew.

Student: Don't you know that the Talmud was written before Jesus was born?

Editor (Southern Gentlemen magazine): The Talmud does say that Jews can cheat anyone except another Jew.

Reply: Did you read this in the Talmud?

Reply: I can't read Hebrew.

Leader: I am surprised to find prejudice against the Jews in Louisiana. Since from the beginning of the State there have been so many nations and mixtures, I thought I would find a State of tolerance. I never thought I would find the leaflets against the Jews circulated in this State, written by people who are making money on the sale of them.

Large Man on the Right: The Supreme Court has taken my civil rights away from me by saying my children will have to go to school where they are directed, whether I want them to go there or not.

Student: That is what the South has always done to the Negro child - made him go to school in any kind of shack.

Editor: Does the Bible say anything about race relations?

Answer: The whole story of the Bible is God's relationship to man, man's relationship to God, and man's relationship to man. The Bible does not mention any color of skin. It recognizes all people as the children of one Father.

(Then I went through those strange interpretations of Ham, etc.)

It is well to read the Bible, not just take somebody's word about it. "Search the Scriptures, for in it you have eternal light." But be sure you read it, not quote it as "hearsay."

Editor: Can you tell me a particular instance in the Bible about race relations?

Answer: The story of the Woman at the Well, and the Good Samaritan. And there was a man named Peter, who did not like the Gentiles, did not want to regard them as children of God, and most certainly did not want to eat with them. But God wanted this man in His work. So one day when Peter was asleep on a housetop, God came to him in a vision, letting down in a sheet meat Peter called unclean. God told Peter to call unclean nothing that He had created.

Peter finally answered God by saying, "I perceive of a truth. Thou are no respecter of persons."

I am not too worried about our South. We are the Bible Belt and surely we will be able to translate that which we read in Holy Writ into daily action. God is trusting us as He is no other people. We have the opportunity of making the South the proving ground of democracy. The challenge is great. There is no time for friction or racial or religious hatred.

Working together, leaders of both races (and it must be both, together) coming together, can work out the way, God's way, from our dilemma.

Editor: We did not open the meeting with prayer. I think it should be closed with prayer.

And it was.

Note: The Editor of Louisiana's opposition paper calling us to prayer was a great thing. The opposition was most courteous. The respect men of the South have for women but adds to the conclusion woman can and must be the "shock-absorbers and interpreters of the social change," for they will be courteously heard.

After the meeting, the Editor came to the desk and apologized to me for flashing a light bulb in my face when he took my picture. The large man also came to the desk and told me I was too nice to be on the wrong side and I told him he had too big a heart to feel hate toward so many people and he said, "I know 'niggers.' I work them all the time." I chided him for not knowing how to pronounce "Negro," and asked him how he worked them, and told him I was horrified to hear him say he worked human beings, that surely he meant they worked together. He said, "No, I call them 'niggers,' and I 'work' them, and I pay their doctor bills when they get sick." I suggested that if he would pay them more, they could pay their own doctor bills and he would be a finer man, and they would be finer citizens. He laughed and went to talk with another group.

Februaru 7, 1961

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

We thank you very much for consenting to participate in "Our Facade of Brotherhood," to be held at:

Assembly Room, Atlanta Public Library
February 21, from 10:00 a.m. to 12:30.

Mrs. Ruth Kent, Women's Director of WSB-TV will be our moderator. The participating ministers are:

Dr. Leon Smith, Pastor, Park Street Methodist Church
Rev. John Mulroy, S.T.L., Director of Catholic Information Service
Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild, The Temple.

Mr. Pat Watters, City Editor of the Atlanta Journal will ask questions of the ministers. The questions will be in three areas:

1. Religious Tolerance
2. Open Church and Open Schools
3. Honest Interpretation of Brotherhood to Our Youth.

A buzz session of ten minutes will follow. Each group will formulate two questions. There will be a discussion of the questions, and a summation by Mrs. Kent will end the Facade.

The Assembly Room will only seat 187, so we have selected leaders in our various women's organizations. These women know there are

two aspects of Brotherhood -- theory and practice and we hope you will help us to find the way to bring theory into practice.

The planning committee is Mrs. John Patton, Mrs. I. Wilen and Mrs. John S. Cerrell.

For the committee and for myself, please accept our thanks for your interest and the help you will be to us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. N. E. Tilly

MET/lec

February 7, 1961

Mr. Pat Watters
City Editor
Atlanta Journal
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

I know you have been too busy to answer my call today, so I am enclosing an outline of the program of "Our Facade of Brotherhood," which is being sponsored by Catholic, Jewish and Protestant women.

I do need to have about five minutes with you. Please call me at 522-8764.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MET:lec

February 7, 1961

Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild
The Temple
1589 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

My dear Rabbi Rothschild:

We thank you very much for concenting to participate in "Our Facade of Brotherhood," to be held at:

Assembly Room, Atlanta Public Library
February 21, from 10:00 a.m. to 12:30.

Mrs. Ruth Kent, Women's Director of WSB-TV will be our moderator. The participating ministers are:

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two aspects of Brotherhood -- theory and practice and we hope you will help us to find the way to bring theory into practice.

The planning commietee is Mrs. John Patton, Mrs. I. Wilen and Mrs. John S. Correll.

For the committee and for myself, please accept our thanks for your interest and the help you will be to us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MET/lec

February 8, 1961

Mrs. Stewart Colley
Grantville
Georgia

Dear Mrs. Cooley:

An inter-faith group of women have set aside February 21, as the day to focus our attention on "Our Facade of Brotherhood." Because of your community interest you have been chosen to participate in this day of thinking together with:

Rev. John Mulroy, S.T.L. - Director of Catholic Information Service

Dr. Benjamin Mays, President of Morehouse College

Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild, The Temple

Dr. Leon Smith, Pastor of Park Street Methodist Church

Mr. Pat Watters, City Editor of The Atlanta Journal

Moderator, Mrs. Ruth Kent, Women's Director, WSB-TV

The planning group is composed of representatives of the three faiths, namely:

Mrs. John Patton

Mrs. I. Wilen

Mrs. John S. Correll

Place - Assembly Room, Atlanta Public Library

Date - February 21

Time - 10:00 a.m. - 12.30 noon

Because of limited space we request you to write for your admission card no later than February 14, to:

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Very truly yours,

Mrs

Interfaith Group for Brotherhood Week

Count on me -
Please send me 2
tickets - Thanks - Mrs Colley

I marked 2/13

BISHOP J. W. E. BOWEN
1197 FOUNTAIN DRIVE, S. W.
ATLANTA 14, GA.

February 9, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Room 201
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

A letter received this morning states that I should write to you for an admission card to the meeting sponsored by the Interfaith Group for Brotherhood Week. I feel honored to know that I can attend, and will be happy to do so.

Very truly yours,
Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen

mailed 2/13

Mrs. James W. Cooper
101 Hemlock Drive—Marietta, Georgia

Feb. 10, 1961

Dear Mrs. Selby:

Please send me my admission card for the inter-fait meeting at the Library on February 21st.

I appreciate this privilege.

Cordially

Ruby Neal Cooper

Mrs. Miller 2/13

"The Dogwood City"

Women's Chamber of Commerce of Atlanta

1101 Commerce Bldg.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JACKSON 4-7260

February 10, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I regret very much that I shall not be able to attend the meeting of the Interfaith Group for Brotherhood Week at the Atlanta Public Library on Tuesday morning, February 21st.

Thank you for the very kind invitation to participate in this program and I extend my best wishes for a most successful event.

Sincerely yours,

Maymie N. Jones
(Mrs.) Maymie N. Jones
President

MNJ:jsa

1846 Ardmore Rd. N.W.
Atlanta 9, Ga.
Feb. 10, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly-

I wish I had a Valentine on hand to use as stationery because this whole idea is so close to my heart; and I appreciate being included among those invited to focus attention on "The Facade of Brotherhood."

Please save, or send, an admission card for me. Sincerely,

Dukie Green
(Mrs. William Green)

Manner
8-13

P.S. Mrs. Sidney Q. Janus
1435 W. Wesley Rd. N.W.
Atlanta 5
has just phoned to reaffirm the date of this meeting; and asked me to include her request for her admission card since I was writing anyhow. You

can send the two cards to the same address since we are planning to attend together. Or maybe you don't have to count pennies like we do in the U.N. Council!

Due to another engagement I am unable to attend but Mrs. F. Kenneth Hood, 2544 Sharondale Court, N.E. is very eager to have an admission ticket. Will you please send her the one made available to me. - Mrs. Stephens

February 10, 1961

Mrs. Richard Stephens
95 Pine Lake Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Stephens:

An inter-faith group of women have set aside February 21, as the day to focus our attention on "Our Facade of Brotherhood." Because of your community interest you have been chosen to participate in this day of thinking together with:

Rev. John Mulroy, S.T.L. - Director of Catholic Information Service

Dr. Benjamin Mays, President of Morehouse College

Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild, The Temple

Dr. Leon Smith, Pastor of Park Street Methodist Church

Mr. Pat Watters, City Editor of The Atlanta Journal

Moderator, Mrs. Ruth Kent, Women's Director, WSB-TV

The planning group is composed of representatives of the three faiths, namely:

Mrs. John Patton

Mrs. I. Wilen

Mrs. John S. Correll

Place - Assembly Room, Atlanta Public Library

Date - February 21

Time - 10:00 a.m. - 12.30 ~~noon~~

Because of limited space we request you to write for your admission card no later than February 14, to:

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Very truly yours,

Interfaith Group for Brotherhood Week

Mrs. Thomas V. Bockman

356 Pinetree Drive N. E., Atlanta 5, Georgia

February 12 1961.

Dear Mrs. Tilly -

I would like to attend the program on "Our Facade to Brotherhood" on February 21st. Please send me an admission card.

Yours very truly,

Eleanor Bockman

(Mrs. Thomas Bockman)

Feb 12, 1961

Mrs M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga

Dear Mrs Tilly

Would you please send me an admission card for the inter-faith meeting on February 21st. I am most eager to attend

Sincerely yours,

Mrs Cornelius J. Murphy
2628 Arlene Way N.E.
Atlanta 5, Ga.

card mailed 2/14/61

February 13, 1961

Mrs.William Green
1846 Ardmore Road, N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Green:

I regret that I cannot enclose a card for Mrs. Sidney Janus for she does not happen to be on my list.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MET/lec
Encl.

Miss Alberta Fleck
75 Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E., Atlanta 83, Georgia

Feb-13-1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Room 201, #5 Forsyth St N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga

My dear Mrs Tilly -
I was advised, by the "Interfaith Group for Brotherhood Week" to request a card of admission to the meeting scheduled for February 21, 1961 -
If such cards are still available - please send one to address shown above

Very truly yours
Alberta Fleck

2/16/61

Mrs. Charles Edward McCrary, Jr.
51 Peachtree Way, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley,

Am delighted to participate in a day of thinking with the inter-faith group and am writing for my admission card for February twenty first meeting.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Charles E. McCrary, Jr.

Saturday, February the eleventh.

card mailed 2/14/61

Gammon Seminary
Atlanta, Georgia
February 15, 1961.

Dear Mrs Tilley,

I will be very happy and glad to be a part of the inter faith group of women meeting on February 21st at ten o'clock.

Thanks so very much for the invitation.

Very truly yours,

Mrs Harry V. Richardson

2/16/61

Nr

Mrs Stephen May,
3551 Ivy Road N. E. Atlanta 5

Mrs. L. M. Beckwell
3097 Maple Drive N. E. Atlanta 5

Mrs. Harry Lee, 757 Clairmont Rd.
Decatur, Ga

Mrs. Bruce Hughes, 952 Plymouth Rd N.E
Atlanta 5

Mrs. Chas. C Thompson. 2863 N. Thompson Rd
Atlanta 19 N.E

Mrs Thomas Cate, 2772 Alpine Rd. N.E
Atlanta 5

Mrs. W. Sheffied Owen - 3765 Stratford Rd N.E
at 5

Mrs A. H. Sterne 132 Westminster Dr N.E
at 9

Mrs. J. Bolling Gay, 3042 W. Pine Valley Rd N.W
at 5

Mrs. C. H. Whetstone 1333 Lamar Blvd N.E
Atlanta 6. Ga

216
145
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4 5
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letters mailed

2/15/6

February 20, 1961

Mrs. Ruth Kent
Women's Director, WSB-TV
1601 West Peachtree, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Kent:

Following our conversation, I would like to give you a little more information, so I am enclosing the program and the prayer of St. Francis of Assisi. The prayer card will be given to the women along with the program.

I begin the service by explaining how "Our Facade of Brotherhood" came to be and what we hope will come out of it, taking only a few minutes. Then I will introduce you, and you will take over with silent prayer and introduction of your panel. This all should take until about 11:45, followed by the buzz session, discussion and summary. At the end you will ask everyone to rise and pray the prayer of St. Francis of Assisi.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MET/lec
Encls. (2)

Same letter mailed to:
Rev. John Mulroy
Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild
Dr. Leon Smith
Mr. Pat Watters

March 9, 1961

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mays:

Only the serious illness of my husband has prevented me from expressing my personal thanks, the thanks of the committee, and all the women present for your great part in our Facade of Brotherhood. It certainly was a great program.

We will have some follow-up meetings and I will let you know about them also.

Most grateful to you, I remain

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec

(Dictated by Mrs. Tilly, signed in her absence)

March 9, 1961

Mrs. Ruth Kent
Women's Director, WSB-TV
1601 West Peachtree, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

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Director of Women's Work

MET:lec

(Dictated by Mrs. Tilly, signed in her absence)

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Mrs. I. Wilen

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Place - Assembly Room, Atlanta Public Library

Date - February 21

Time - 10:00 a.m. - 12.00 noon

Because of limited space we request you to write for your admission card no later than February 14, to:

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Very truly yours,

Interfaith Group for Brotherhood Week

"FACADE OF BROTHERHOOD"

Protestants

Miss Mary Kate Duskin no
Mrs. H. B. Trimble no
Mrs. Virlyn Moore
Mrs. F. W. Head
Mrs. Mamie Jones no
Mes. C. W. Laxson
Mrs. T.C.Sorrells
Mrs. L. A. Woodward
Mrs. L. B. Neal
Mrs. Bette Harris y
Mrs. William Green y
Mrs. P. T. Ancarrow
Mrs. Cynthia Polychrone
Mrs. Doris Lockerman
Mrs. Celestine Sibley
Mrs. Ray Mitchell y
Miss Margaret Turner no
Mrs. E. W. Vinson no
Mrs. Eliza Paschall y
Mrs. Philip Hammer
Mrs. George Douglas
Mrs. William Pauley y
Mrs. Harry Pfiffner
Mrs. Frank Picotte
Miss Lucille Huffman
Miss Thelma McClatchey
Mrs.Walter Stancil
2/14/61 Mrs. John Patton y

Mrs. Carlton Binns y
Mrs. W. B. Suddeth y
2/14/61 Mrs. Ben Milner y
Mrs. Ed L. Askren y
Mrs. Van P. Enloe no
Mrs. Randolph Claiborne
Mrs. Edward Lantz y
Mrs. E. Rex Neely
Mrs. Sidney Rushin
Mrs. A. S. Dickerson no
Mrs. Stanely Jones
Mrs. Arthur Burdett
Mrs. Edgar Dunstan no
2/14/61 Mrs. G. A. Sewell y
Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen y
Mrs. Henry Toombes
Mrs. R. M. Paty
Mrs. Ed G. Mackay y
Mrs. Chester Martin no
Mrs. J. W. Cooper y
Mrs.Hugh Harris
Mrs. Fred W. Patterson
Mrs. Stewart Colley y
Mrs. Harry Richardson y
Mrs. Phil Narmour
Mrs. Charles Laubacher
Mrs. James O. Cobb y

Protestants cont'd

Mrs. Stephen May

Mrs. L. M. Becknell y

Mrs. Harry Lee

Mrs. Bruce Hughes

Mrs. Charles C. Thompson

Mrs. Thomas Cate

Mrs. W. Sheffield Owen

Mrs. A. H. Sterne

Mrs. T. Bolling Gay y

Mrs. C. H. Whetstone

Mrs. Billy Joy

Mrs. Jack Patterson y

Mrs. R. O. Loomis y

Mrs Stedman Glisson y

Mrs. Rembert Sisson y

Mrs. Leon Smith m.

Mrs Claud Haynes y

Mrs. Hubbs y

Mrs Nina Stalling y

Mrs E. C. Wilson

Mrs. Boone Bowen y

Mr. Ralph McGill,
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Ga

Dear Mr. McGill,
I have tried to reach you by phone but have failed to find you in your

call

Monday
13th February

Dear Mrs. Tilly —

I plan to attend the Group Meeting on February 21st. Will you please reserve an admission card

for me.

Sincerely

Mrs Robert Kennedy

170 Cleftwood Dr N.E.

Atlanta 5, Ga.

Mrs. Robert E. Kennedy

Mrs. F Kenneth Hurd.
2544 Sharondale ~~Rd~~, Court N. E

Mrs. ~~E. G. Mackay~~ (did we sent her a card) Atlanta 6

Mrs. Boone Bowen
977 Liawen Court, N. E

Mrs. W. B Suddeth (did we send her) a card

Mrs J. C Thoroughman - 4158 Peachtree N. E
Atlanta 19

~~Mrs. Carlton Bimms.~~

Mrs. R. O. Loomis, 1752 Pine Ridge Dr N. E
At 9

Mrs. Rembert Sisson, 1370 N. Decatur Rd N. E

Mrs. Stedman Glisson - 941 Plymouth Rd N. E
At 6

Mrs Jack Patterson - 2850 Ridgewood Rd N. W
At 5

Mrs. Lion Smith

Mrs Claud Haynes) 1280 Oxford Road N. E.
Mrs. Hubbs
2 tickets

(over)

Miss Nina Stalling
1191 Briarcliff Place N. E

Mrs E. C. Wilson
2007 Montrose Drive
College Park, Ga

2-15-61

PRESIDENT
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1526 HILTON AVENUE
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

Woman's Society of Christian Service

South Georgia Conference

The Methodist Church

SECRETARY OF CHRISTIAN
SOCIAL RELATIONS
MRS. W. R. BRAGG
1206 N. MADISON STREET
ALBANY, GEORGIA

May 10, 1961

Dear Mrs Tilly:

Thank you for letter inviting me to come to make plans for the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on May 17, 1961.

My term of office ends the last of May. Mrs C. W. Greenlee, 2224 Florida Ave. Savannah, Ga. is the new Secretary of Christian Social Relations.

It has been wonderful to have worked with you and I shall miss it. The association with all of the others has been most enriching and rewarding.

Thank you for the opportunity of being a member of your group.

Love and prayers for this great work.

Hattie W. Bragg (Mrs. W.R.)

WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE

Woman's Society of Christian Service

THE METHODIST CHURCH

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North Wilkesboro, N. C.

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Mrs. S. Ray Lowder
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Spiritual Life
Mrs. H. F. Anderson
415 Oakdale Road
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Student Work
Miss Mary E. Bethea
Pfeiffer College
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Supply Work
Mrs. H. J. Wise
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Wesleyan Service Guild
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1234 E. Worthington Ave.
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Youth Work
Mrs. I. L. Sharpe
Route 3, Box 618
Albemarle, N. C.

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108 North Ellis Street
Salisbury, N. C.

June 7 - 1961

ACK

My dear Mrs. Dilly:

Due to the illness of my husband (heart attack) I had delayed my answer. Since he is now improving I feel that I can plan to attend Workshop in Atlanta Nov. 6-7-61

Thank you kindly for reminder and explanations.

I hesitate to offer a suggestion for a theme for the Workshop - since I have never attended on by Southern Regional Council, Inc. However - this thought came to me - and I pass it along - It is from a line of Hymn 343 - Methodist Hymnal - "Bold to take up, firm to sustain"

WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE

Woman's Society of Christian Service

THE METHODIST CHURCH

#2 -

I will be looking forward to further information - as the time draws nearer - and sincerely hope circumstances beyond my control will not keep me from attending.

Sincerely,

Carrellen Bales -

(Mrs. W. A.)

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Salisbury, N. C.

Woman's Society of Christian Service

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509 Pennwood Drive
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1205 Gladden St.
Columbia, S. C.

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Mrs. Thomas E. Young
Pinopolis, S. C.

Supply Work
Mrs. LeRoy S. Epps
Kingstree, S. C.

Wesleyan Service Guild
Miss Johanna Hoffmeyer
108 Fourth St.
North Charleston, S. C.

Youth Work
Mrs. J. L. Parish
Kershaw, S. C.

EDITORS

Advocate Page
Miss Dena Bleckley
302 E. River St.
Anderson, S. C.

Work Sheet
Miss Eula Winn
5307 Fairfield Rd.
Columbia, S. C.

June 7, 1961

Dear Mrs Dilly-

My plans for Orientation include the workshop November 6-7 at Clarke College. I like the theme & the drama presented at National Convention on Christian Social Concerns - "You Are Never Alone"

Hope you are feeling much better and are well and strong again -

Yours sincerely,

Anne B. Howze

accept

Walterboro, S.C.
June 8, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
5 Forsyth St. N.W. Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley,

I am planning to attend the meeting in Atlanta, November 6 + 7.

The theme for our Workshop should certainly be related to today's problems. What about "How can I be an Island of Healing?"

Sincerely,

Agnes A. Clark
(Mrs. Niles C. Clark)

Recd

WSCS

Anderson, S.C.
June 8, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am sorry that I will not be able to attend the south-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta at Clark College November 6 and 7.

Sincerely,

Martha Hubbard

Mrs. J. W. Hubbard
Chairman
Christain Social Relations
S.C. Conference WSCS.

Declined

Henderson, Ky., June 8, 1961.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Am looking forward with great anticipation to attend the workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned at Clark college Atlanta November 6 and 7. I did know that my expenses would be taken care of as I attended the one meeting in November of 1959.

Answer to second question might be something like "Social Changes of Today" or "The Changing World".

Accept

Sincerely
Desna P. Armstrong
Desna P. Armstrong
446 N. Main St.,
Henderson, Ky.

P. S. West Main is the wrong address and sometimes I fail to get my mail when it is addressed West instead of North.

METAL PRODUCTS DIVISION
OF THOMPSON INDUSTRIES, Inc.
P. O. BOX 767
VALDOSTA, GEORGIA

June 9, 1961

D

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you very much for your invitation to attend the southwide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, which is to be held in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

However, I find with my daily job, it will be impossible for me to get away at that time. Therefore, I will be unable to attend.

Am afraid I can't offer any suggestions for the them of your Workshop, as I haven't gone into the study very much.

Thanking you again for your invitation, I remain

Very truly yours,

Rena Mae Campbell

Rena Mae Campbell
Conference Chairman
Christian Social Relations
Wesleyan Service Guilds

Mrs. H. E. Jones
Secretary of Promotion
SALTILLO, MISS.

Mrs. James D. McKie
Treasurer
PICKENS, MISS.

Mrs. W. P. Bailey
President
BOX 53, BELZONI, MISS.

Woman's Society of Christian Service

North Mississippi Conference

The Methodist Church

Miss Virginia Thomas
Secretary of Wesleyan Service Guild
826 JEFFERSON ST., TUPELO, MISS.

Mrs. W. E. McGahey
Recording Secretary
CALHOUN CITY, MISS.

Mrs. W. L. Wallace, Jr.
Vice-President
GREENWOOD, MISS.

June 10, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am sorry that I cannot plan to attend the Southern Regional Council Workshop, this year.

Before hearing from you, I had accepted the offer to help direct a School of Moral Concerns for young people in our Conference. This is of vital concern to me and I feel I must continue with my plans to work in this school.

Thank you for your invitation.

Sincerely,

Sarah Shelton

Mrs. T. E. Shelton
Conference Secretary of
Christian Social Relations

Recd

Woman's Society of Christian Service
Memphis Conference Methodist Church

MRS. WAYNE A. LAMB
SECRETARY OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
4100 COURT AVENUE
PADUCAH, KENTUCKY

June 11, 1961

declined

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street N. W., Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Thank you for your kind invitation to attend the Workshop for the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held at Clark College on November 6 and 7.

It will be impossible for me to attend.

Sincerely your friend,
Mrs Wayne A. Lamb
Mrs. Wayne A. Lamb

Honorary President
MRS. R. L. HOBDY
Union Springs, Alabama

President
MRS. J. T. ALLEN
Cromwell, Alabama

Vice President
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MRS. C. O. COPELAN, JR.
1604 N. Baylen St.
Pensacola, Florida

Treasurer
MRS. E. C. ROGERS
1735 E. Cervantes St.
Pensacola, Florida

Recording Secretary
MRS. J. A. CROOK
Union Springs, Alabama

Woman's Society of Christian Service
and
Wesleyan Service Guild
of
The Methodist Church

July 11, 1961

Dear Mrs. Lilly,

I regret to inform you that I will be unable to attend the work-shop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held in Atlanta, November 6 and 7.

I do hope someone else from our area may be able to attend, however, I do not now know anyone to suggest.

Hope you have a good meeting.

Respectfully,

Grace Atkinson.

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. E. L. GLOSSBRENNER
PRESIDENT
8213 BROOKFIELD ROAD, RICHMOND 27, VIRGINIA

June 12, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth St., N.W.,
Room 210,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

It is my intention to attend the Workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned, November 6 and 7, 1961, to be held at Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.

As to a theme for the Workshop I have no startling nor timely suggestion unless my own desire for these days and the times in my own state might be meaningful - Discernment and Direction. Not a day passes but brings the need and the prayer for both of these.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy W. Glossbrenner

Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner

accept

Woman's Society of Christian Service

Kentucky Conference — The Methodist Church

Millersburg, Kentucky
June 13, 1961

Dear Mrs. Dilly,

Certainly I will attend the Fellowship of the Concerned, at Clark College, Nov. 6-7.

There seems to be such a need for "The Family in the Rapidly Changing World" and "The Church " " " " — the theme for our Methodist study this year. "The Christian and Responsible Citizenship" "The Churches and Public Affairs — And there are other areas in which we should combine our efforts for lasting peace —

I'm sure you will "come-up" with a startling idea. You always do.

I'll miss you at Lincoln this year — But unless something happens 'like last year' I'll be with you in November. Love,

Virginia Rees

accept

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. CHARLES M. HENDERSON
~~Recording Secretary~~
4041 N. WALNUT GROVE CIRCLE, MEMPHIS 17, TENN.

June 13, 1961

Mrs. M.E.Tilly
5 Forsyth St NW
Atlanta Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

It is good to hear from you once again. I have been out of the city for several weeks and am truly late replying to your letters.

Yes I do plan to attend your Workshop of the Fellowship of The Concerned at Clark College, Nov. 6and 7, 1961.I appreciate the opportunity of thisthinking together. Since I am in the Department of Christian Social Relations in the Woman's Division, I particularly need this guidance.

I have been away from this group for some time and do not know what approach you have taken in recent years and would hesitate to suggest a theme . I do know here in Memphis we have been making a slow but steady progress. Our YWCA, of which I am the president, is inclusive in all our meetings. United Church Women, on whose board I serve, is also inclusive in Board Meetings and Annual Day observances. Truly the church is the slowest to move- and our own denomination is down the list here in Memphis.

I shall be anxious to know more of your plans and schedule for your meeting.

Sincerely,
Mary Henderson
Mrs. Charles M Henderson

accept

1903 Lombardy Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee
June 14, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I have placed the dates for the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, November 6 and 7, on my calendar of meetings. I always look forward to these meetings as most important. They have meant much to me, both in education, and in opportunity for fine fellowship.

As to a suggestion for a theme, I am not creative enough for that. All the themes in the past have been vital and helpful. I wish I had some suggestion to offer.

Sincerely,

Agnes Williams

Mrs. H. W. Williams

accept

HOLSTON CONFERENCE

Woman's Society of Christian Service

The Methodist Church

104 Parker Road
Oak Ridge, Tennessee
June 16, 1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director os Women's Work,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs Tilly:

Thank you for the invitation to attend 'Fellowship of the Concerned'. YES I am planning on attending.

I personally need to know more of the Psychology of Prejudice. How can people within the Church, who have other evidence of 'goodness' be so prejudiced. How can we communicate with them?

Thank you again for the invitation.

Sincerely yours,
Pauline Miller
Pauline Miller
104 Parker Road,
Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

accept

HOLSTON CONFERENCE

Woman's Society of Christian Service

The Methodist Church

1508 Watauga Street
Kingsport, Tennessee
June 19, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

In reply to your last letter, I am planning to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

Since this will be my first time to attend, I am a little hesitant to suggest a theme. I am sure others who have been before would be more able to suggest something helpful.

I shall look forward to seeing you in November.

Sincerely,

Christine Hutchins

Mrs. Broughton Hutchins
Secretary
Christian Social Relations

accept

1835 4th St. N. E.
Winston-Salem N.C.
June 20, 1961

Mrs. Dorothy Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council Inc
5 Forsyth St N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Central Jurisdiction

Dear Mrs. Tilly
I shall be happy to attend the South-Wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned at Clark College, November 6 and 7, 1961
Thank you for inviting me.

Sincerely yours,
Eleanor Mills
Mrs. E. C. Mills
Pres. C.J.R. The
North Carolina Conference
Methodist Church
W.S.C.S.

accept

PRESIDENT
MRS. C. R. AVERA
ROBERTA, GEORGIA

VICE PRESIDENT
MRS. [illegible]. D. GRINER
PEMBROKE, GEORGIA

RECORDING SECRETARY
MRS. J. E. CRITCHFIELD
VIENNA, GEORGIA

TREASURER
MRS. R. T. NORRIS
1526 HILTON AVENUE
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

Woman's Society of Christian Service

South Georgia Conference

The Methodist Church

SECRETARY OF CHRISTIAN
SOCIAL RELATIONS
~~MRS. W. R. BRAGG~~
[redacted]

Mrs. C.W. Greenlee
2224 Fla. Ave., Savannah, Ga.

June 21,1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director of Women's work
5 Forsyth Street, N,W.
Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly;

Your letter received about meeting Nov. 6-7 in Atlanta. I am afraid that it will be impossible for me to attend. I have another meeting near that time.

If I do go, would it be possible for me to stay at the hotel, would it be possible for the President of our South Georgia Cobfernece of the Woman's Society of Christian Service to attend? She is Mrs. Clyde Newman, 1205 Palmyra Road, Albany, Georgia. written 6/22

Thanking you for your letter, hoping to hear from you,

Sincerely,

Gladys Greenlee

Declined

June 22, 1961

Mrs. C. W. Greenlee
2224 Florida Avenue
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Greenlee:

I do hope you will find it possible to be at the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, November 6 and 7.

Thelma Stevens of the Women's Division and Mrs. Wilcox, secretary of Christian Social Relations of the Southeastern Jurisdiction will be with us.

Everyone has the choice of staying at the Piedmont Hotel or Atlanta University. We hope Mrs. Newman will come.

Sincerely yours,

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

negro

729 S. Jackson St.
Montgomery 4 Ala
June 22nd '61.

Dear Mrs Tilly:

The notice of your meeting which is to be held Nov 6th & 7th came some time ago. I have been quite busy and in and out of the City several times. Thanks for including me. I shall be very happy to attend and I am glad that my expenses will be taken care of.

I feel that it will be very helpful if we can come up with some method or device for lessening tensions and creating a climate which will make the implementation of the law more acceptable to the hard core Southerner. In other words "a face saving" device.

Accept

yours Truly
Irene A.
Mrs A. W. West, Sr.

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RESIDENT VICE PRESIDENT

LOUIS A. SCHMITT, MANAGER
TENNESSEE BRANCH OFFICE
1711 HAYES STREET – NASHVILLE 4, TENNESSEE

1213 Gartland Avenue
Nashville 6, Tennessee

June 25, 1961

accept

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Director of Women's Work,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thanks for your recent letter inviting me to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7. My present plans are to be there unless something should arise later that would prevent my attendance.

As to the second question in your letter concerning the theme of the Workshop, I hardly feel capable of making any recommendation but one question in my mind is "are we concerned enough to really do something about the problems that confront us today"? It would seem that now is the time for action, else it may be too late.

Thanks again for your invitation and I am looking forward to taking part in this meeting.

Sincerely,

Maude F. Campbell

Mrs. J. Carl (Maude) Campbell
Chairman, Christian Social Relations
Tennessee Conference, W. S. G.

Lebanon, Iowa
June 25, 1961

Dear Dorothy,

Indeed, the dates for your meeting are placed in my record of schedule already, and nothing preventing, I will be with you. Thank you for the lovely notice.

I wish you had said how dear Mr. Jiles is. I hope he is greatly improved.

I will be in Atlanta, teaching in your School at Emory, in August; hope to see you then —

My love always,

Ruth

Route 5, Box 370B
Anniston, Alabama
June 26, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Declined

Dear Mrs. Tilly;

Thank you for the invitation to attend the conference in November. However, I regret that I cannot accept because of the pressures of my job during that time.

Best wishes for a successful conference.

Sincerely,
Eleonora Tumlin

West Texas Conference

Woman's Society of Christian Service
The Methodist Church

Promotion
Mrs. O. B. Coe,
211 Lockhart St.,
San Antonio

Missionary Education and Service
Mrs. W. Long Smith,
2304 Colcord Ave., Waco

✓ Christian Social Relations
Mrs. L. L. Haynes,
522 Missouri, Ft. Worth

Student Work
Mrs. Cathryne Stanely,
1706 South 3rd, Waco

Children's Work
Mrs. V. M. Taylor,
403 Belmont, San Antonio

President
MRS. I. C. McALISTER,
1321 Dreiss, Ft. Worth

Recording Secretary
MRS. M. A. K. BAILEY,
902 E. 13th St., Austin

Vice President
MRS. R. B. BYRD,
768 Mill Road, Seguin

Treasurer
MRS. W. M. ELLISON,
1414 McKinley, Austin

Literature and Publications
Mrs. F. M. Hudspeth,
118 Connley St.,
San Antonio

Supplies
Mrs. M. R. Lyons Bell,
1001 East 8th St., Austin

Wesleyan Service Guild
Miss Dora L. Smith,
P. O. Box 958, Lockhart

Spiritual Life Cultivation
Miss Mildred B. Davis,
2827 Tanner, Dallas

Youth Work
Miss L. C. Dunlap,
3715 Havana, Dallas

Missionary Personnel
Mrs. C. M. Watkins Johnson,
2109 Maldon Pl., Austin

Fort Worth Tex.
June 27 - 1961

Accept Negro

Director of Women's Work,
Mrs M. E. Tilly,

My dear Friend; —

I received the invitation to attend The South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned Nov. 6-7 at Clark College.

I shall be happy to attend. Thanks!

We are just from our Jurisdiction School of Mission last week, where Miss Thelma Stevens was our instructor and she asked for reports from your meeting last year. Those who attended gave enthusiastic reports, and I look forward to the opportunity of attending.

Sincerely yours
Mrs L. L. Haynes

VICE PRESIDENT
MRS. L. A. DESHAZO
912 WEST 7TH AVENUE
BIRMINGHAM 4, ALABAMA

PRESIDENT
MRS. L. L. JACKSON
1413 CLEBURN AVENUE, S. W.
BIRMINGHAM 11, ALABAMA

SECRETARY
WESLEYAN SERVICE GUILD
MISS MILDRED DAVIS
1026 EDGEWOOD BOULEVARD
BIRMINGHAM 9, ALABAMA

RECORDING SECRETARY
MRS. BURK A. HARGRAVE
2644 20TH PLACE, WEST
BIRMINGHAM 8, ALABAMA

Woman's Society of Christian Service

OF THE

NORTH ALABAMA CONFERENCE

OF

The Methodist Church

TREASURER
MRS. J. N. HAMRICK, JR.
5437 SOUTH 10TH AVENUE
BIRMINGHAM 12, ALABAMA

21 Malone Circle,

Florence, Alabama.

June 27th1961.

Dear Mrs.Tilly,

Yes, I am planning to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held in Atlanta on November 6th and 7th.

Last year was my first time to have the opportunity to attend the Workshop and I found much that has been very helpful to me in my work as Conference Secretary of Christian Social Relations.

Sincerely,

Eleanor S. Smith.

(Mrs.Ralph S.Smith)

accept

not

Woman's Society of Christian Service
The Methodist Church
Southeastern Jurisdiction
Florida Conference

President
Mrs. David R. Thurman
2712 Hilola St.
Miami 33, Fla.

Vice-President
Mrs. C. Durward Johnson
331 N. 14th St.
Quincy, Fla.

Recording Secretary
Mrs. Earle Rabb
P. O. Box 787
Winter Haven, Fla.

Treasurer
Mrs. W. Leroy Schoch
26 S.W. 25th St.
Gainesville, Fla.

SECRETARIES

Children's Work
Mrs. Hubert Bussard
Rt. 1, Box 353
Avon Park, Fla.

Christian Social Relations
Mrs. T. M. Rickards, Jr.
721 Kanuga Drive
West Palm Beach, Fla.

Literature and Publications
Mrs. Maxie B. Lowe
P. O. Box 502
Dunnellon, Fla.

Missionary Education and Service
Mrs. Allen Watson
P. O. Box 96
Wildwood, Fla.

Missionary Personnel
Mrs. George W. Bohannon
P. O. Box 4275
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.

Promotion
Mrs. Virgil Morgan
2068 Alameda St.
Sarasota, Fla.

Spiritual Life
Mrs. R. V. Rains
316 W. 69th St.
Jacksonville 8, Fla.

Student Work
Mrs. J. Ben Stalvey
6780 S.W. 75th Terrace
South Miami 43, Fla.

Supply Work
Mrs. Grady R. Swope
611 Brightwaters Blvd.
St. Petersburg 4, Fla.

Wesleyan Service Guild
Mrs. Luther Ray
1917 Aileen St.
Tampa 7, Fla.

Youth Work
Mrs. Leroy Northrup
333 Nautilus Ave.
Daytona Beach, Fla.

CHAIRMEN

Committee on Nominations
Mrs. A. M. Elder
4130 Oxford Ave.
Jacksonville 10, Fla.

Public Relations
Mrs. George W. Stearns
Rt. 4, Box 301 A1
Gainesville, Fla.

Predmont Hotel

July 4,1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Please forgive my delay in answering your letter concerning Southern Regional Council Meeting in Nov.

Due to serious illness I was in doubt about even attending the meeting here in Junaluska. Mrs Wilcox announced yesterday that she wanted us to let you know right away.

Right now if all goes well I will be able to attend the meeting. However, Mrs. David Thurman, our Conf. President attended last year and is anxious to come again. It would be nice for me to have someone to travel with me. Would it be possible for you to invite her again this year? She said she would like to come and if you can let her know. We would not want to deprive anyone from attending. I would like to room downtown so as not to make another move when I attend the Committee Meeting.

Thank you for your kindness and forgive me my delay but a bout with Cancer sometimes makes us forget lots of things.

Let us know if we need to make anymore reservations.

Accept

Sincerely,
Lib Rickards
Lib Rickards

Mrs. T. M. Rickards, Jr.
Florida Conference Sec. of C.S.R.
721 Kanuga Dr. West Palm Beach

I will not be able to attend the Workshop in Atlanta in November.

However, I am forwarding your letter to our Presbyterial President in the hope that she may find someone to attend.

Mrs. Clyde Boese
Allardt, Tenn.

7-15-61

D

July 20, 1961

Mrs. T. E. Shelton
Baldwin
Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Shelton:

We regret that you cannot be with us in the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, Clark College, Atlanta, November 6 and 7.

You have the privilege of selecting someone to come in your place--perhaps you have a District Secretary or a Conference officer who might like to share in the Workshop. Let us know.

I think it is fine you are to be busy in a "School of Moral Concerns" for young people.

Sincerely,

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

July 21, 1961

Mrs. Wayne A. Lamb
Secretary of Christian Social Relations
Memphis Conference
4100 Court Avenue
Paducah, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Lamb:

We regret that you find it will be impossible for you to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, Clark College, Atlanta.

You have the privilege of selecting someone to be a substitute for you. If you find someone, let us know her name and address, and the information will be sent to her.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/jf

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

Mrs. Harriet Fralix
Wesleyan Service Guild
Chairman of Christian Social Relations
Box 707
Fayetteville, North Carolina

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dea r Mrs. Tilly:

I regret delay in replying to your kind invitation to attend the south-wide workshop in Atlanta, November 6 and 7th.

I very much appreciate the invitation and have been able to clear vacation time for these dates.

If your quota is not filled, I would very much appreciate your extending an invitation to Mrs. Fred Lemmond, 437 South Main St., Laurinburg, North Carolina. She is Recording Secretary of the North Carolina Conference Wesleyan Service Guild, and is most interested in this type of workshop. — 7/22

If so, we would like to room together at the College. I will appreciate hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Harriet Fralix

accept

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

April 12, 1961

PLEASE NOTE CHANGE OF DATES

Dear Friend:

The dates of the annual South wide Workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned are

November 6 - 7, 1961.

It will be held here in Atlanta. Please mark these dates on your calendar.

This will be a most necessary Workshop as we must find techniques and ways to help our Churches face issues more squarely.

We need your thinking and experience.

Please plan to come.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Tilly

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MET:lec

Methodist

Not Ans

Farmville, N. C.
July 24, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

Please make reservations for me to attend the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop, Nov. 6 and 7.

If there are possibilities of others attending who have not yet been contacted, please mail information concerning the meeting to the following:

Miss Juanita Stott, 2208 Hope St., Raleigh, N. C.
8/3 Miss Gladys McFarlin, 210 Westridge Dr., Tallahassee, Fla.
Mrs. Althelda Pittman, Box 229, Columbia, Miss.
a — Mrs. Harriet Fralix, Box 707 Fayetteville, N. C. a
Mrs. T. S. Newbold, Rocky Mount, N. C. a
a — Mrs. T. M. Richards, Jr., 721 Kanuga Dr., West Palm Beach, Fla.

These indicated to me at the Jurisdiction School of Missions at Lake Junaluska, N. C. that they would like to attend.

When I attended the meeting in 1959 I stayed at Atlanta University and found it most pleasant, but due to transportation problems, I beleive I would be more conveniently placed at the Piedmont.

Yours truly,
Grace Carraway
Mrs. J. M. Carraway
Farmville, N. C.

Accept

Louisville 7 - Ky.
275 N. Hubbard Ln.
July 26 - 1961.

Mellwitt

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Thank you for the invitation to the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held at Clark College Atlanta on Nov. 6 and 7th. I'm indeed very grateful to have the opportunity of joining such a group of people. I'll be so happy to accept your kind invitation and you may make reservations for me at the University Womens Dormitory.

Accept

Your friend,

Mrs. Chas. P. Dawson (Patsy)

CO-ORDINATOR
MISS ADDIE MAE JAMIESON
501 Georgia Building
1250 Georgia Avenue
Macon, Georgia

CHAIRMEN OF RURAL WORK ADVISORY COMMITTEES
NORTH GEORGIA
MRS. WAIGHTS G. HENRY, JR.
LaGrange, College
LaGrange, Georgia

SOUTH GEORGIA
MRS. SCOTT A. EDWARDS
501 East 50th Street
Savannah, Georgia

GEORGIA COOPERATIVE RURAL WORK

A PROJECT OF
THE WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
OF THE
BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

NORTH GEORGIA WORKERS
MISS BONNIE LUE COLEMAN
189 W. Johnston St.
Forsyth, Georgia
MISS ESTHER HARTSOE
Box 272
Blairsville, Georgia
MISS PATRICIA WATTS
Box 228
Franklin, Georgia
MISS THELMA SMALLEY
Lincolnton, Georgia

SOUTH GEORGIA WORKERS
MISS SANDRA BEDACHT
Andersonville, Georgia
MISS JACQUELIN LEE
29 Oakland Ave.
Camilla, Georgia
MRS. L. A. DOLLOFF
Berlin, Georgia
MISS JANE KEESLING
Route 1
Sylvania, Georgia
MISS DARLENE MILLER
Box 52
Roberta, Georgia
MISS GWINNETTE SUGGS
Box 111
Junction City, Georgia

Dodwell July 26, 1961

Dear Mrs. Lilly,

In regards to the invitation to the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, held at Clark College in November.

Appreciate the opportunity to attend this meeting. However, it will conflict with my schedule of activities for the month, and therefore will you accept my deepest regrets for not being able to meet with you and the others interested in in area of service.

May the Lord lead and direct all your efforts to make Jesus Christ the Light

of the World.

A co-worker in Christ

Bonnie Lue Coleman

Laurinburg Surgical Clinic

507 WEST COVINGTON STREET
TELEPHONE CR 6-3541
Laurinburg, North Carolina

GENERAL SURGERY
JAMES J. RICHARDSON, M. D.
JAMES S. MITCHENER, JR., M. D.

OBSTETRICS-GYNECOLOGY
JAMES R. COCHRAN, M. D.

August 8, 1961.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Director of Women's Work,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you very much for your invitation to attend the Work-Shop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I am looking forward with interest to being there. Mrs. Harriet Fralix of Fayetteville, N. C., and I plan to come down and would like to room together, and I believe she is going to write you regarding this, if she has not already done so.

Sincerely,

Rosemary M. Lemmond

Rosemary M. Lemmond

accept

Mrs. Fred Lemmond
521 South Main Street
Laurinburg, N. C.

304 ½ Reynolds Ave.
Evergreen , Ala
August 15, 1961

Negro

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta , Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly.

Thank you for your letter of recently announcing the Work - Shop on Nov. 6 - 7 .

I do plan to be in attendance. Let me express my most sincere appreciation to you for the invitation.

Very Truly,

Nellie C. Davis

Accept

Woman's Society of Christian Service
The Methodist Church
Southeastern Jurisdiction
Florida Conference

President
Mrs. David R. Thurman
2712 Hilola St.
Miami 33, Fla.

Vice-President
Mrs. C. Durward Johnson
331 N. 14th St.
Quincy, Fla.

Recording Secretary
Mrs. Earle Rabb
P. O. Box 787
Winter Haven, Fla.

Treasurer
Mrs. W. Leroy Schoch
26 S.W. 25th St.
Gainesville, Fla.

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Rt. 1, Box 353
Avon Park, Fla.

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Mrs. Allen Watson
P. O. Box 96
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Missionary Personnel
Mrs. George W. Bohannon
P. O. Box 4275
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Mrs. Virgil Morgan
2068 Alameda St.
Sarasota, Fla.

Spiritual Life
Mrs. R. V. Rains
316 W. 69th St.
Jacksonville 8, Fla.

Student Work
Mrs. J. Ben Stalvey
6780 S.W. 75th Terrace
South Miami 43, Fla.

Supply Work
Mrs. Grady R. Swope
611 Brightwaters Blvd.
St. Petersburg 4, Fla.

Wesleyan Service Guild
Mrs. Luther Ray
1917 Aileen St.
Tampa 7, Fla.

Youth Work
Mrs. Leroy Northrup
333 Nautilus Ave.
Daytona Beach, Fla.

CHAIRMEN

Committee on Nominations
Mrs. A. M. Elder
4130 Oxford Ave.
Jacksonville 10, Fla.

Public Relations
Mrs. George W. Stearns
Rt. 4, Box 301 A1
Gainesville, Fla.

Sept. 11-61

Dear Mrs Tilley:
So very sorry to hear of the death of Mr. Tilley. However, do hope you will be able to carry on your fine work.
Mrs David Thurman would like to attend the Fellowship of the Concerned Nov. 6 + 7. Would you please let me know if it will be possible to extend the invitation to include both of us. She is our Conf. Pres.
Sincerely,
Lil Rickards

Mrs T. M. Rickards Jr
721 Kanuga Dr
West Palm Beach, Fla.

Dorothy

Fwd
9-13-61
M.M.

218 Regent Street
Hampton, Virginia
September 16, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I shall be unable to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, in Atlanta, on November 6 and 7.

I am indeed grateful for the opportunity of attending, and am very sorry that I cannot be with you.

Sincerely,

Kathleen C. Wickes

2405-2nd Ave.,
Columbus, Ga.
Sept. 19, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I will not be connected with Open Door Community House after Oct. 1st. Miss Kathryn Esterline will take over my work (now on vacation) and will be here after Oct. 1st. I will refer your letter to her.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Eneme R. Jury

1805 Park Drive St.
Marshall, Texas
September, 19, 1961

Mrs M. E. Tilly
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs Tilly:

I appreciate very much the invitation to attend the S. wide workshop of the Concerns. I sincerely regret that due to other urgent conflicting interest I shall not be able to attend the workshop. I do hope that at some future time I shall be privileged to attend.

Thanking you again for the invitation.

Sincerely yours,
(Mrs) Ruth L. Campbell
Secy. C.S.R. Texas Conference
Woman's Society of Christian Service

Doc Inc

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. S. M. HARMON
SECRETARY WESLEYAN SERVICE GUILD
2179 POPLAR APARTMENT 44
MEMPHIS 4, TENNESSEE

September 20, 1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your letter of September 15 with the reminder about the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held on November 6-7.

As I had written you previously, it will be impossible for me to attend this meeting.

All good wishes for your success in this important work that you are doing.

Sincerely,

Catherine Harmon

Mrs. S. M. Harmon,
Jurisdiction Secretary,
Wesleyan Service Guild

Central Jurisdiction

Mrs. Nella M. Henson
527 N. Robinson St.
Phila. 51, Pa.

Sept. 20th. - 61

Mrs M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 201 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly :-

I have just recieved the letter you sent, Concerning South wide workshop, to be held in Atlanta Ga. Nov. 6th & 7th. may I explain when attending the Central Jurisdiction School of missions in Frankfort Ky, this meeting was mentioned, however my name was not on the list. I am Christian Social Relation's Sect'y of the Wel. Cos. W S C S.

I have just talked with Mrs. Horace Henry our President of Wilmington Wel, ~~to be~~ you sent the letter to her, however she said I should write you of the mistake in the address, she forwarded

the letter to me. She thinks as I do if you want the C.S.R. Sectiy that the entire Conference would be benefited.

Thank you for any consideration. I will be happy + priviliged to attend said meeting. And do hope to hear from you soon so that I will be able to make plans as we are busy making our dates for miniature Seminars on local district + Con. levels.

You know our Con. is so wide spread, there is always lots of travel to get to places.

Please let me hear from you as soon as Commeniente to you.

I am yours for God's Service.

(Mrs) Nella M. Henson
Del. Con. C S R. Secretary

P.S. For any other information you may write Mrs H. Henry
1311 Tatnall Wilm. Del

1402 Hawkins St

Negro

Nashville 4, Tenn
Sept 20, 1961

Mrs M. E Tilly
Atlanta, Ga

Dear Mrs Tilly:

I am very grateful for your invitation to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the concerned to be held at Clark College Nov 6, 7. I will be able to attend, have been looking forward to the meeting with greatest of pleasure.

Gratefully your

Mrs Albert Roberts

LOUISVILLE CONFERENCE

The Methodist Church 3622 W. Broadway,
Louisville, Ky.

September 21, 1961.

Dear Mrs. Tilly,-

I am very sorry to have in any way been an inconvenience to you, but I have not known until now whether or not I could come to the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned, November 6 & 7, 1961. I am writing to-day to say that I expect to be there and shall be glad, as I told you in Bardstown, to stay at the College.

I have learned in the last few days that your dear husband died a few weeks ago. Your lovely life together will be an inspiration to us all through all the coming days. Blessings on you!

With love,

Chauncey M. Powell
(Mrs. Paul D. Powell)

WOMAN'S SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
LEXINGTON CONFERENCE
OF THE
METHODIST CHURCH

Negro

September 22, 1961

Mrs. M. E.Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3,Georgia

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your invitation. I shall be very happy to attend the Workshop at Clark College in Atlanta. Your letter stated that you sent me an invitation a few weeks ago. It either did not reach me or it came at a time when I received a great deal of mail and overlooked it.

Thank you again for the invitation. I shall look forward to this with great pleasure.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret S Wallace

Margaret S. Wallace
Conference Secretary of
Christian Social Relations

Accept

CO-ORDINATOR
MISS ADDIE MAE JAMIESON
501 Georgia Building
1250 Georgia Avenue
Macon, Georgia

CHAIRMEN OF RURAL WORK ADVISORY COMMITTEES
NORTH GEORGIA
MRS. WAIGHTS G. HENRY, JR.
LaGrange, College
LaGrange, Georgia

SOUTH GEORGIA
MRS. SCOTT A. EDWARDS
501 East 50th Street
Savannah, Georgia

GEORGIA COOPERATIVE RURAL WORK

A PROJECT OF
THE WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
OF THE
BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

NORTH GEORGIA WORKERS
MISS BONNIE LUE COLEMAN
189 W. Johnston St.
Forsyth, Georgia
MISS ESTHER HARTSOE
Box 272
Blairsville, Georgia
MISS PATRICIA WATTS
Box 223
Franklin, Georgia
MISS THELMA SMALLEY
Lincolnton, Georgia

SOUTH GEORGIA WORKERS
MISS SANDRA BEDACHT
Andersonville, Georgia
MISS JACQUELIN LEE
29 Oakland Ave.
Camilla, Georgia
MRS. L. A. DOLLOFF
Berlin, Georgia
MISS JANE KEESLING
Route 1
Sylvania, Georgia
MISS DARLENE MILLER
Box 52
Roberta, Georgia
MISS GWINNETTE SUGGS
Box 111
Junction City, Georgia

P. O. Box 223
Franklin, Georgia
September 22, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Declined

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

In response to your letter of September 15 I will be unable to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned which is scheduled for November 6 and 7.

Sincerely,

Patricia Watts

Patricia Watts

Methodist

Woman's Society of Christian Service

NORTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE
THE METHODIST CHURCH

CONFERENCE OFFICERS

President
MRS. H. C. TURLINGTON
Box 587
Dunn, N. C.

Vice-President
MRS. SAM A. DUNN
Enfield, N. C.

Recording Secretary
MRS. H. W. DOUB
Aberdeen, N. C.

Treasurer
MRS. L. C. VEREEN
117 Brooks Avenue
Raleigh, N. C.

SECRETARY OF

Children's Work
MRS. J. S. HENNINGER
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Christian Social Relations
MRS. T. S. NEWBOLD
Box 1339
Rocky Mount, N. C.

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MRS. HAROLD A. BRASWELL
Whitakers, N. C.

Missionary Personnel
MISS SARAH McCRACKEN
1308 W. Markham Ave.
Durham, N. C.

Promotion
MRS. C. H. BOYD
Rt. 4, Box 58
New Bern, N. C.

Spiritual Life
MRS. J. E. SPONENBURG
2805 Guess Rd.
Durham, N. C.

Student Work
MRS. W. TAYLOR LONG
Blanch, N. C.

Supply Work
MRS. L. S. THOMPSON
Plymouth, N. C.

Wesleyan Service Guild
MISS JUANITA STOTT
2208 Hope St.
Raleigh, N. C.

Youth Work
MISS ETHELYNDE BALLANCE
Raeford, N. C.

Chairman of Public Relations and Contributing Editor N. C. Christian Advocate
MISS MARY GARDNER
227 West Edenton St.
Raleigh, N. C.

Chairman of Committee On Nominations
MRS. ALLEN C. LEE
Farmville, N. C.

304 Charlotte Street
Rocky Mount, N.C.
Sept. 22, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Accept

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am planning to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held on November 6th and 7th. I am looking forward with keen interest to this meeting for I feel sure I will receive guidance concerning local problems.

With all good wishes to you in the fine work you are doing, I am

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. T. S. Newbold

LINDENWALD METHODIST CHURCH
3501 PLEASANT AVENUE
HAMILTON, OHIO

LEONARD I. KLOTZ, MINISTER
4158 FREEMAN AVENUE
OFFICE PHONE: TW 2-9438
PARSONAGE PHONE: TW 2-7800

September 25, 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

In reply to your invitation to attend the South-wide Worshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, I express my thanks but I have changed my place of service and am living here in Ohio. I have followed the news releases on the integration proceedings in the city of Atlanta with a great deal of satisfaction, realizing the many hours of careful planning and the many prayers uttered for its success. The Council and the people of the south can be proud of this step forward.

My interest will follow the work of the Council and pray that you may be an instrument to bring about understanding and fellowship among the races.

Sincerely yours,

Sandra Bedacht

Sandra Bedacht
Educational Assistant

Declined

A.M.E.

Negro

1709 Villa Place
Nashville, Tenn.
September 25, 1961

Accept

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Dir.Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thanks for the invitation to attend the 1961 Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concern of the Southern Regional Council, meeting in Kresge Hall, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia, November 6 and 7.

In compliance with your request, you may make reservations for me at the Atlanta University Women's Dormitory Sunday afternoon, November 5, through Tuesday, November 7; for I expect to arrive by plane Sunday afternoon 5:26 Atlanta time, and will be leaving as soon as the meeting is over on Tuesday, taking a plane back to Nashville Tuesday night.

Thanks again for the invitation and may God in His infinite mercy bless and keep you, and that you may live long to serve God and humanity.

Sincerely yours in Christ,

Thelma Anderson Wills

(Mrs.) Thelma Anderson Wills, Pres.
Tenn.Conference Branch WMS
A.M.E. Church

/taw

Paine College
ESTABLISHED 1882
AUSPICES METHODIST CHURCH AND
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
E. CLAYTON CALHOUN, PRESIDENT
Augusta, Georgia

September 28, 1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Friend:

Dr. Ruth Bartholomew has indicated to you, I believe, that I have been considering the possibility of attending the Southwide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on November 6 and 7 at Clark College. Although I seem to be much too busy to go, I think this is too important a matter not to attend; and perhaps I can get it into my schedule more easily than Ruth can.

Accordingly, I shall plan to attend the workshope on November 6 and 7 at Clark College and should like now to make reservations to stay overnight there.

Yours in fellowship,

Cecilia Sheppard

Cecilia Sheppard

Division of Religion and Philosophy

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

Paine College
ESTABLISHED 1882
AUSPICES METHODIST CHURCH AND
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
E. CLAYTON CALHOUN, PRESIDENT
Augusta, Georgia

September 19, 1961

Mrs. M. C. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Declined

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your reminding letter of September 15. I had not forgotten, but an answer was overdue.

When I received your letter in the summer, I carefully put it away, saying "This time I shall certainly go." I planned to write as soon as registration was over and my schedule for the semester made. When your letter came today, I reached for the calendar and found to my dismay that November 9-11 is our week for mid-terms examinations and grade reports. If this had been all I would have arranged to come, but on November 9-11, I must attend the yearly conference of the Southeastern Modern Language Association, the one professional conference which I attend.

I am very sorry, for I am still, and always have been, very interested in the Fellowship

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

of the Concerned. However, I am asking Cecilia Sheppard (my housemate, deaconess, head of Dept. of Religion and Philosophy) to come in my place. She wants very much to do so, and she thinks she can arrange her classes. I shall ask her to write you within a few days. She has been involved in race relations most of her adult life and is deeply concerned about all social injustices.

I trust this meets with your approval.

Yours sincerely,
Ruth L. Bartholomew

Woman's Society of Christian Service
of the Methodist Church
Washington Conference
1016 Abbott Court
Baltimore 2, Maryland

October 5, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Director of Woman's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I received the letter yesterday reminding me of the invitation you had sent some weeks ago. However, this is the first communication I have received from you and it was dated September 15th, 1961.

The delay was due my change of address, which is 1016 Abbott Court, Baltimore 2, Maryland.

This is to let you know that I am available and I will be delighted to attend the workshop November 6, 7, 1961.

I trust my reply is not too late. I am very grateful for the invitation and shall be looking forward to your reply.

Accept

Sincerely yours,

Sadie Shannon for mvh
(Mrs.) Sadie Shannon

SS/mvh

Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society

A. M. E. ZION CHURCH
"THE WORLD FOR CHRIST"

OFFICE, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
MRS. MARGARET J. MAY
Telephone AL 2-8583

HARRIET TUBMAN HOME
P. O. BOX 114, AUBURN, N. Y.

October 6, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

Your letter should have been answered before, but it came at a very busy time for me, and I neglected to write you. I am very sorry.

I suggest the following as delegates and alternate delegates.

VIRGINIA

Mrs. Medis G. Warren, 941 Vermont St., Portsmouth, Va. — Delegate ✓
Mrs. Naomi B. Arie, 433 Byme St., Petersburg, Va. — "
Mrs. Clara V. Lamb, 2519 Ruffin St., Norfolk, 14, Va. — Alternate
Mrs. Alta E. Howard, 405 S. Stafford Ave., Richmond, Va. — "

NORTH CAROLINA

Mrs. Delacy Grecian-Donawa, 320 S. Alexander St., Charlotte 6, N.C. — Delegate ✓
Mrs. Lucy Lowery, 823 E. 7th Street, Charlotte, N. C. — "
Mrs. Barbara J. Taylor, Box 51, Cleveland, North Carolina — Alternate
Mrs. C. E. Norment, Rte 3, Box 386, Winston-Salem, N. C. — Alternate
~~Mrs. Gladys Lehr, Box 51, Norment, North Carolina~~ — "

SOUTH CAROLINA

Mrs. Corrine G. Ward, 1300 Blossom St., Columbia, S. C. — Delegate ✓
Mrs. S. V. Moreland, Clinton College, Rock Hill, S. C. — "
Mrs. Charlotte T. Harris, 805 Dibble St., Camden, S. C. — Alternate
Mrs. Lillie Stewart, Carlisle, Box 87, South Carolina — "

Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society

A. M. E. ZION CHURCH
"THE WORLD FOR CHRIST"

OFFICE, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
MRS. MARGARET J. MAY
Telephone AL 2-8583

HARRIET TUBMAN HOME
P. O. BOX 114, AUBURN, N. Y.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly October 6, 1961

GEORGIA

Mrs. Hastie A. Bitting, ~~Box~~ #223 Delegate ✓
Summerville, Ga.

Mrs. Sadie Potter, 38 Hightower Rd. "
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Elfleta Green, 1541 Picquet Ave. Alternate
Augusta, Ga.

Mrs. Odessa Bankston, 1738 E. Broad St. "
Athens, Ga.

FLORIDA

Mrs. Bessie Love, 1704 Blue Street Delegate ✓
Jacksonville, Fla.

Mrs. Ollie Lee, 3420 Machado St. "
Tampa 5, Fla.

Mrs. Exie Hooper, 702 Whitehead St. Alternate
Key West, Fla.

Mrs. Mollie Boone, 2611 - 26th Ave. "
Tampa 5, Fla.

ALABAMA

Mrs. Irene Watts, 464 Mobile St. Delegate ✓
Mobile, Ala.

Mrs. Ethel Alstork, Route #1, Box 134 "
Demopolis, Ala.

Mrs. Lena Moe Gill, 1284 Culvert St. Alternate
Whistler, Ala.

Mrs. F. W. Williams, 1005 North Jackson "
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

LOUISIANA

Mrs. R. C. Pierre, 740 E. Pine St. Delegate ✓
Ponchatoula, La.

Mrs. Luceal Freeman, Rte.#1, Box 230 "
Amite, La.

Mrs. L. L. Ashes, 484 South 8th St. Alternate
Ponchatoula, La.

Mrs. Mattie Randolph, TRte.#1, Box 166 "
Amite, La.

Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society

A. M. E. ZION CHURCH
"THE WORLD FOR CHRIST"

OFFICE, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
MRS. MARGARET J. MAY
Telephone AL 2-8583

HARRIET TUBMAN HOME
P. O. BOX 114, AUBURN, N. Y.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly October 6, 1961

ARKANSAS

Mrs. G. W. Byers, 1015 E. 10th St. Delegate
Pine Bluff, Ark.
Mrs. Lena Ritter, Box 277
Parksdale, Ark. "
Mrs. Minnie S. Cannon, 3125 Center St. Alternate
Little Rock, Ark.
Mrs. Ethel Roseburr, 1320 Harrison St. "
Conway, Ark.

MISSISSIPPI

Mrs. Blanche Lou Stacks, 2308 - 6th St. Delegate
Clarksdale, Miss.
Mrs. Elizabeth Love, Rte.#5, Box 305 "
Batesville, Miss.
Mrs. Jennie R. Johnson, Rte #2, Box 109 Alternate
Pickens, Miss.
Mrs. Ethel Key, 1410 - 36th Ave. "
Meridan, Miss.

TENNESSEE

Mrs. Amanda Ballard, 389 Lucy Ave. Delegate
Memphis 6, Tenn.
Mrs. Hazel Stacy, 729 Sevier Ave. "
Kingsport, Tenn.
Mrs. M. C. Spurgeon, 110 East Adams St. Alternate
Johnson City, Tenn.
Mrs. Gladys M. Rodgers, 911 Alabama St. "
Bristol, Tenn.

KENTUCKY

Mrs. Abbie C. Jackson, 2303 West Chestnut St. Delegate
Louisville, Ky.
Mrs. Maxie Claybon, 467 Hopewell St. "
Madisonville, Ky.
Mrs. Frankie Harris, 514 S. 21st St. Alternate
Louisville, Ky.
Mrs. Irene Dunlap, 564 East 5th St. "
Russeleville, Ky.

Very sincerely yours,

Margaret J. May

MARGARET J. MAY
Executive Secretary

MJM/mb

Mrs. Shepherd
Lewis
W.P.B.
Beach
Fla
326 Macy St.

Copy of late letter mailed 4-12-61
conferences marked to receive list

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF CONFERENCE SECRETARIES AND CHAIRMEN

OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

For Fellowship Of Concerned.

Follow up letters sent 7-13-61

CONFERENCE	SECRETARY
ALABAMA-WEST FLORIDA	Mrs. W. B. Atkinson (Grace) P. O. Box 487 D Marianna, Florida
FLORIDA	Mrs. Thomas M. Rickards, Jr. (Lib) 721 Kanuga Drive @ West Palm Beach, Florida
HOLSTON	Mrs. Broughton Hutchins (Christine) 1508 Watauga Street @ Kingsport, Tennessee
KENTUCKY	Mrs. J. Ward Rees (Virginia) @ Millersburg, Kentucky
LOUISVILLE	Mrs. Paul S. Powell (Chauncey) 3622 West Broadway @ Louisville, Kentucky
MEMPHIS	Mrs. Wayne A. Lamb (Susan) D 4100 Court Paducah, Kentucky
MISSISSIPPI	Mrs. J. W. Patrick, Jr. (Pat) P. O. Box 395 Brandon, Mississippi
NORTH ALABAMA	Mrs. Ralph Smith (Eleanor) @ 21 Malone Circle Florence, Alabama
NORTH CAROLINA	Mrs. T. S. Newbold (Helen) ~~P. O. Box 1339~~ 304 Charlotte St. @ Rocky Mount, North Carolina
NORTH GEORGIA	Mrs. E. Clayton Calhoun (Frankie) @ 1235 Fifteenth Street Paine College Augusta, Georgia
NORTH MISSISSIPPI	Mrs. T. E. Shelton (Sara) D Baldwin, Mississippi
SOUTH CAROLINA	Mrs. H. S. Howie (Ann) @ 110 Argonne Drive Greenville, South Carolina
SOUTH GEORGIA	~~Mrs. W. R. Bragg (Hattie)~~ d. ~~1206 North Madison Avenue~~ no one moved 10-9-61 ~~Albany, Georgia~~ Mrs. C. W. Greenlee @ 2224 Florida Ave. Savannah, Ga

A new Secretary Will be elected

Mrs. C. Newman 6/27/61
1205 Palmayra Road
Albany, Ga.
Pres. of So. Ga. WSCS

Form Ltr. Fwd

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

~~1402 Hawkins St.~~ @
~~Mrs. Albert Roberts, NSV 4~~

TENNESSEE	Mrs. Horace Williams (Agnes) @ 1903 Lombardy Lane Nashville, Tennessee
VIRGINIA	~~Mrs. Herman Lee (Betty Jo)~~ Mrs. Paul Hartz ~~29 Homeward Drive~~ Waverly, Virginia ~~Lynchburg, Virginia~~
WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA	Mrs. W. A. Bales (Carrieleen) @ 817 North Eugene Street Greensboro, North Carolina
FLORIDA Hired Chairman of C.S.R. Inv. 8/3	Miss Gladys McFarlin ltr. returned 210 ~~Ridgewood~~ Westridge Drive Tallahassee, Florida no G V
HOLSTON	Miss Pauline Miller @ 104 Parker Road Oak Ridge, Tennessee
KENTUCKY	~~Mrs. E. J. Carr~~ Mrs. Edna Moss ~~Frakes, Kentucky~~ Danville, Kentucky
LOUISVILLE	~~Mrs. Mary Maggenheimer~~ @ Mrs. Desna Armstrong ~~Madisonville, Kentucky~~ 446 ~~N.~~ Main St. Henderson, Kentucky north main
MEMPHIS	Mrs. Pauline Hudgens 1739 Harrison Paducah, Kentucky
MISSISSIPPI	~~Mrs. J. F. Wallace~~ Miss Josephine Lewis ~~33 33rd Street~~ 1048 Robinson ~~Gulfport, Mississippi~~ Jackson, Mississippi
NORTH ALABAMA	~~Mrs. Amilea Porter~~ Mrs. H. I. Tumlind ~~Blountsville, Alabama~~ Rt. 5 ~~Rt. 6~~ Box 370-23 Anniston, Alabama.
NORTH CAROLINA	Mrs. J. M. Carraway Farmville, North Carolina @
NORTH GEORGIA	Miss Kathleen Eidson @ 2410 Sewell Road, S. W. Atlanta, Georgia
NORTH MISSISSIPPI	Mrs. H. G. Howell Aberdeen, Mississippi
SOUTH CAROLINA	Mrs. J. W. Hubbard D Box 754 Anderson, South Carolina
SOUTH GEORGIA	Miss Rena Mae Campbell D Valdosta, Georgia
TENNESSEE	Mrs. J. Carl Campbell @ 1312 Gartland Avenue Nashville, Tennessee

VIRGINIA	Miss Kathleen Wicker D 218 Regent Street Hampton, Virginia
WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA	Miss Joyce Shook D ✓ Hendersonville, North Carolina
ALABAMA-WEST FLORIDA	Mrs. Lilla Hertzog Box 229 Dotham, Alabama
JURISDICTION CHAIRMAN	Mrs. Harriet Fralix ✓ a — Mrs. Fred Lammond 521 S. Main Laurinburg NC @ P. O. Box 707 Fayetteville, North Carolina
Jurisdiction Secretary	Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox ✓ @ ~~2200 Old Hampton Highway~~ ~~Marquette Terrace~~ 16 Minnehaha Place, Chattanooga 5.
Jurisdiction President	Mrs. E. L. Glassfrenner @ 8213 Brookfield Richmond Virginia.
Wesleyan Service Guild Secretary of Jurisdiction.	Mrs. S. M. Harmon D 2179 Poplar, Apt. 44 Memphis, Tennessee.
Member of Memorial Division Serving in Dept. of C.S.R.	Mrs. Niles Clark @ ✓ Waterloo S.C.
	@ Mrs. Charles M. Henderson 4041 Walnut Grove Circle Memphis 17, Tennessee.
President of Memorial Division.	Mrs. J. Fount Tillman @ R.F.D. #1 Lewisburg, Tennessee.

Dear Mrs. Tilley,

If you should need more names of women I would be happy to supply them. Please inform me of dates of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Mr. Paul Anthony gave an excellent presentation of "Law and Order" at the Consultative Conversation on Race in Gainsville.

We are so glad that the Laurel Room at Millers on Henley is now integrated. This is the first real nice public place where we can enjoy a luncheon together.

We hope Mrs. Tilley is feeling better.

Please try to attend the S. E. Briefing Conference at Jonesboro Sept. 12-14, 1961.

Sincerely - Margaret Wilcox.

Negro

~~Invited~~ 6/14

CENTRAL JURISDICTION

Jurisdiction Secretary of Christian Social Relations: Mrs. L. S. Holland
4601 Enright Street
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Conference Secretaries of Christian Social Relations:

CENTRAL ALABAMA.....Mrs. Nellie C. Davis - 304½ Reynolds Avenue - Evergreen, Alabama (a)

CENTRAL WEST.....Mrs. L. S. Holland (Until election of Conference officers)

DELAWARE.....Mrs. Della M. Henson - 1311 Tatnall Street - Wilmington 1, Delaware

EAST TENNESSEE.....Mrs. A.R. Maggie Fleshman - 1124 Greenbrier Street - Bluefield, West Virginia (a)

FLORIDA.....Mrs. Agnes Curinton - 717 N. W. 5th Avenue - Gainesville, Florida

GEORGIA.....Mrs. A. Morris Hardeman - P. O. Box 506 - Covington, Georgia

LEXINGTON.....Mrs. Margaret S. Wallace - 7412 Rhodes Avenue - Chicago 19, Illinois (a)

LOUISIANA.....Mrs. Augustine M. St. Cyr - 3217 Lowerlene Street - New Orleans, Louisiana

MISSISSIPPI.....Mrs. Edele C. B. Christian - 5th Street - Laurel, Mississippi (a)

NORTH CAROLINA.....Mrs. E. C. Mills - 1835 4th Street - Winston-Salem, North Carolina (a)

SOUTH CAROLINA.....Mrs. Hattie G. Barksdale - Route 4, Box 135 - Spartanburg, South Carolina

SOUTHWEST.....Mrs. C. G. Washington - 1216 N. 8th Street - Fort Smith, Arkansas (a)

TENNESSEE.....Mrs. Albert Roberts - 1402 Hawkins Street - Nashville, Tennessee (a)

TEXAS.....Mrs. Hugh Campbell - 1805 Park Drive - Marshall, Texas D—Ruth K.

UPPER MISSISSIPPI.....Mrs. Ruby Ross Smith - P. O. Box 246 - Lexington, Mississippi

WASHINGTON.....Mrs. Sadie Shannon - 1324 N. Bond Street - Baltimore 13, Maryland

WEST TEXAS.....Mrs. L. L. Haynes - 522 Missouri Avenue - Fort Worth, Texas (a)

Kentucky Mrs. Evabelle Daniels, 2829 W. Walnut St. LSV 7/24 (a)

The Tennessee - Edward Jones on a record

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. ROBERT L. WILCOX
SECRETARY OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
16 MINNEKAHDA PLACE
CHATTANOOGA 5, TENNESSEE

October 10, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you so very much for the messages concerning Mr. Tilly.

I have received two communications from Mrs. Thomas M. Richards, Jr., Fla. Conf. Sec. of C.S.R. enclosed address is 121 Hanneya Drive, West Palm Beach, Fla. and she is concerned about her reservation and a reservation for Mrs. Sherman, Fla. Conf. President, and she wanted like to know about this matter so she can make definite travel plans for The Fellowship of Concerned Workshop. November 6-9th.

I am sorry to have to bother you about this matter.

Sincerely
Margaret Wilcox

Fwd
10-9-61

Woman's Society of Christian Service

Kentucky Conference — The Methodist Church

ans
Fund
MET

Millersburg, Kentucky
October 17, 1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
5 Forsyth St, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I heard just a few days ago of Mr. Tillys' death. My love and deepest sympathy are for you at this time. You were so close and he appreciated all you had done and are doing for the betterment of the Negro. I am so glad you will continue in the work of the Council and for the Methodist Church.

Enclosed you will find the blank, which you requested I fill in and return. I hope I have made myself clear, as to staying at the Piedmont on Sunday evening, and to go to Atlanta University for Monday evening. My plane will arrive around 7 P.M. and I will go on to the Piedmont. If it would be all right for me to go directly to Atlanta University Sunday evening I would be glad to do so. I am sure there will be others staying at the Piedmont and we could come out together Monday morning.

I have not made my plane reservation yet so do not know how much my Fare will be. If possible I would like to have the fare in advance. I am sure $60.00 will cover the ticket (round trip) and Taxi.

I missed being with you last year, and so much has happened, I am looking forward to this meeting very much. I'll see you in a few weeks.

Love,

Virginia

Mrs. J. Ward Rees, Secretary
Christian Social Relations

Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society

A. M. E. ZION CHURCH
"THE WORLD FOR CHRIST"

Office of the General President
MRS. CLARENCE P. JACKSON
Telephone SPring 8-1534

October 23, 1961

2303 WEST CHESTNUT STREET
LOUISVILLE 11, KENTUCKY

Mrs M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Upon my return to my office on Saturday, I found your letter inviting me to attend the Annual South wide Workshop of " TheFellowship of the Concerned" , November 6-7, 1961, Atlanta, Georgia.

I shall attend the meeting of the Southern AdvisoryCommittee of the National Council of Churches, October 27, and must go to Little Rock, Ark, November 1- 5. I shall return to Atlanta for your meeting , and shall plan to arrive in time for the opening session at 10:00 A. M. November 6th.

When I talked with you at Miami, I did not know of the death of your husband. May I extend my sincere sympathy.

Yours in Christian Fellowship,
Abbie Clement Jackson
Mrs. Clarence P. Jackson
President,Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, A.M. E. Zion Church
President, North American Area , World Federation Methodist Women.

PRESIDENT
MRS. CLYDE J. NEWMAN
1205 PALMYRA ROAD
ALBANY, GEORGIA

VICE PRESIDENT
MRS. H. D. GRINER
PEMBROKE, GEORGIA

RECORDING SECRETARY
MRS. W. P. HICKEY
1402 BACON PARK DRIVE
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

TREASURER
MRS. W. H. JACKSON
1523 CREST DRIVE
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

Woman's Society of Christian Service

South Georgia Conference

The Methodist Church

PRESIDENT
MRS. CLYDE J. NEWMAN
1205 PALMYRA ROAD
ALBANY, GEORGIA

1205 Palmyra Road
Albany, Georgia
October 25, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I have been away from home six days during the past week attending four different meetings and will be at Epworth By-the-Sea from October 31st till November 3rd for Conference Executive Committee meeting and Conference Retreat. Since I have just attended the Methodist Regional Conference on Human Relations at Clark College I will not be able to attend the workshop of "The Fellowship of the Concerned".

I had not sent in my reservation hoping that I might be able to arrange it. As obligations continue to mount I find it necessary to choose.

I have talked with Mrs. Sapp and she asked me to tell you that she will not be able to attend.

With best wishes for a successful meeting, I am,

Sincerely yours,
Gladys Newman
Mrs. Clyde J. Newman

VICE PRESIDENT
Mrs. L. A. DeShazo
912 West 7th Avenue
Birmingham 4, Alabama

PRESIDENT
Mrs. L. L. Jackson
1413 Cleburn Avenue, S. W.
Birmingham 11, Alabama

SECRETARY
WESLEYAN SERVICE GUILD
Miss Mildred Davis
1026 Edgewood Boulevard
Birmingham 9, Alabama

RECORDING SECRETARY
Mrs. Burk A. Hargrave
2644 20th Place, West
Birmingham 8, Alabama

Woman's Society of Christian Service

OF THE

NORTH ALABAMA CONFERENCE

OF

The Methodist Church

TREASURER
Mrs. J. N. Hamrick, Jr.
5437 South 10th Avenue
Birmingham 12, Alabama

21 Malone Circle,
Florence, Ala.
Oct. 31. 1961.

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Illness has prevented me answering your letter of October 6th. I now find I will be able to come to the meeting of the Southern Regional Council but I will have to come on Sunday to be in time for the opening session at 10:00 o'clock on Nov. 6th.

My plane - Southern Airlines - will arrive in Atlanta on Sunday, Nov. 5th at 5:01 P.M. I would prefer to stay at Atlanta University if this is possible, if not then I will stay wherever convenient.

Would it be possible for you to notify me where I will stay? I am so very sorry to be so late about this matter.

Yours sincerely
Eleanor T. Smith
(Mrs. Ralph S. Smith)

PRESIDENT
MRS. BEULAH LEWIS
965 CLACK PLACE
MEMPHIS 6, TENN.

VICE PRESIDENT
[redacted] JERRY LONGSTREET
[redacted] SO. PARKWAY E.
MEMPHIS 6, TENN.

RECORDING SECRETARY
MRS. CLAREN[redacted]AUSTIN
7 TRIMBLE ST.
NASHVILLE 10, TENN.

TREASURER
MISS LILLIAN L. JONES
918 GROVE AVENUE
NASHVILLE 4, TENN.

WOMAN'S SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

Woman's Society of Christian Service
Tennessee Conference
The Methodist Church

C Jurisdiction

SECRETARY OF PROMOTION
MRS. W. H. AVANT
320 SO. UNIVERSITY
MURFREESBORO, TENN.

SECRETARY OF MISSIONARY EDUCATION AND SERVICE
MRS. J. H. BRYANT
2514 JEFFERSON ST.
NASHVILLE 8, TENN.

SECRETARY OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
MRS. ALBERT ROBERTS
1402 HAWKINS ST.
NASHVILLE 4, TENN.

SECRETARY OF WESLEYAN SERVICE GUILD
MRS. LUCY RUCKS
817 NO. 5TH ST.
NASHVILLE 6, TENN.

SECRETARY OF STUDENT WORK
MRS. THOMAS E. POAG
2917 ALBION ST.
NASHVILLE 8, TENN.

SECRETARY OF YOUTH WORK
MRS. MACEO RAINES
1315 CHETAM STREET
SPRINGFIELD, TENN.

SECRETARY OF CHILDRENS' WORK
MRS. E. D. WILLIS
430 E. STATE ST.
MURFREESBORO, TENN.

SECRETARY OF SPIRITUAL LIFE
MRS. W. R. SMITH
719 HART AVENUE
NASHVILLE 6, TENN.

SECRETARY OF LITERATURE AND PUBLICATION
MRS. HENDERSON LANE
1717 21ST AVE., NO.
NASHVILLE 8, TENN.

SECRETARY OF SUPPLY WORK
MRS. POLLY V. PECK
736 25TH AVE., NO.
NASHVILLE 8, TENN.

SECRETARY OF MISSIONARY PERSONNEL
MRS. ADDIE GOLDEN
1106 SO. ORLEANS
MEMPHIS 6, TENN.

PRESIDENT OF NASHVILLE DISTRICT
MRS. ELLEN ROSSER
12 NORTH HILL ST.
NASHVILLE 10, TENN.

PRESIDENT OF MEMPHIS DISTRICT
MRS. ELIZABETH TOWNSEND
1427 PILLOW ST.
MEMPHIS, TENN.

Dear Mrs Tilly,

I am very grateful to be invited to attend the workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned at Clark College Nov. 5-6.

Having enjoyed the workshop am looking forward to be present.

Thank you very much

Mrs. Albert Roberts

July 11, 1961

Dear Mrs. Filly,

Thank you for sending me the dates of your November Workshop.

Unfortunately previous commitments already made in November will make it impossible for me to attend.

With every good wish for the success of your meeting I am,

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. John Joiner

Mrs. John G. Joiner Jr.
2767 Sheffield Rd.
Macon, Ga.

July 20, 1961

Mrs. John J. Joiner, Jr.
State President
Christian Missionary Society
2767 Sheffield Road
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. Joiner:

We regret that you have another engagement for November 6 and 7, but you do have the privilege of appointing a substitute.

If you will give us the name and address of the one you wish to come in your place, we will forward an invitation and the information to her.

Sincerely,

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

July 22, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I would not be able to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held at Clark College, Atlanta, November 6 and 7. I am taking some college courses this fall.

Sincerely,

Gertrude Hodde
(Mrs. H. C. Hodde)

1421 Forest
Jefferson

not ans

Capital Area Christian Women's Fellowship

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
MRS. CLAUDE C. SLUSHER
300 N. EDGEWOOD STREET
ARLINGTON 1, VIRGINIA
JACKSON 2-3658

July 26, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly,-

Thank you for your invitation of July 13, to attend the "South-wide workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned" Nov. 6 and 7 at Clark College, Atlanta Ga. I would love to attend, but as my schedule stands now I will not be able to come. I am truly sorry and if I can arrange, to come (at a later date) I will get in touch with you and if the opening is still there I will try to make it. If you want to contact some one to come in my place please do.

I hope you have a very successful meeting.

Sincerely
Ruth E. Slusher (Mrs. C. C.)

MRS. JOSEPH B. HUNTER
68 BERKSHIRE DRIVE
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

July 28, '61

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I am sorry to have delayed my answer to your kind letter. But I have been to the Quadrennial Assembly of the women of our church at Purdue University in the meantime.

I am interested in what the women of your group are trying to do so I would like to come to Atlanta Nov 6 & 7th if possible. It would be easier for me to make the trip by plane and perhaps it would not be much more expensive than train fare plus pullman. Would your funds cover this kind of trip.

Sincerely yours,
Mary C. Hunter

Kentucky Association of Christian Churches
190 MARKET STREET PHONE 2-4983
P. O. BOX 1418
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

JAMES A. MOAK
GENERAL SECRETARY

LESTER D. PALMER
ASSOCIATE GENERAL SECRETARY

MRS. D. D. DUGAN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
CHRISTIAN WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP

CY ROWELL
DIRECTOR OF LEADERSHIP EDUCATION

CARL R. FLOCK
DIRECTOR OF YOUTH WORK

July 31, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Thank you for the information having to do with the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned which will be held at Clark College, Atlanta, will be November 6 and 7.

I am retiring as Executive Secretary as of August 1st and am turning this correspondence over to my successor, Miss Elizabeth Hartsfield, who I am sure will do everything possible to see to it that we have a representative at the meeting.

All good wishes.

Most sincerely,

Mrs. D. D. Dugan

Mrs. D. D. Dugan, Executive Secretary
Kentucky Christian Women's Fellowship

DDD:mms

NORTH CAROLINA CHRISTIAN WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP

103 WEST HIGHLAND AVENUE - KINSTON, NORTH CAROLINA - TELEPHONE JA 7-1912

Mrs. Eleanor H. Smith
General Secretary

September 12,1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

Thank you for the invitation to attend the workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

This is a privilege that I will be happy to accept. I appreciate your giving me this opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Smith

Mrs. Eleanor H. Smith
General Secretary
N. C. Christian Women's Fellowship

Follow, pf ltr sent 9-18-61

Christian Missionary Society

State Presidents CWF - Southern States

mailed 7/10/61

AREA (Capital) - Delaware, D.C., Maryland
~~Mrs. A. L. Snyder, 116 N. Garfield St., Arlington 1, Virginia~~
~~Mrs C.C. Slusher, 300 N. Edgewood St. " " D~~

ALABAMA - Mrs. T. M. Carroll, 2921 Scenic Highway, Gadsden, Alabama

ARKANSAS - Mrs. Joseph B. Hunter, 68 Berkshire Drive, Little Rock, Arkansas @

dup UCW FLORIDA - Mrs. W. W. Thrasher, 10 S.W. 12th St., Fort Lauderdale, Florida @

GEORGIA - Mrs. John G. Joiner, Jr., 2767 Sheffield Road, Macon, Georgia d

KENTUCKY - * Mrs. John L. Maines, 624 East Second St., Maysville, Kentucky D

LOUISIANA - Mrs. L. V. Dennis, 933 Graceland Ave., Apt. 102, Des Plaines, ILLINOIS

MISSISSIPPI - Mrs. P. P. Montague, 729 Chichisaw Ave., Jackson 6, Mississippi

NORTH CAROLINA - Mrs. H. D. Moye, Farmville, North Carolina

SOUTH CAROLINA - Mrs. W. H. Baltzegar, Estill, South Carolina

TENNESSEE - Mrs. E. R. Snyder, 210 Maple Loop Road, Knoxville 20, Tennessee

TEXAS - Mrs. Henry C. Hodde, 1421 Locust, Texarkana, Texas d

VIRGINIA - Mrs. O. H. Hopkins, Box 263, Narrows, Virginia D

* Suggested we invite;
Ky CWF new President 10-2-61
Mrs. Newton Fowler
115 South Grand ave
Fort Thomas, Ky

Schedules of meeting
Fwd - to accepted persons

Executive Secretaries of state CWF - Southern States

AREA (CAPITAL)	- Delaware, D. C. , Maryland D Mrs. C. C. Slusher, 300 N. Edgewood Street, Arlington 1, Virginia
ALABAMA	-* Mrs. T. M. Carroll, 2921 Scenic Highway, Gadsden, Alabama
ARKANSAS	- Mrs. I. C. Harriman, 4523 W. 25th Street, Little Rock, Arkansas
FLORIDA	-* Mrs. W. W. Thrasher, 10 S.W. 12th Street, Fort Lauderdale, Florida @
GEORGIA	- Mrs. James R. Beach, 1063 High Street, Macon, Georgia
KENTUCKY	- Mrs. D. D. Dugan, P.O. Box 1418, Lexington, Kentucky
LOUISIANA	-* Mrs. L. V. Dennis, 933 Graceland Ave., Apt. 102, Des Plaines, ILLINOIS
MISSISSIPPI	- Mrs. S. J. Allen, Sr., 1619 North West Street, Jackson 2, Mississippi
NORTH CAROLINA	- @ Mrs. Eleanor Smith, Box 1341, Kinston, North Carolina
SOUTH CAROLINA	-* Mrs. W.H. Baltzegar, Estill, South Carolina
TENNESSEE	- Mrs. Naomi McDonald, 1802 Grand Avenue, Nashville 12, Tennessee
TEXAS	- Mrs. Pauline Thames, 2909 Lubbock Street, Fort Worth 9, Texas
VIRGINIA	- N Mrs. Warren G. Birnbaum, 2200 Monument Avenue, Richmond 20, Virginia

* Are also State Presidents CWF

The United Christian Missionary Society

Disciples of Christ

A. DALE FIERS, *president*
JESSIE M. TROUT, *vice-president*
MAYBLE M. EPP, *secretary*
FRANCIS W. PAYNE, *treasurer*

A Board of Missions and Education • 222 SOUTH DOWNEY AVENUE • FLEETWOOD 7-1166 • INDIANAPOLIS 7, INDIANA

July 6, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Attached is the list of Presidents of Christian Women's Fellowship for the current year. I send them to you with the hope that you may enlist each one in the fine work of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

The second list attached is that of the executive secretaries of state CWF - in most instances these are employed staff persons. I would think these women should also be interested in the workshop scheduled for Clark College, November 6,7.

My best wishes to you - and may you have another fine and helpful workshop next November.

Sincerely,

Lewis H. Deer

Lewis H. Deer

Division of Church Life and Work

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN ACTION AND COMMUNITY SERVICE
Barton Hunter, Executive Secretary • **Executive Directors:** Mrs. Ruth E. Milner, Social Welfare Services; Lewis H. Deer, Social Education and Action; Robert A. Fangmeier, Joint Program • **National Director:** Thomas J. Griffin, Church and Community Service • **Departmental Associate:** Miss Loisanne Buchanan • **Coordinator of Relief and Rehabilitation Services:** Miss Ella L. Williams

United Christian Missionary

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JA 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 18, 1961

Mrs. John L. Mains
624 East Second Street
Maysville, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Mains:

Some weeks ago we sent you an invitation to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held at Clark College, Atlanta, on November 6th and 7th.

Because we want you to be with us, we are reminding you of the invitation and hope to receive an acceptance reply.

Your reply is important, because, if you find it impossible to be with us, someone else will be given the opportunity.

There are funds available for your travel and entertainment.

We would appreciate an early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Tilly
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Dear Mrs Tilly,

Your first invitation did not reach me - I do regret that I was never able to attend any conference while I was president of Ky. Christian Women's Fellowship. Last year I was involved in a series of visitations in our churches - one year I was in the hospital - This year I expect to be in Louisiana at the time - Sometime I hope to come.

Ky. CWF has a new president since July 1 - Mrs. Newton Fowler
115 South Grand Ave.
Fort Thomas, Ky.

She is out of the state this week and next but will be at home the second week in October. I'd like to suggest that you invite her -

Sincerely yours,
Mary Evelyn Maine

Virginia Christian Women's Fellowship
MRS. WARREN BIRNBAUM, SECRETARY
2200 MONUMENT AVENUE
RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

September 19, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Sometime ago I recieved a letter giving the date of the South-wide workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held at Clark College, Atlanta, beginning on November 6th and closing with lunch on November 7th.

I should be very much interested in having invitations for myself and a member of the board of the Virginia Christian Women's Fellowship (women's work of the Christian Churches - Disciples of Christ) to attend your meeting. It is my understanding that funds are available for travel and entertainment for those from out of town. Mrs. John A. Spatig of 204 - 16th Avenue, Hopewell, Virginia, and I are very much interested, particularly so since we feel that the progress that has been made in Atlanta has come about through the efforts of individuals like yourself and organizations such as the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I shall appreciate hearing from you further concerning this matter.

Sincerely,

Vivian G. Birnbaum

Mrs. Warren G. Birnbaum,
Executive Secretary
Virginia Christian Women's Fellowship

WGB:f

Narrows, Virginia
September 20, 1961

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga –

Sirs:

Thank you for invitation to the Southside workshop on November 6th and 7th. I find that I shall not be able to attend.

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. O.H. Hopkins

P

Farmville, N.C.
October 14, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilley, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I find at this time that I will be able to attend the Council meeting in Atlanta, November 6, 7th. Sorry to be so late in letting you have a definite answer, but trust the invitation is still open.

My plans are to fly to Atlanta on the evening of the 5th. This means I would want Hotel accomodations for the nights of the 5th & 6th. Mrs. Eleanor Smith, Kinston, N.C., our State Executive Secretary, plans to travel along with me, and we would hope to share a Hotel room together. I think she has sent notification to this effect. Must I make any reservations direct with the Hotel?

I am looking forward to the meeting. If my place has been filled by someone

else, please let me know at once.

Sincerely Yours,

(Mrs. H.D.) Dorothy Moye, Pres

No. Car. Christian Women Fellowship

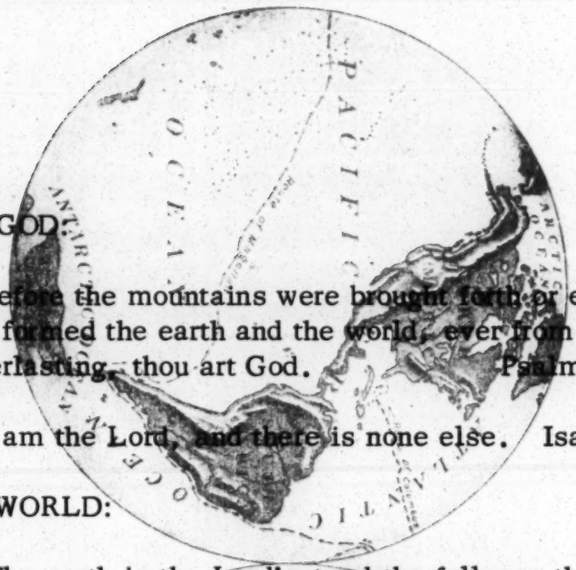
211 E. Horne Ave.

Farmville, N.C.

WORK BOOK

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED
of the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

THE KINGDOM WITHOUT FRONTIERS



ONE GOD:

Before the mountains were brought forth or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, ever from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God. Psalms 90:2

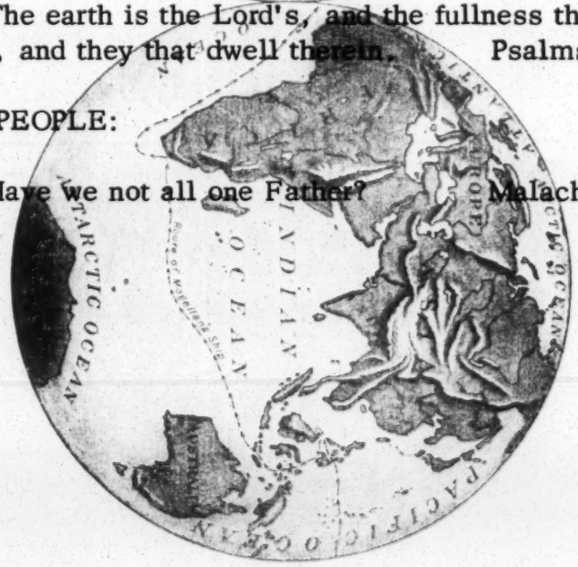
I am the Lord, and there is none else. Isaiah 45:6

ONE WORLD:

The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein. Psalms 24:1

ONE PEOPLE:

Have we not all one Father? Malachi 2:10



"The spirit of liberty is the spirit which is not too sure that it is right ... which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women ... remembers that not even a sparrow falls to earth unheeded ... It is the spirit of Him who ... taught mankind that lesson it has never learned but has never quite forgotten; that there may be a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered ... with the greatest." -------Judge Learned Hand

ONE GOD

God is the God of every race and nation. No belief in God is adequate unless it is a belief in an all-inclusive God. He is a God of justice, mercy and love. He cannot be a racial or national God. He cannot be a class God. He is a God of all people. --Benjamin Mays, "Seeking to be Christian in Race Relations."

ONE WORLD

Whose world - Does the world belong to some of us more than to the rest of us? To strong nations more than weak ones? To the West or to the East? To man or to God? --From "Whose World" - John S. Wood

Wendell Wilkie did not discover one world; God made one world.

Never before has the world's oneness been so apparent, never before has its adversities been so evident and its glaring disparities been so clear.
--W. Richey Hogg, "One World, One Mission"

ONE PEOPLE

There is only one man in the world and his name is ALL MEN.
-- Carl Sanburg, "The Family of Men"

The human family is one, whatever be their nationality, language, religion, color, social standing, culture or political opinions. All members of this family have an equal nobility. -- From Father Dominique Georges Pire's Address at Dedication of the Gandhi International Youth Center in Huy, Belgium

The Glorious Mix-Up on the Day of Pentecost

When the Spirit of God moved the hearts of the listeners as well as those of the apostles, people of sixteen nationalities and three continents were baptized into the Christian Church and made members of the fellowship of the Holy Spirit. Across the diversity of language, color, custom and culture the will of God cut sharply and three thousand new members of the church rejoiced in their experience of real unity.

It was no accident that God chose such a motley crowd on which to bestow His gifts of faith, cleansing and brother love. Pentecost was a mighty demonstration of His purpose ". . . that they may all be one." It was the undoing of Babel which sent the tribes of men stumbling along their separate and quarrelsome ways.
-- Theodore E. Matson, "Edge of the Edge."

A WORKSHOP

A Work Shop -
is a place of saw and plane
and saw dust and shavings on the floor,-
the leavings from rough things made smooth;
of square and rule,
with which things not true to line are tested
and made straight;
and a workman in overalls, not afraid to soil his hands
as he bends to his task to perfect something
beautiful - and useful out of that which may
have been raw and rough and plain...
But all done in the service of humanity.

In this spirit, we may have our workshop.
It means hard work, - not afraid to handle sordid things,
to probe deep with chisel and auger to uncover conditions,
to make rough places be saw dust and shavings;
to use the square and rule to straighten conditions,
that we may make something beautiful out of that
which has been sordid and unlovely---
But all done in the service of humanity.

-- Dorothy Tilly

THE PURPOSE OF A WORKSHOP

To throw a searchlight on conditions,
to reveal to the public conditions that need changing,
to formulate plans to change conditions that need
changing,
to lead the public to desire conditions changed -
and be willing to accept changes when made.

PROGRAM

November 6, 1961
10:00 A. M.

HYMN "We Gather Together"

PRAYER Rev. J. J. Sneed, D. D.
Pastor, Haygood Memorial Methodist Church

GREETINGS Dr. C. Eric Lincoln
Adm. Assistant, Clark College

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director
The Southern Regional Council

PURPOSE Mrs. M. E. Tilly

ONE GOD

SOLO "How Great Thou Art"
Mrs. Coretta Scott King

The Facade of Brotherhood

Moderator Miss Margaret Long
Director of Information, SRC

Questioner Mr. Eugene Patterson, Editor
The Atlanta Constitution

Participants: Dr. Joseph Johnson
Interdenominational Theological Center

Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick, Pastor
St. Mark's Methodist Church

Father John Mulroy, S. T. L.
LaGrange, Georgia

Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild
The Temple

ONE WORLD

SONG "He's Got The Whole World in His Hands"

ADDRESS Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick

1:00 P.M. LUNCH

GRATITUDE GRACE

AFTERNOON SESSION
2:00 P. M.

ONE PEOPLE

HYMN "Onward Brothers"

"The Philosophy Back of the Student Movement"
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

"The Gulf between Civil Rights' Principles and Practices"

SONG "Come by here, Lord"

PANEL Mrs. A. A. Hardy, Mrs. Susie Holley,
Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Mrs. Alfred Lexow,
Mrs. George McCaskey, Mrs. John Morris,
Mrs. John Patton, Mrs. Jane Schutt,
Mrs. Moreland Smith

DISCUSSION GROUPS: Mr. John R. Yungblut, Director

We seek -
a conviction that will not let us rest
a faith that will not shrink
a courage that will not waver

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 1
Leader Mrs. George J. Gunning
Reporter Mrs. E. U. Robinson
Resource People: Dr. James A. Moss
Mrs. David Baker
Mrs. H. Q. Huie

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 2
Leader Mrs. W. W. Thrasher
Reporter Mrs. Addie M. Thomas
Resource People: Miss Margaret Long
Mrs. Mable Morley

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 3
Leader Mrs. Stanley Harris
Reporter Mrs. D. R. Freeman
Resource People: Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner
Mr. Wm. Fillmore
Mrs. T. M. Wallace

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 4
Leader Mrs. Pauline H. Muhleman
Reporter Mrs. A. I. Botnick
Resource People: Mrs. Constance Moser
Mr. Robert Schrider

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 5

Leader Mrs. Hattie Droll
Reporter Mrs. C. M. Weston
Resource People: Miss Carrie E. Meares
Mrs. J. Q. Walsh

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 6

Leader Mrs. Jules Cahn
Reporter Mrs. Clifford Durr
Resource People: Mrs. Herbert Boozer
Mrs. Vivian C. Mason
Dr. Edward Lantz

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 7

Leader Mrs. Ben Russell
Reporter Mrs. L. L. Jackson
Resource People: Miss Elizabeth Lollar
Miss Eleanor French

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 8

Leader Mrs. Edward J. Lantz
Reporter Mrs. J. D. Ashley
Resource People: Mrs. H. Kerr Taylor
Miss Thelma Stevens
Mr. Vernon Jordan

EVENING SESSION

7:30 P. M.

HYMN "Great Day, The Righteous Marching"

WORSHIP Rev. Roland Haynes, Professor, Clark College
Mr. Daniel Mitchell, Mr. Robert Tucker,
Students - Clark College

"Our First" In the Atlanta School Story, discussed by:

Damaris Allen
Willie Jean Black
Donita Gaines
Martha Ann Holmes
Lawrence Jefferson
Mary McMullen
Madelyn Nix
Arthur Simmons
Rosalyn Walton
Thomas Welch

SPIRITUAL "We Shall Overcome"
"Walk Together Children"

DISCUSSION GROUPS CONTINUED

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1961

O Brother Man, Fold To Thy Heart Thy Brother

WORSHIP Looking Forward - led by Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen

HYMN "Lift Every Voice and Sing"

WHAT ARE WE DOING? - The Anti-DeFamation League
- Mrs. Stanley Harris

The Catholic Women
- Mrs. George Gunning

The Y. W. C. A.
- Miss Hattie Droll

The United Church Women
- Mrs. T. M. Wallace

DEMOCRACY AND THE ORIGINAL SIN -
- Rev. Will Campbell
National Council of Churches

COFFEE BREAK

REPORT OF DISCUSSION GROUP - Mr. John Yungblut

WHAT THE CHURCH IS TRYING TO SAY -
Bishop John Owen Smith,
Bishop of North and South Georgia
Methodist Conferences

1:00 P. M. LUNCH

Now Thank We

Bless Be The Tie That Binds
Our Hearts in Mutual Love

WORSHIP

LOOKING FORWARD

LEADER: Though the vision tarry, wait for it, because it will surely come, it will not tarry.

RESPONSE: Hark! there is one calling,

LEADER: Clear the way for the Eternal through the waste,
Level a highroad for our God across the desert;
Every valley must be filled up,
Every mountain and hill lowered, rough places smoothed,
and ridges turned into a plain.

RESPONSE: Up to the high hills,
O herald of happiness to Zion!
Raise your voice loudly,
O herald of happiness to Jerusalem,
Raise it fearlessly.

LEADER: Here is your God!
Here is the Eternal coming in power.
Maintaining mightily his cause!
(Isa. 40; 3, 4, 9, 10. Moffatt Translation)

RESPONSE: Keep thou thy dreams, the tissue of all wings
Is woven first of them; from dreams are made
The precious and imperishable things,
Whose loveliness lives on and does not fade

LEADER: In after days it shall be that the Eternal's
Hill shall rise, towering over every hill,
And higher than the heights.
To it shall all the nations stream.

RESPONSE: For instruction comes from Zion.

LEADER: He will decide disputes of the nations,
And settle many a people's care,
Till swords are beaten into ploughshares,
Spears into pruning hooks;
No nation draws the sword against another,
No longer shall men learn to fight.
(Moffatt Translation)

RESPONSE: For the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord as waters cover the sea.

1. LIFT EV'RY VOICE AND SING

Lift ev'ry voice and sing, Till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of Liberty; Let our rejoicing rise
High as the list'ning skies, Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us,
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us;
Facing the rising sun, of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod, Bitter the chastening rod,
Felt in the days when hope un-born had died;
Yet with a steady beat, Have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?
We have come over a way that with tears has been watered,
We have come treading our path thro' the blood of the slaughtered,
Out of the gloomy past, Till now we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

God of our weary years, God of our silent tears,
Thou who has brought us thus far on the way
Thou who has by Thy might Led us into the light,
Keep us forever in the path, we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places, our God, where we met Thee,
Lest our hearts drunk with the wine of the world, we forget Thee;
Shadowed beneath Thy hand, May we forever stand,
True to our God, true to our Native land.

2. WORLD ANTHEM -- Beethoven

Brother, shout your country's anthem, Sing your land's undying fame,
Light the wondrous tale of nations With your people's golden name;
Tell your fathers' noble story, Raise on high your country's sign;
Join, then, in the final glory, Brother, lift your flag with mine.

Hail the sun of Peace, now rising, Hold the war clouds closer furled;
Blend your banners, O my brother, In the rainbow of the world!
Red as blood and blue as heaven, Wise as age and proud as youth,
Melt your colors, wonder woven, In the great white light of Truth!

Build the road of Peace before us; Build it wide and deep and long;
Speed the slow, remind the eager, Help the weak and guide the strong,
None shall push aside another, None shall let another fall,
Work beside me, O my brother, All for one and one for all!

3. UNITED NATIONS HYMN

Thou whose breathing fills our bodies, Thou Whose pulse the worlds obey,
Tune our mind to heed Thy rhythm Known along the starry way.
Swing the nations to Thy measure, Bid men's hatreds turn to song;
Till us, thrill us with Thy music, End earth's bitterness and wrong.

Thou whose order rules the atom, Thou whose law propels the sea,
Bring, oh bring Thy warring peoples Close within Thy harmony.
God of beauty, Heal our madness, God of love, our battles end.
Show the unity that binds us, Foe to foe, or friend to friend.

UNITED NATIONS HYMN - contd.

Thou who lightest with Thy glory Leaf and lake and cloud and star,
Light the hearts of man to justice, Show us kindred as we are.
Pour Thy mighty joy upon us, Thou whose grandeur filleth space,
Claim Thy cosmis sons and daughters-- Unify the human race.

4. AMERICA

My country, 'tis of thee, Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing; Land where my fathers died,
Land of the Pilgrims' pride, From every mountain side Let Freedom ring.

My native country thee, Land of the noble free,Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills, Thy woods and templed hills,
My heart with rapture thrills Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze And ring thru all the trees,
Sweet freedom's song; Let mortal tongues awake,
Let all that breathe partake, Let rocks their silence break,
The sound prolong.

Our fathers' God,to Thee, Author of Liberty, To Thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might, Great God, our King.

Father of ev'ry race, Giver of ev'ry Grace, Hear us, we pray!
Let ev'ry land be free; May all men brothers be,
All nations honor Thee Now and for aye. Amen.

5. GRATITUDE GRACE Old Hundreth

Lord, gratitude we offer all Who labor that we may be fed;
O dignify our toil for them, Bring kinship thru our daily bread, Amen.

6. AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL

O beautiful for spacious skies, For amber waves of grain,
For purple mountain majesties Above the fruited plain.
America! America! God shed His Grace on thee,
And crown thy good with brotherhood From sea to shining sea!

O beautiful for pilgrim feet, Whose stern, impassion's stress
A thoroughfare for freedom beat Across the wilderness.
America! America! God mend thine every flaw,
Confirm thy soul in self-control, Thy liberty in law.

O beautiful for heroes proved In liberating strife,
Who more than self their Country loved, And mercy more than life.
America! America! May God thy gold refine,
Till all success be nobleness, And every gain divine.

O beautiful for patriot dream That sees beyond the years
Thine alabaster cities gleam, Undim'd by human tears.
America! America! God shed His grace on thee,
And crown thy good with brotherhood From sea to shining sea!

7. NOW THANK WE

Now thank we all our God, With heart and hands and voices,
Who wondrous things hath done, In Whom His world rejoices;
Who from our mother's arms Hath blessed us on our way
With countless gifts of love, And still is ours today.

O may this bounteous God Through all our life be near us,
With ever joyful hearts And blessed peace to cheer us;
And keep us in His grace, And guide us when perplexed,
And free us from all ills In this world and the next.

8. WE GATHER TOGETHER

We gather together to ask the Lord's blessing,
He chastens and hastens His will to make known,
The wicked oppressing cease them from distressing,
Sing praises to His name, He forgets not His own.

Beside us to guide us, our God with us joining,
Ordaining, maintaining, His kingdom divine,
So from the beginning the fight we were winning,
Thou Lord wast at our side, Let the glory be Thine!

We all do extoll Thee Thou Leader in battle,
And pray that Thou still our defender wilt be.
Let Thy congregation escape tribulation,
Thy name be ever prais'd! And Thy people be free!

9. LET THERE BE PEACE ON EARTH

Let there be peace on earth And let it begin with me.
Let there be peace on earth, the peace that was meant to be;
With God as our Father, Brothers all are we...
Let me walk with my brother In perfect harmony.

Let peace begin with me, Let this be the moment now.
With each step I take, Let this be my solemn vow;
To take each moment and live each moment in peace eternally,
Let there be peace on earth, And let it begin with me.

10. COME BY HERE
(Kum Ba Yah) African (Angola)

Kum ba yah, my Lord, Kum ba Yah! Kum ba yah, my Lord, Kum ba yah!
Kum ba yah, my Lord, Kum ba Yah! Oh, Lord, Kum ba yah!

2. Someone's crying , Lord, Kum ba yah!
3. Someone's singing, Lord, Kum ba yah!
4. Someone's praying, Lord, Kum ba yah!

11. WE SHALL OVERCOME

We shall overcome, We shall overcome, We shall overcome some day..
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe, We shall overcome some day.

2. The Lord will see us through...
3. We are not afraid...
4. We're on to victory...

12. DEAR LORD AND FATHER

Dear Lord and Father of mankind, forgive our fev'rish ways!
Reclothe us in our rightful mind, In purer lives Thy service find.
In deeper rev'rence, praise.

Drop Thy still dews of quietness, Till all our strivings cease,
Take from our souls the strain and stress
And let our ordered lives confess, The beauty of Thy peace.

Breathe through the heats of our desire, Thy coolness and Thy balm;
Let sense be dumb, let flesh retire,
Speak through the earthquake, wind, and fire, O still, small voice of calm.

13. I WOULD BE TRUE

I would be true, for there are those who trust me,
I would be pure, for there are those who care;
I would be strong, for there is much to suffer;
I would be brave, for there is much to dare. (repeat)

I would be friend of all the foe, the friendless;
I would be giving and forget the gift;
I would be humble, for I know my weakness;
I would look up, and laugh and love and lift. (repeat.

14. O GOD, OUR HELP IN AGES PAST

O God, our help in ages past, Our hope for years to come,
Our shelter from the stormy blast, And our eternal home.

Before the hills in order stood, Or earth received her frame,
From everlasting Thou art God, To endless years the same.

A thousand ages in Thy sight, Are like an evening gone.
Short as the watch that ends the night, Before the rising sun.

O God, our help in ages past, Our hope for years to come.
Be Thou our guard while troubles last, And our eternal home.

15. FOR THE BEAUTY OF THE EARTH

For the beauty of the earth, For the beauty of the skies;
For the love which from our birth Over and around us lies,
Lord of all to Thee we raise This our hymn of grateful praise.

For the wonder of each hour, Of the day and of the night,
Hill and vale and tree and flower, Sun and moon and stars of light;
Lord of all, to Thee we raise This our hymn of grateful praise.

For the joy of human love, Brother, sister, parent, child;
Friends on earth, and friends above; For all gentle thoughts and mild,
Lord of all, to Thee we raise This our hymn of grateful praise.

For Thy Church that evermore Lifteth holy hands above,
Off'ring up on ev'ry shore Her pure sacrifice of love;
Lord of all, to Thee we raise, This our hymn of grateful praise.

16. ONWARD BROTHERS - Beethoven

Onward, brother, march still onward, Side by side and hand in hand;
We are bound for man's true kingdom, We are an increasing band.
Tho' the way seems often doubtful, Hard the toil which we endure,
Tho' at times our courage falters, Yet the promised land is sure.

Olden sages saw it dimly, And their joy to madness wrought;
Living men have gazed upon it Standing on the hills of thought.
All the past has done and suffered, All the daring and the strife,
All has helped to mold the future, Make man master of his life.

Still brave deeds and kind are needed, Noble tho'ts and feelings fair;
Ye, too, must be strong and suffer, Ye too, have to do and dare.
Onward, brothers, March still onward, March still onward, hand in hand;
Till ye see at last man's kingdom, Till ye reach the Promised Land.

17. SONG OF PEACE
(Finlandia)

This is my song, O God of all the nations, A song of Peace
for lands afar and mine;
This is my home, the country where my heart is,
Here are my hopes, my dreams, my holy shrine;
But other hearts in other lands are beating
With hopes and dreams as true and high as mine.

My country's skies are bluer than the ocean,
And sunlight beams on clover leaf and pine.
But other lands have sunlight, too, and clover,
And skies are everywhere as blue as mine.
Oh, hear my song, thous God of all the nations,
A song of peace for their land and for mine.

18. GREAT DAY

Great day! Great Day, the rightcous marching, Great day!
God's goin' to build up Zion's walls. (Repeat)

The chariot rode on the mountain top, God's goin' to build up Zion's wall.
My God spoke and the chariot did stop, God's goin' to build up Zion's wall.

This is the day of Jubilee, God's goin' to build up Zion's wall.
The Lord's goin' to set His people free, God's goin' to build up.....

19. GO DOWN, MOSES

Go down, Moses, 'way down in Egypt's land,
Tell ole Pharoah, Let my people go.

When Israel was in Egypt's land, Let my people go
Opress'd so hard they could not stand, Let my people go.

Oh, let us all from bondage flee, Let my people go
And let us all in Christ be free, Let my people go.

20. WALK TOGETHER, CHILLUN

Oh, Walk together chillun, Don't you get weary, Walk together chillun,
Don't you get weary. Walk together, chillun, don't you get weary,
'Dere's great camp meeting in de promised land.
Goin' to shout and never tire; Shout and never tire; Shout and never tire,
"Dere's great camp meeting in de promis'd land.
2. Sing 3. Pray 4. Walk

"FACTS ABOUT THE MODERN AMERICAN WOMAN"

From
THE SOCIAL CREED OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

By
A. Dudley Ward

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"She outnumbers man for the first time in history."
"She outlives man by an average of four and a half years."
"She is the beneficiary of 80% of all life insurance."
"She owns 70% of this country's wealth."
"She spends about 85% of family income -- suggests what should be done with the remaining 15%.
"She has, as a voter, a majority of the franchise."
"She is principally responsible for our youth education."
"She owns 40% of all real estate."
"She possesses 50% of the stock in industrial corporations."
"She has 92 labor-saving devices which should give her more time than any previous generation."

"She has greatly influenced political life in the United States by becoming senator, governor, judge, cabinet member, ambassador, etc."
"She can enter the new and interesting fields of medicine, law, engineering, the ministry, business, and finance."
"She also faces the facts that: While over ½ of all women devote full time to homemaking, the majority of women continue to be homemakers when employed."

"One-third of all women in the United States aged 14 years or over are in the labor force in any given month."

"Two-fifths of all women (28 million) work in the course of a year; 3 out of every 10 married women are working, and 2 out of every 5 mothers of school-age children are in the labor force."

"In 1900, ½ of the female labor force is made up of single women; 6 out of 10 working women are married; 5 out of 10 working women are over 40 years old.

"One-fifth of the nation's income (42 billion dollars) in wages and salaries was earned by women in 1955; ¼ of the total man-hours (130 million) were worked by women in 1955.

All occupations from clerical and factory work to professions are open to women.[1]

Facts such as those listed above, indicating radical changes in America, make the study of family life in its new social context an important "must."

---

[1]Womanpower (New York:Columbia University Press,1957). Published by the National Manpower Council. See also Cynthia Wedel, Employed Women and the Church (New York: National Council of Churches).

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have been active since 1919. The Commission was founded in that year by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Through the ensuing years it built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset. It worked to encourage an interchange of ideas and mutual trust between the South's two peoples. The notion of cooperative action by persons of good will, both white and Negro, took firmer root and has continued to grow.

In time the Commission sought ways of expanding its activities to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. This led to the formation of the Southern Regional Council, which was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of the Methodist Church; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation formally merged its program and assets with those of the Council.

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 Southerners, drawn from the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. The Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational.

In 1951, the Council formally committed itself to the aim of an unsegregated society. It did so because it believed segregation to conflict with moral values, with democratic principles, and with the best interests of the country and this region. The Council has, therefore, an announced point of view. It has, furthermore, a single-minded devotion to the method of fair, open, and well-informed discussion. It believes that Southern problems cannot be satisfactorily solved unless Southerners are willing to discuss them frankly, critically, and realistically. The Council's program is planned and its publications are prepared to serve that end.

Financial support for the Council has come from many different individuals and organizations. The latter include national foundations, many church denominations, and various trade unions and business firms.

The Council's present functions may be summarized as follows: 1) it provides consultative services to private and official agencies; 2) it carries on research and publishes frequent reports of findings; 3) it publishes a monthly magazine, New South, and works with the press, radio, and television; 4) it is a clearinghouse and coordinator for other agencies concerned with Southern problems.

The Southern Regional Council seeks to be a practical organization, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. It is an educational organization. It believes that each community in the South must find its own answers to social issues within the framework of law and conscience. It offers no blueprint, no panacea for the South's human problems. It does offer a method--that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

* * *

Present officers of the Southern Regional Council:

President

James M. Dabbs
Planter and Author
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Vice-Presidents

Josephine Wilkins
Athens, Georgia

Dr. Albert W. Dent, President
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Marion A. Wright
Attorney and Past President, SRC
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Chairman, Executive Committee

John H. Wheeler, President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Executive Director

Leslie W. Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

6/24/61

11/61

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director James M. Dabbs, President

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
Phone: ALpine 2-2722 (205)
Exec. Dir.: Norman Jimerson
Chairman: Father Albert Foley

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas
Phone: FRanklin 4-4521 (501)
Exec. Dir.: Nathaniel Griswold
Chairman: Rev. Charles C. Walker

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

4241 S. W. 109th Court
Miami 55, Florida
Phone: CAnal 1-8521 (305)
Exec. Dir.: William K. Williams
Chairman: Mrs. Mabel Reese

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

41 Exchange Place, S.E., Rm. 309
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Phone: 525-6468 (404)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Frances Pauley
Chairman: Rev. Charles Demere

KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Chairman: The Rev. A. D. Pinckney
Plymouth Congregational Church
1626 West Chestnut Street
Louisville 3, Kentucky
Phone: JAckson 3-5265 (502)

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

121 E. Third Street, Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina
Phone: FRanklin 6-6833 (704)
Exec. Dir.: Harry S. Jones
Chairman: Rev. Henry Ruark

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina
Phone: ALpine 6-8808
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Alice Spearman
Chairman: Rev. Fred Reese

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee
Phone: CYpress 1-7544 (615)
Exec. Dir.: Miss Katherine Jones
Chairman: George Barrett

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

3-B Broad-Grace Arcade Bldg.
Richmond 19, Virginia
Phone: MIlton 9-0872 (703)
Exec. Dir.: Heslip Lee
Chairman: Dr. Thomas Henderson

*TEXAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Chairman: Mrs. James S. Crate
8510 Ferris Street
Houston 35, Texas

HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

3605 Fannin Street
Houston, Texas
Phone: JAckson 4-5084 (713)
Exec. Sec.: Mrs. George Dumbauld
Chairman: Mrs. E. Pliny Shaw

*Cooperating but not financially assisted

I have dreams of a day when thy Light of Truth and Freedom shall flood the earth; when wars shall cease and brotherhood prevail. Dreams are they, you say, yes, but God's dreams---

"That men shall love one another,
That white shall call black man brother;
That greed shall pass from the market-place;
That lust shall yield to love for the race;
That man shall meet with God face to face--
Dreams are they all,
But God's Dreams!"

Thomas Curtis Clark

Same letter mailed to persons on attached sheet

March 24, 1961

Mrs. Neva J. Dennis
530 Jones Street
Elberton, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Dennis:

Please send us the list of C.M.E. women we should invite to the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned this fall.

Thank you for your cooperation and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/lec

Mrs. Leopold Fleishchaker, Southern Int. Reg., NCJW
Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox, Methodist
Mrs. John W. Curry, Central Jurisdiction
Mrs. Bee Wild, Jewish (ADL)
Mrs. Mable Morley, Presbyterian
Mrs. Ben Russell, Presbyterian
Miss Eleanor French, UCW
Mrs. John S. Correll, Catholic
Mrs. Laurie S. Mobley, Episcopal
Miss Florence C. Harris, YWCA
Mr. John Morris, Episcopal
Miss Lucille D. Frost, Congregational
Rev. G. A. Sewell, A.M.E.
Mrs. Neva J. Dennis, C.M.E.
Mrs. J. Wilen

April 14, 1961

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Ebenezer Baptist Church
407 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. King:

It was indeed a pleasure to meet you yesterday. Now, please mark the dates of November 6-7, on your calendar, for we do very much want you to be with the Fellowship of the Concerned -- Southern Women Concerned About Their South. We will meet at Clark College.

Last year Rosa Page Welch was with us and it will be very wonderful to have you this year.

I am enclosing some information about the Fellowship. The women will be leaders in the field of human relations. Both races and the three faiths will be represented, and all our Southern states.

We of the Southern Regional Council who ate at your Church yesterday enjoyed the meal very much and we greatly appreciated the extra courtesy you extended to us by sending a station wagon for us.

Please thank for us the women who prepared the meal and give Rev. Mr. Bennett an extra thank you for us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MET:lec
Encl.

April 14, 1961

Miss Florence Harris
Southern Region - YWCA
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Suite 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Harris:

We are sending you the forty informational sheets on The Fellowship of the Concerned.

The dates this year are November 6-7, and we will meet at Clark College.

Travel and entertainment for two representatives from Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, the Carolinas, Virginia, and Tennessee will be provided. I hope you will have representatives from each of these states.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec

Woman's Division of Christian Service of the
Board of Missions of The Methodist Church

CABLE: MISSIONS NEW YORK
FOURTEENTH FLOOR
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
RIVERSIDE 9-0700

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

THELMA STEVENS
Executive Secretary
MARGARET R. BENDER
Executive Secretary
THERESSA HOOVER
Associate Secretary

April 19, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I think the Pike article from Look would be very informative and helpful.

With love, I am

Hurriedly yours,

Thelma

TS:JC

Thelma Stevens

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

April 17, 1961

Mr. Art Levin
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Art:

Please let me know what you think of this article as material to be in packets for The Fellowship of the Concerned.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Tilly/lc

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec
Encl.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Not only do I think this is excellent material for the packets, but I believe this subject ought to have a special place on the program for discussion.

Best regards

Art

April 17, 1961

Miss Thelma Stevens
Woman's Society of Christian Service
The Methodist Church
475 Riverside Drive
NewYYork 27, New York

Dear Thelma:

Please let me know what you think of this article as material to be in packets for The Fellowship of the Concerned.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec

Same note mailed to:
Miss Eleanor French
Mrs. Mable Morley
Mr. Art Levin
Rabbi Rothshild

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 19, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

As I indicated to you in our telephone conversation, we certainly would like to work with you in providing suitable accommodations for your November 6-7 meeting.

Please remember to get in touch with me around the first of October, at which time I should be in a better position to know what kind of help we can give you.

With kind regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:b

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

April 14, 1961

Dr. Rufus Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

It was so nice to talk to you about the housing problem for The Fellowship of the Concerned for this fall. I feel so relieved that you will work with us on the problem.

The National Council of Churches has called a Retreat for November 1-2, so we have had to change our dates to November 6-7.

I hope this change will not affect the plans you can make for us.

This Workshop must be made to be very significant. We must face the fact that courts and not the church have led the way in social change of this day.

We must find techniques and ways to help the church, whose voice is well nigh stilled and hands tied by the people in the pews.

Thanking you more than I have words to express for your continued help, I remain

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lc

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 4, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I regret that at this time I am unable to commit the University to house any of your women who may attend the November 1 and 2 workshop. If our situation continues next year, in the manner in which it has developed this year, we probably will be unable to house all of our students. However, I would suggest that you check again with me around the 1st of October.

With kind regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:b

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

April 3, 1961

Dr. Rufus Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

The south wide workshop of the Fellowship of the concerned will be held in Atlanta, November 1 and 2. We are asking you, as you have done in the past, to give us some rooms at Bumstead Hall. The women love to stay there and appreciate very much Mrs. Murphy's interest in each of them.

Hoping this will be convenient and thanking you for all the favors of years past, I remain

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec

CLARK COLLEGE

ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 2, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 14 in which you request a shifting of the reservation for use of the facilities at Kresge Hall for the Fellowship of the Concerned from November 1 and 2, 1961, to November 6 and 7, 1961. So far as we see now, November 6 and 7 are open, and we shall try to hold these dates open for you.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

James P. Brawley

James P. Brawley
President

JPB:svm
cc: Dr. Lincoln

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

April 14, 1961

Dr. James P. Brawley
President
Clark College
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Dr. Brawley:

I thank you very much for your gracious letter. It gave me quite a boost.

The National Council of Churches has scheduled a Retreat on November 1-2, and this came after we set our date. The date of the Fellowship of the Concerned now will be November 6-7. I hope this date is open for us.

I wish I had words to express my thanks to you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec

Rec'd 4-12-61

CLARK COLLEGE

ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 11, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
Five - Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am pleased to acknowledge your letter of April 3, and to say that we shall reserve Kresge Hall facilities for use of the Fellowship of the Concerned, November 1 and 2, 1961. I feel that the Fellowship of the Concerned is doing a most significant work, and I am happy to make the facilities of Clark College available in cooperation with the program.

Sincerely yours,

James P. Brawley

James P. Brawley
President

JPB:jwr

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

April 3, 1961

Mr. James P. Brawley
President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Brawley:

The dates for the south wide workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned - Southern Women Concerned About Their South have been set for November 1 and 2. We would like so much again to have the same splendid accommodations which we have had at Kresge Hall in years past. It is an ideal plave for us to meet and as a Methodist I really am proud of the fact that Clark College with its Kresge Hall belongs to our Church.

With deep appreciation for all you have done for me and the Fellowship of the Concerned in the past, I remain

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:lec

May 9, 1961

Mrs. Mabel Morley, Director
Board of Women's Work
The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
341-A Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Morley:

We have not yet received a list of your Presbyterian women to be invited to the workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned, November 6 and 7.

I understand you are out of town but I am mailing the letter to your office and asking them to forward it to you. I think perhaps you might have a list of the women with you; at any rate, we are more than anxious to get it within the next few days.

On Wednesday, May 17, we are calling a group together to make plans for the workshop. The meeting will be in the office of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. at one o'clock. Please notify your office here in Atlanta to send someone to represent you if you are still out of town at that time.

The best of wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/jf

May 10, 1961

Mrs. Clayton Calhoun
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Calhoun:

In our rush yesterday to get the notices out of the meetings next Wednesday, we failed to add on your notice that we most certainly would take care of your expenses.

We hope you will attend.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Me E. Tilly
(Dictated but not signed in her presence)

MET/jf

May 10, 1961

Mrs. W. R. Bragg
1206 North Madison Avenue
Albany, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Bragg:

It may be possible that your time has expired as an officer of the South Georgia Conference but we want you to be here at the meeting, Wednesday. If possible bring with you your successor. Of course, expenses for both of you will be paid.

We do hope you will be present.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
(Dictated but not signed in her presence)

MET/jf

May 11, 1961

Mrs. M. L. King, Jr.
63 Johnson Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 12, Georgia

Dear Mrs. King:

I have just called the Ebenezer Baptist Church in an effort to get in touch with you. Lest I fail entirely in this, I'm now writing this note.

We will have a committee meeting of leaders in The Fellowship of the Concerned, Wednesday, 10 a.m. in the office of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201. We feel that it would be most valuable to have you in the group. We trust you will find it possible to be with us.

We are looking forward to having you lead the hymn singing at The Fellowship of the Concerned, November 6 and 7, at Clark College.

With best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/jf

May 11, 1961

Mr. E. T. Kehrer
Director
Southeastern Region, ILGWU
1065 Gordon Street, S.W.
Atlanta 10, Georgia

Dear Mr. Kehrer:

For many years we have gathered together some women leaders in the workshop for The Fellowship of the Concerned. This year it will be held November 6 and 7, at Clark College, Atlanta.

We have always found great value in having with us women from labor unions, and we would like very much to have one woman from your union in each of the following states: Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, the Carolinas, Virginia.

We have funds to care for the entertainment and transportation. We hope you can help us find these women for they do make a valuable contribution in the discussions.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director

MET/jf

May 11, 1961

Paul R. Christopher
Regional Director, AFL-CIO
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Christopher:

Again I am asking you to find some women union members of the AFL-CIO to participate in the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, November 6 and 7, at Clark College, Atlanta.

As usual, their expenses for transportation and entertainment will be paid by the Southern Regional Council.

Thank you for this favor.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/jf

May 11, 1961

Bishop Joseph B. Brunini
The Catholic Church
123 West North Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Bishop Brunini:

I think you are familiar with The Fellowship of the Concerned. It is the women's work of the Southern Regional Council. Every fall we have a workshop here in Atlanta at which time we gather the leaders of the three faiths who hold the office in the field of social relations.

Every year we have had very fine Catholic representation, but we need to have more of them because the Catholic Church has done more in the field of race relations than any other group. We need the experience of women who have worked in this field.

We would appreciate it if you would send us the names of two women who are leaders in each of the following states; Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Arkansas, Virginia. At the time we had the cooperation of the National Council of Catholic Women I'm not sure who secured it for us, but we do need it.

We do have funds for transportation and entertainment. We will meet November 6 and 7 at Clark College in Atlanta.

I will be deeply grateful to you if you will find it possible to help in this work.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/jf

May 11, 1961

Mrs. Ben Russell
824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greenville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Russell:

The Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop will be November 6 and 7, Clark College, Atlanta. Again, we will need a list of your women to be invited, and we most sincerely hope you will be with us this year for we are going to face the terrible lag in the church on the issues that face us. Of course, we cannot afford to have the school boards and the courts bear the brunt when the Church shouldhave been the leader all the while.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/jf

Copy

1638 Mt. Vernon Avenue
Petersburg, Virginia
June 9, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

accept

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Please accept my apologies for not writing you. I am sorry.

I would like very much to attend the Workshop and have circled my calendar around Nov. 6-7.

I am reminded of a story I once read of a traveller who had a strange experience while crossing a mountain. One morning when the mist was heavy upon the hills, he was going along the trail when he saw an object at a distance. At first he took it for a monster. When he came nearer he though he saw a man and when he came close to him, he discovered it was his brother. There are so many mists that distort our vision and cause us to see our fellowmen in a false and unfair perspective.

From this recollection, I wonder if these ideas might be incorporated in some way:

"Misty vision blinds us to our essential brotherhood"

"Clearing the Mists"

"Harmony through Understanding"

Perhaps, if I give it a little more thought, I may come up with some better ideas. However, I do want to get this off immediately.

Sincerely,

Edna Bresko
Mrs. Edward Bresko

Mrs. Moreland G. Smith
3236 Bankhead Avenue—Montgomery 6, Alabama

June 10, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Yes, I'd like very much to come to Atlanta on November 6 and 7. I only hesitate because I don't represent any organization and don't want to take a place year after year if there is someone else more representative than I whom you would like to ask.

I'll think about a theme, but I'm afraid I'm not very good at that sort of thing. As to problems just now to be discussed, I'd like

very much to have us talk about how we can present our situation to the north — not just the plight of the southern liberal — but the whole climate in the South. I've been disturbed by the success of the propaganda sent north by the segregationists, and I think it needs to be counteracted. I'd also like to have someone from the Department of Justice participate in the program. I think it has value in keeping them in closer touch with our problems, and it is also good insurance against smears of Communism.

Did you read the "Myth of the Moderates" in the May 24th Christian

Century? It is wonderful. I wish it could be reprinted in a popular magazine and have a wider circulation.

A group of us went to Auburn several months ago to hear Dr. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary (I think he is dean). He would be a wonderful speaker for your group. We found quite a lively group of students, faculty, and town-people, and the discussion period was very stimulating. These students go to Tuskegee periodically and a lot of good has come of their meeting there. I think they do this very quietly, as I doubt that Auburn would permit it if it came out.

With best wishes,

Marjorie Smith

Lincoln Leadership School
of Christian Service
Madisonville, Ky.
June 10, 61.

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

Unless hindered by some thing over which I have no control I hope to be in your meeting, Nov. 6 and 7. – Your first letter gave the dates as Nov. 1 and 2. – which are correct? I am marking both dates until I hear further. –

Later I shall try to send you a suggestion about things to be discussed. I want to see what comes out of the Lincoln Leadership School in July.

Love,

Pearl C. Hummel
Mrs. G. W. Hummel

Lincoln Leadership School
of Christian Service

407 North Hite Ave
Louisville 6, Ky

13 June 1961

Mrs.Dorothy Tilly
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thanks so much for your letter relative to the 1961 session of the Fellowship of the Concerned. I certainly do plan to attend. It is such a coveted experience!

These themes I suggest, although after re-reading them, they sound a bit corny. However, I'll pass them on for what they're worh.

Needed--Modern Samaritans for a New Damascus Road

Making a Brotherhood of our Neighborhoods

My best to you as always.

Love,

Katherine

Mrs. Thomas P. Green

She invited Mrs. Charles Dawson LSV 7/22
Mrs. F. Daniels LSV

407 N. Hite Ave
LSV 6

George Washington Carver Museum
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

B. B. Walcott
Curator
Box 40
Tuskegee Institute

~~Catholic~~
~~Women~~

June 16, 1961

Accept

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for the notice of the south-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7, 1961.

I am planning to attend. The Workshop last November was one of the most encouraging experiences I have had since May 1954.

As to a possible theme. "The Issues We Face" was used by a most successful Workshop that I attended in Tampa, Florida. You may have seen the program. The "we" referred to the entire community regardless of race.

For purposes of the Fellowship this theme could be broken down into those areas in which we are most concerned about the progress - or lack of it - toward just

and decent human relations.

Among the areas that we might explore are: politics and politicians; employers and employees; power forces of industry, administrators (elected and appointed) in courts, in courts; in municipal, state and national government; the leadership in local organizations and agencies of all kinds; and of course the leadership in religious and education areas.

These areas should be explored not on the basis of race. Every level of society is involved. Members of both races must be made more intelligently aware of the issues we face, and the relation of the conditions, wholesome and/or unwholesome; the attitudes, just or unjust in every segment of our society to the major issues we face ~~today~~ in our own country, North and South, and in our relations with the rest of the world.

This is my thinking. Perhaps out of it you can get some suggestion for a theme.

I will be leaving next week for annual meeting of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Minneapolis. If any suggestions come to me from those sessions I will be happy to forward them to you.

Sincerely,

Bess B. Walcott

CATHOLIC WOMEN Cont.

Invite 6/19/61

Mrs. Grace Hanrahan, 436 Princeton Way, N.E. Atlanta ✓

Mrs. Edwin Holmes, 4775 Merlendale Court, N.E., Atlanta ✓

Mrs. Joseph Kuckle, Box 650, R.R. 4, Erlanger, Kent.

Mrs. William Leinmiller, 1835 Rogers Ave., S.W., Atlanta ✓

Mrs. J. E. Mulligan, P.O. Box 62, Thunderbolt, Ga.

Mrs. H. F.Stahel, 315 West Jefferson, Greenwood, Mississippi

Mrs. Herbert Thatcher, 3049 Quincy St., Arlington, Va.

Mrs. James Upchurch, 2772 DeLowe Drive, East Point, Ga.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH - Diocesan Sec. of Christian Social Relations

Mrs. Julian Palmer, 3321 Springhill Rd., Birmingham 13, Ala.

Mrs. Irvine Morris, 391 East Wesley Road, N.E. Atlanta

Mrs. John Stewman, Box 1047, Lumberton, N. C. (Eastern N.C.)

Mrs. Charles B. Mikell, 214 East 44 St., Savannah, Ga.

Mrs. E. Lincoln Fox, 358 Seven Ave., Atlantic Beach, Fla.

Mrs. J. Campbell Cantrell, 324 Jackson St., Georgetown, Kent.

Mrs. Barnwell Phelps, 1416 Valmont St., New Orleans 16

Mrs. A. C. Hopton, 2032 East Drive, Jackson 4, Miss.

Mrs. Richard Henry Lee, Box 757, Reidsville, North Carolina

Mrs. Sidney Tison, Box 797, Hartsville, South Carolina

Mrs. Lucille Beyer, 2538 Palm Drive, Tampa 9 (South Florida)

Mrs. T. S. Hill, 4586 Barfield Rd., Memphis, Tenn.

Mrs. Henry Busch, 1029 Pendleton St., Aikin, S.C. (Upper South Carolina)

Mrs. Ralph Isley, 1117 East Park Drive, Gastonia, N.C. (Western North Carolina)

Mrs. Lauries S. Mobley, Belvue Plantation, Letsville, La.

MISC.

Mrs. Edward L. Simon, 67 Ashby Street, Atlanta 14 6/20/61 ⊙

Mrs. H. V. Richardson, 9 McDonough Blvd., S.E. 6/21/61

Mrs. Clyde Newman, 1205 Palmyara Road, Albany, Georgia 6/22

Mr. Ralph McGill, ATlanta Constitution 7/16

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED INVITATIONS MAILED TO THE FOLLOWING:

Mrs. Jane Schutt - Mississippi @

Mrs. Paul Arrington - Mississippi D 1725 Piedmont St, Jax - Invite Martha

Mrs. Thomas P. Green - Kentucky @

Mrs. G. W. Hummell - Kentucky @

Mrs. A. A. Hardy - Georgia @

Mrs. Candler Tatum - Alabama

Mrs. A. W. West, Sr. - Alabama @

Mrs. Bess B. Walcott - Alabama @

Mrs. Earl Andrews - Alabama @ 3135 Audubon Rd; MGM

Mrs. Moreland Smith - Alabama @ 3236 Bankhead Ave. MGM 6

Mrs. J. F. McLeod - Alabama @

Mrs. W. C. Carter - Alabama @

Mrs. L. H. Weeks - Alabama

Mrs. Laura McCray - Alabama

Mrs. John S. Correll = Atlanta

(Mrs. Ben Russell - Tennessee @)

Mrs. Mable Morley - Atlanta @

Mrs. ~~John W.~~ Curry - Atlanta

Mrs. Neva J. Dennis - ~~Atlanta~~ Elberton

Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox - Tennessee @

Miss Florence Harris - Atlanta @

Mrs. I. Wilen - Atlanta 915 Bershire Road, N.E. 6th - Nat Jew @

Mrs. I. F. Reed - 454 Pinedale Road, Auburn, Ala. Pres. Church, U.S. Synodical Pres. D

Mrs. D. R. Freeman - 901 Houston St., Knoxville 14, Tenn. @ "

Mrs. Lee W. Reynolds - 1151 Hunter St., Conway, Ark. D Sent material to Training School meeting "

Mrs. Henry Craig - 1223 Lisbon St., Coral Gables, Fla. D "

Mrs. Kirton W. King - P.O. Box 1322, Rome, Ga. D "

Mrs. James Pierce - Cox Mill Rd., Hopkinsville, Ky. D "

Mrs. Carl M. Conrad - 3839 State Street Dr., New Orleans 25, La. @ "

(over)

Mrs. J. W. Baldridge---132 McCready Ave., Louisville 6, Kentucky (Invited by request of Mrs. James Pierce on 6/26/61)

Mrs. Hecht Lackey------802 South Adams St., Henderson, Kentucky

6/19/61

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED INVITATIONS MAILED TO THE FOLLOWING:

Mrs. Jacquelin Lee Williams, 29 Oakland Ave., Camilla, Ga.

Miss Nancy Hull, 15 Fifth Ave., SW, Apt. 6, Moultrie, Ga.

Mrs. Jane Reesling Jacobs, Route 1, Sylvania, Ga.

Miss Darlene Miller, Box 52, Roberta, Ga.

Alabama-Georgia Lutheran Synod

Mrs. W.N. Stender, 1661 Altadena Place, SW, Atlanta

Mrs. C. H. Jacoy, 2563 Wood Haven Circle, East Point, Ga.

Mrs. Carl Schanke, 2297 Headland Dr., East Point, Ga.

Mrs. Paul J. Renz, 939 Calvert Lane, NE, Atlanta

Women's Missionary Union-Southern Baptist-1960 Officers

Mrs. Albert J. Smith, 209 Feagin Ave., Monroeville, Ala.

Mrs. C. O. Smith, 1106 South Main St., Moultrie, Ga.

Mrs. Russell Ashmore, 602 Crescent Ave., Greenville, South Carolina

Mrs. Ray W. Babb, 635 Skyview Drive, Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. Claude Kirkpatrick, Box 954, Jennings. La.

Mrs. O. C. Hancock, 2328 Wycliffe Ave., S.W., Roanake, Va.

Mrs. J.T. Lyons, Box 358, McComb, Mississippi

Mrs. Carl W. Liebert, 539 School Way, Louisville 14, Kentucky

~~Mrs. W. K. McGee, Route 1, Old Town Road, Winston-Salem, N.C.~~
Mrs. A. L. Parker, 1710 West Market St., Greensboro, N.C. 7/5 y accept
Mrs. J. H. Lockhard, 710 Floribraska Ave., Tampa 3, Fla.
Miss Miriam J. Robinson, 301 Hillsboro, Raliegh, N.C. 7/5 y accept

Catholic Women

Mrs. George Barn, Route 4, Box 160, Vienna, Va.

Mrs. Paul Burke, LaFayette, La.

Mrs. H. A. Beagle, 727 Prince St., Georgetown, South Carolina

Mrs. CharlesF. Callahan, 1321 Vassar Ave., W., Orlando, Fla.

Mrs. L. N. Chappel, 3543 Kingsbury Road, N.E., Atlanta 19

Mrs. Charles J. Costner, 4502 Brainerd Rd., Chattonooga, Tenn.

Mrs. Thomas A. Ford, 74 Reed Ave., Molule, Ala.

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED INVITATIONS MAILED TO THE FOLLOWING:

Mrs. A. P. Miller - 503 South 6 Street, Columbus, Miss. D Pres. Church, U.S. Synodical Pres.

~~Mrs. Lacy Godwin - 306 Sylvan Rd., Fayetteville~~, N.C. D "

Mrs. J. M. Thompson - Olanta, S. C. D "

Mrs. Robert Ruffin - 440 Prescott, Memphis, Tenn. D. New successor "

Mrs. Julius H. Smith - 1143 North Widomere, Dallas 8, Texas @ "

Mrs. R. K. M. Patterson - 5100 Riverside Dr., Richmond 25, Va. @ "

Mrs. Romae L. Turner - Attorney, 175 Auburn Ave., Atlanta, Ga. JA 4-6861

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr. - Ebenezer Baptist Church, 407 Auburn Ave., Atlanta @

Bishop John Owen Smith - 63 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta, Ga. Pat-time

D Mrs. E. Johnston Irvin - c/o Mrs. L. Godwin @ N.C. Pres. Church, U.S. Syn. Pres.

Mrs. E. U. Robinson -Twin Oaks, Piedmont Dr., Lebanon, Tenn @

Mrs. M.C. Johnson, Jr., 2291 Bryant Dr., East Point, Ga. @

Mrs. Stedman Glisson, 941 Plymouth Rd., NE, Atlanta 6

Mrs. W. A. Mendenhall, 3830 Chamblee-Dunwoody Rd., Chamblee

Mrs. Jack Patterson, 2850 Ridgewood Rd., NW, Atlanta @ do not reserve place

Mrs. J. A. Burt, 4235 Meadowlane Dr., Jackson, Miss. @

Mrs. Ruby Berkley, Bethlehem Center, 1336 Conklin Ave., Augusta @

Miss Doris Alexander, Wesley Community House, 342 Richardson St., SW, Atlanta 3

Miss Rosamond Johnson, " "

Miss Eunice Stockton, Bethlehem Comm. Center, 303 W. Gwinnett St., Savannah @

Mr. Robert E. Shrider, " " " 9 McDonough Blvd., SE, Atlanta 15 @

Miss Helen V. Carter, McCarty Community House, Box 262, 750 Fletcher St., Cedartown

Miss Florence Jury, Open Door Community House, 2405-2nd Ave., Columbus, Ga. D

Miss Ruth Bartholomen, Paine College, 1235 15 St., Augusta D (sending delegate) Cecilia Sheppard

Miss Nell McCloud, Box 272, Blairsville, Ga. D

Miss Bonnie Lee Coleman, 189 W. Johnston St., Forsyth, Ga. D

Miss Patricia Watts, Box223, Franklin, Ga. D

Miss Sandra Bedacht, Box 92, Plains, Ga. Declined - moved

Miss Gwinnette Suggs, Box 111 Junction City, Ga

Follow-up Feb 9-13 61

Miscellaneous

~~Mrs. A. W. West, Sr.~~	~~729 South Jackson Street, Montgomery 4, Ala.~~
Mrs. Fred, Lemmond	437 South Main Street, Laurinburg, N.C. (Invited at the request of Mrs. H. Fralix) Wesleyan Service Guild)
Mrs. J. W. Baldridge, Mrs. Thelma Anderson Willis President, Tenn. Conference Br. WMS A.M.E Church	132 McCready Avenue, Louisville, 6 1709 Villa Place Nashville, Tenn.

Theme Suggestions for the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned

The Family in the Rapidly Changing World The Church in the Rapidly Changing World The Churches and Public Affairs The Christian and Responsible Citizenship	V. Rees
Needed--Modern Samaritans for a New Damascus Road Making a Brotherhood of our Neighbors	Green
How Can We Desegregate our Schools before Opening our Churches?	P. Muhleman
Thy Kingdom Come Christian Unity--The Salvation of the World	J. Simmons
Discernment and Direction	E. L. Glossbrenner
Let There be Light	O. Andrews
Strengthening the Moderate Voice in the South	L. White
How Can I be an Island of Healing?	N. Clark
Missty Visions Blind us to our Essential Brotherhood Clearing the Mists Harmong Through Understanding	E. Bresko
Bold to Take up, Firm to Sustain	C. Bales
You are Never Alone	A. Howie
Integregation of Local Churches The Responsibility of the Press	G. Lexow
The Issues We Face	B. Walcott
The Psychology of Prejudice	P. Miller
What is Liberty? Freedom vs License Group Responsibility vs Individual Responsiblity	S. Meisenberg
Are We Concerned Enough About the Problems That Face Us Today?	M. Campbell
How Fast isFast?	Olin Troy

Acceptance List - Works[illegible]p of the Fellowship of the Cond[illegible]ned

29

Mrs. Jane Schutt	Miss. U.C.W.	
Mrs. Paul Arrington	Declined	
Mrs. Thomas P. Green	Kent. meth	
Mrs. G. W. Hummel	Kent. meth	
Mrs. A. A. Hardy	Ga. meth	
Mrs. Bess Walcott	Ala. - Tuskegee, Ins	
Mrs. Earl Andrews	Ala. Pres.	
Mrs. Moreland Smith	Ala. Christian	
✓ Mrs. Ben Russell ✓	Tenn. - Presby U.S.A	
✓ Mrs. Mable Morley ✓	Ga. Pres. U.S. -	
Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox ✓	Tenn. meth	
Mrs. D. R. Freeman ✓	Tenn.	Pres. Church, U.S.A.
✓ Mrs. Julius H. Smith ✓	Texas Pres. U.S	"
✓ Mrs. R. K. M. Patterson ✓	Va.	"
Mrs. E. U. Robinson	Tenn.	
Mrs. J. A. Burt	Miss.	
Mr. Robert Shrider	Ga. missionary	
Mrs. Edward L. Simon	Ga.	
Mrs. H. V. Richardson	Ga. methodist	
Mrs. Alfred Lexow	Fla. U.C.W.	United Church Women
✓ Mrs. Ben Milner ✓	Ga. Presby	"
✓ Mrs. Jimmie Simmons ✓	La.	"
✓ Mrs. Harold Timmerman ✓	Ga.	"
✓ Mrs. H. Olin Troy ✓	Tenn.	"
✓ Mrs. Carl L. Moser ✓	Va.	"
✓ Mrs. W. W. Thrasher ✓	Fla.	"(Also Disciples of Christ)
✓ Miss Mary Lena Wisehart ✓	Kent.	"
✓ Mrs. Warren E. Besselieu ✓	Texas	"
✓ Mrs. David Anderson ✓	Fla.	"
✓ Mrs. David Baker ✓	Nat'l Director Sub.	"

Mrs. Harriet Frabiy - N.C. Methodist church S.C. jurisdiction

Miss Ruby Berkley - 1336 Conklin Ave
Augusta. Ga (missionary)

Acceptance List for the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned

Mrs. E. C. Mills	N.C.	Central Jurisdiction
Mrs. L. L. Haynes	West Texas	"
Mrs. Thomas Rickards	Fla.	Methodist W.S.C.S.
Mrs. B. Hutchins	Tenn.	"
Mrs. J. Ward Rees	~~Va.~~ Ky	"
Eleanor Mrs. Ralph Smith	Ala.	"
Mrs. Horace Williams	Tenn.	"
Mrs. W. A. Bales	West. N.C.	"
Miss Pauline Miller	Tenn.	"
Mrs. J. Carl Campbell	Tenn.	"
Mrs. Robert Wilcox	Tenn.	"
Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner	Va.	"
Mrs. Niles Clark	S.C.	"
Mrs. Charles Henderson	Tenn.	"
Mrs. Fred Muhleman	Tenn.	Congregational
Mrs. Edward Bresko	Va.	"
Miss Mary Willis	Fla.	United Presbyterian
Mrs. Nathan Krumbein	Va.	A.D.L.
Mrs. Addie Thomas	Kent.	National Bapt. Convention
Mrs. R. J. Calloway	Va.	"
Mrs. W. C. Carter	Ala.	
Mrs. A. C. Johnson	Tenn. cup	UCW
~~Mrs. J. W. Baldridge~~	~~Kent.~~	
Mrs. A. W. West	Ala.	
Mrs. M. Gerhardt	Texas	United Church Women
Mrs. J. B. Hunter	Ark.	Christian Missionary Society (a)
Mrs/ Albert Roberts	Tenn.	W.S.C.S. (a)
Mrs. R. Elly	Ala.	United Presbyterian (a)
Mrs. J.M. Carraway (a)	N.C.	W.S.C.S.
Mrs. Thelma Anderson Willis	Tenn (a)	President, Tenn Conference Branch WMS AME. Church Nashville, Tenn
Mrs. W.K. Montgomery	C.M.E. (a)	
Mrs. Willie Williams	828 W. 39 st Savannah (a)	

Mrs. James Augustus Burt, Jr.
4235 Meadow Lane Drive
Jackson 6, Mississippi

July 6, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Bess Arrington is fine now and at home. A radical breast surgery was performed, malignancy was found but very limited and the doctor feels that there will be no more trouble. What was thought by Bess to be a real heart condition was explained to Paul by the doctor as more of muscular contractions due to shock and fatigue. They think that she will just be fine now,; we are all most thankful. The doctor will not allow her to go to Oslo, however.

The Ashmores are in Illinois and I am doing all the work which is multiplied by the fact that we are in the midst of a most necessary subscription campaign.

Besides, my name is too well known over the country and much time is spent now in talking to the many interested spectators who have come to the seat of the Freedom Rider movement. The pressures have just been terrific, the requests many times impossible to meet and the atmosphere almost unbearable. Absolutely NO one will do anything. My Jim is in such a state of anxiety that we are going to do something to "embarass" him that he barely made it through exams with passing grades. We took him up to Jimmy's mother last week and he will probably spend the rest of the summer there. Betty is in school and will graduate next June, believe it or not, just 18½ she will be. She is majoring in Sociology and will go right on to Graduate School if she can get a fellowship. She has made wonderful grades and has served as assistant to the head of the Department this year. This summer she is taking Political Science and Philosophy. A young lawyer here is now quite serious about her but she is not andwants to go on to school. She had a mighty hard time in the fall; I do not know whether or not you know that her life was threatened after she was detained by the police in Memphis and her pisture appeared on television all over Tennessee and North Mississippi. A boy from Tallahassee tried to trick her into a real sit-in and even though she is in sympathy with the movement has not seen it yet as the channel for her activities. The faculty at Millsaps were certainly wonderful to her and refused to let her withdraw from the college when she feared she would bring publicity to it.

I wonder if you have a youth already lined up for the

Mrs. James Augustus Burt, Jr.
4235 Meadow Lane Drive
Jackson 6, Mississippi

Fellowship of the Concerned in the fall. I know you usually have one. The Conference MYF Vice-President here is just wonderful and his thinking has been developing so well. I did the seminar on Human Relations for the Conference Assembly and you should have heard him counseling with me to be sure that I was going to get down to brass tacks so to speak.

I would like to see him have this experience if possible. His name is Warren Jones, P. O. Box 5188, Millsaps College, Jackson. He is a Freshman.

Must go now. Please remember that I am sorry I did not answer you letter sooner. I hope that I am going to get to come to the meeting this fall. It has been so long since I got away from this place and had a chance to think.

Let me hear from you.

Love,

Martha

accept

June 22, 1961

Mrs. J. A. Burt
4235 Meadowlane Drive
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Martha,

I've had a distressing letter from Bess Arrington, telling me of her illness. Please write how she is.

Another thing, I would like so much to hear about your family. Is Betty still sailing through school? How is the boy and Mr. Burt? Are you still with The Advocate?

We almost got your Bishop, but God was good to us, and we have Bishop Smith, and he is doing wonders for us. The South Georgia Conference has met, and passed recommendations that ministers met together across racial lines, and that interracial groups be formed in each town. The Bishop backed them up in a wonderful speech.

Our Conference meets next week, and hither-to-fore we have been more liberal in all social questions than the South Georgia people.

Love and best wishes to you and yours.

Sincerely,

MET/jf

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Thank you for the invitation to attend the Work Shop on Nov. 6th & 7th but I will be unable to be there for the two days. If we are in town I shall be happy to attend some of the sessions but do not want you to save a place for me. Thank you.

With love, Frances

Frances Patterson

9/27/61

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

AD 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 15, 1961

Mrs. Jack Patterson
2850 Ridgewood Road, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

accept if in town

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

Some weeks ago we sent you an invitation to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held at Clark College, Atlanta, on November 6th and 7th.

Because we want you to be with us, we are reminding you of the invitation and hope to receive an acceptance reply.

Your reply is important, because, if you find it impossible to be with us, someone else will be given the opportunity.

There are funds available for your travel and entertainment.

We would appreciate an early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Tilly

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Alabama-West Florida Conference
Wesleyan Service Guild
Conference Chairman
Christian Soc. Relations

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 15, 1961

Mrs. Lilla Hertzog
Box 229
Dotham, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Hertzog:

Some weeks ago we sent you an invitation to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held at Clark College, Atlanta, on November 6th and 7th.

Because we want you to be with us, we are reminding you of the invitation and hope to receive an acceptance reply.

Your reply is important, because, if you find it impossible to be with us, someone else will be given the opportunity.

There are funds available for your travel and entertainment.

We would appreciate an early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Tilly
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Thanks for the above invitation, but I am no longer Chairman of the Christian Social Relations Committee. Was succeded by Mrs. Lois Bowden Monroeville, Alabama.

Sincerely Yours
Mrs Lilla Hartzog
Mrs. Lilla Hartzog

Fwd 10-10-61

September 21, 1961

Declined

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am very sorry that I will be unable to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held November 6th and 7th.

You will note that my address has been changed from Box 272, Blairsville, Ga., to Box 111, Kentport, Ala.

Sincerely yours,
Nell McCloud

Box 272,
Blairsville, Ga

Bluefield, W. VA.
1124 Greenbrier St.

September 21,1961

accept

Mrs.M.E.Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council,Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3,Georgia

Dear Mrs.Tilly:

It is with much pleasure that I accept your invitation to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned,to be held at Clark College on November 6th and 7th.

I am sorry that I did not reply earlier as you had anticipated, however,I do not recall receiving one prior to the letter dated September 15,1961,but it is possible that I have it.

I am a social worker and today I requested vacation to cover the week of November the 6th,1961,and I hope to see you on that date.

I will be interested in receiving details regarding housing, expenses involved or am I to understand that my expenses will be paid by re-imbursement or otherwise?

Very truly yours,

Maggie E. Fleshman
(Mrs.) A.R.Fleshman

Accept

717 N.W. 5th Ave
Gainesville, Fla.
Oct. 7, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work.
Atlanta Ga.

Form letter sent 10-9-61

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am so sorry I waited so long to answer your letter. I wanted to be sure I could attend.

Thanks for inviting me. Hope to see you on the 6th

Sincerely yours

Mrs. A.C. Dell

MRS. JOSEPH B. HUNTER
68 BERKSHIRE DRIVE
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Oct 9, 61

Mrs. Tilly
Atlanta
Georgia

pmpo Fund 10-12-61

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I received a letter from you two or three months ago about a special meeting to be held Nov. 6 & 7, I believe. I shall be able to attend that meeting if the offer is still good to cover my expenses.

I should like to have a letter verifying the date and the matter of expenses. Since I misplaced your first letter, would you

MRS. JOSEPH B. HUNTER
68 BERKSHIRE DRIVE
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

please tell me again where the conference is to be held, I believe it was to be in one of the colleges.

Please address me c/o Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Tougaloo, Miss. My husband is teaching here for the current year.

Sincerely,
Mary C. Hunter

PEACE CORPS

Washington 25, D. C.

October 10, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you very much for your letter of recent date concerning the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held on November 6th and 7th. It will be a great pleasure and privilege to participate in this conference. It is possible for me to plan, at this writing, to attend. Perhaps it would be better if the reservation would be made at Atlanta University since that would be nearer, I presume, to Clark College.

It is always a pleasure to be associated with you in any endeavor, and I look forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian C. Mason
hhc

Vivian C. Mason
Assistant for Women's Activities
and Ethnic Groups

VCM:hhc

Form ltr
sent
10-18-61

Oct. 12, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Dear Friend,

Received your notice of the Southwide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned. Had to make plans concerning being away at that time. Hope answer is not too late. Plan to attend Conference.

Sincerely

(Mrs Wm H) Evabelle Daniels
2824 W. Walnut St
Louisville 12, Ky.

Form letter filed
10-13-61

Southern Regional Council
c/o Mrs. M.E. Tilly
5 Forsyth St
c/o Mrs. M.E. Tilly Atlanta 3 Ga.
Ga.

October 22, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

I have hesitated to send in my acceptance for the meetings because my father has been very ill and I was not sure I could come.

He has just had another stroke and is passing very fast, so I am not able to make any definite plans. If he goes and I can come I will but I wouldn't like you to depend upon me this year.

In any event my thoughts and prayers will be with you for a very successful workshop and thank you for writing me.

Very sincerely,
Elizabeth R. Bain
(Mrs. George W.)

1218 Myrtle Avenue.
Danville, Virginia
October 23, 1961.

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I deeply regret that it will not be possible, due to previous commitments, for me to serve as a Group leader for the Fellowship of the Concerned meeting on November 6-7. I cannot arrive in Atlanta earlier than 8 A. M. on November 6. Thank you for the opportunity you have offered me to be of special service.

Sincerely yours,

Clara L. Woodruff

8510 Ferris Dr.
Houston 35, Texas
Oct. 23, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I appreciate your invitation for the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Since I plan to attend the Board meeting I will come on the 6th and be in the workshop.

The plane leaves Houston at 7 am and due to arrive in Atlanta at 11 o'clock. I will be glad to take a cab and save anyone missing part of the first session.

I understand for the Board meeting we are to be housed at Gammon Theological Seminary so either there or at the Piedmont will be agreeable to me.

Your letter came when I was out of town which explains my delayed reply.

Looking forward to being with you,

Sincerely
Margaret B. Crate
Mrs. Jas. Crate

Robbins, Tenn.
Oct. 23, 1961.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

It is very nice of you to invite me to attend the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta. There is nothing that I would like better than to come and be with you for the fellowship and inspiration and to see old friends. However, I feel now that I must spend whatever time I can from my parish on trying to solve its problems. The Appalachian area is only 5% negro. That does not mean that there is no problem concerning race. I hope to attend the Mountain Workers Council at Gatlinburg in February.

We held our Ky.-Tenn. Conference at Evarts, Ky. this fall. The Moderator asked me to serve as Chairman of the Resolubions Committee as he wanted me to present the one to have our next fall conference at the same time and place the Tenn.-Ky. (negro) Conference was being held so that some sessions could be held together.

Right now I am quite upset because Scott County officials have cut the Library appropriation out of their budget so Bookmobile service has had to be discontinued. Some 'rumor' got around that people did not feel that they were receiving first class service, but got the left overs. They believed the rumors rather than the facts. I went to their quarterly meeting Saturday night with a few others to see if it might be reconsidered, but to no avail. Six were for it and six said 'pass' which was as good as an out and out no. The judge I think sided slightly with the opposition or at least sympathisized with them. He was just out of the hospital. (I had been to see him there during my part week of calling.) It makes you sick.

We need more dental help too. I have not found out for sure yet where such extra help might be available, but I am still working at it. We had only two dentists in the county and one of them died.

Thank you anyway for inviting me.

Sincerely,

Annie R. Caudill

503 South 5th Ave.
Laurel, Mississippi
October 24, 1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

My Dear Mrs. Tilly
Do to Illiness, I will not be able to attend the work_ shop on Nov. 6th and 7th.

I was indeed honored to have been asked, and I am praying that the sessions will oened new doors for all that is concern as well as the leaders. I would appreciate a letter of a follow up of the meeting. May I again say thanks to you and I hope somday to meet you face toface as a leader I hope to be a useful tool to my Conference.

Your in Prayer

Mrs. C.B. Christian
Conference Secretary Of Christian Social Relations

Mrs. Thomas P. Green
407 North Hite Avenue
Louisville 6, Kentucky

24 October 61

accept

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

It was good to see you in Miami Beach, even so briefly. I always enjoy a chat with you. I saw Mrs. Jones later that day, found she was leaving that afternoon so I did not try to locate you to give you that message.

I went to Nassau for the week-end following the meeting. I had not been there in ten years and I was anxious to get back. I visited old friends and saw all the folks I wanted to see, plus new ones. I worshipped at the Wesley Methodist Church on Sunday. It was quite inspirational. The minister is a sharp young man from the Barbados. His wife is from Jamaica. Of course they are British Methodists--have no contact with us whatever (the folks in Florida, both black and white are quite distant). He and his wife plan to spend the month of July 1962 with me and Tom. I hope you'll get to meet them. Sometimes in your plans, try and use him.

I'm looking forward to the meeting. Evabelle Daniels called me last night. She is coming,however, she is the mother of a large family and money is a bit of a problem. I told her to writeyou and perhaps her fare could be sent in advance. I also told her I would mention it to you when I wrote.

Ann Braden also called me last night. We've known each other for years when I was a newspaper reporter and she came to Lville to work on theCourier-Journal just after she finished Randolph-Macon. She expressed a desire to come down and talk about the HUAC. I told her I'd mention it to you, and suggested that she write you as well. I advised her that I thought your program for this year was just about completed, but asked her to write you anyway.

I trust that you are taking good care of yourself. I know you are proud of Atlanta* They owe a great deal of their successes to you and your long fight thru the years.

Love, andI'll see you soon.

Always your friend,

Kathleen

Mrs. J. N. Rayzor
3207 Groveland Lane
Houston 19, Texas

Oct 26, '61

Dear Mrs Tilly,

You were so kind to invite me to attend the Meeting of the Fellowship of the Churches. I regret very much that I cannot accept. I am not going to be able to be in Atlanta for the SBC meeting either.

Sincerely, Eugenia Rayzor

October 26, 1961

Mrs. Robert Hunt
926 Linda Lou Drive
San Antonia, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hunt:

We will send you plane fare. We take care of this end of the line for your hotel and meals.

Enclosed you will find a letter giving you the hours place , etc.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

926 Linda Lou Dr.
San Antonio, Texas
October 23, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I am looking foward to coming to the workshop of "The Fellowship of the Concerned." I talked with Mrs. Bessilieu this morning and she told me again what a wonderful opportunity this is to do something about this area of our social relations. I am so happy to be privileged to attend.

I am a minister's wife with two young boys, eight and nine years old. You know I am busy but I like it. We are in a new mission church so there are many tasks and few leaders.

Mrs. Bessilieu suggested I might ask you to let me have in advance the travel money. I hesitate to ask for it as your Council is so graciously assuming

all the travel expenses. We shall need to fly because of almost impossible train accomodations from San Antonio. I checked on round-trip fare this morning and trying to estimate the hotel expense, I believe $180 will be plenty for my travel & hotel. If it is not possible to advance the money, I shall try my very best to come anyway. My family is very wonderful and want me to make this trip.

I look forward to being the Texas U.C.W. chairman of Christian Social Relations. I am fearful of the position as I follow Mrs. Bessilieu, who has been so wonderful. She will help me, I know.

Thank you for you kind invitation.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Robert Hunt

MRS. MALCOLM BRYAN
10 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

October 27, 1961

Dear Mrs. Lilly,

I have your letter of October 18 and certainly would like to attend your meeting. Since my days in early November are particularly full, I wonder if you could let me have a schedule of your program, in order that I may work in a few hours. Maybe you could telephone the schedule to me - Tr 6-7225.

Sincerely,

Nan C. Bryan

October 27, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Enclosed are the articles from the Living Church about which you inquired. I have a reservation to leave Jackson on Delta 630 Sunday morning and will arrive in Atlanta about 12:30 P.M., November 5th. Please let me know when and where the group preparing for the round table discussion will meet.

Mrs. Geraldine White, Supervisor of Negro Schools for Coahoma County, Box 795, Clarksdale, Miss. and Mrs. J.R. Haughton, wife of the pastor of the Pearl Street A.M.E. Zion church here in Jackson will be able to attend the meeting. Mrs. Haughton's address is 1051 Deer Park, Jackson, Miss.

I talked with our UCW New York office yesterday and gave them these names and they will send these ladies information about the UCW meeting. Miss Tilghman advised me to send the names to you, since I had already written you

about these representatives.

Mrs. Tilly, I hope I have not overstepped in asking these ladies to come to the Fellowship of the Concerned. I think they will be a wonderful addition and would gladly relinquish my own place if the group should be getting too large.

Sincerely yours,

Jane Schutt
(Mrs. W. I.)
955 Pecan Boulevard
Jackson 3, Miss.

Mrs. Newton B. Fowler

115 South Grand Avenue, Fort Thomas, Kentucky

Saturday, Oct 28

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

This is to confirm our telephone conservation of Monday morning, Oct 23rd.

I appreciate being invited to such a conference, as the South-wide workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I hope my lateness in accepting did not cause any undue concern.

I plan to travel by plane and am very grateful for the hotel and travel expenses under written by the Southern Regional Council.

Looking forward to seeing you again, Cordially

Nancy Elliott Fowler

1122 State Street, N. W.
Apartment No. 3
Atlanta 13, Georgia
October 28, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I know that you will be interested to learn that I am planing to attend the School of International Service at the American University in Washington. There I intend to enter the two year program leading to a Master of International Service with the tentative plans of subsequently entering the Foreign Service of our Department of State.

However, I now realize that I may complete one year of this two year program at another school and I have chosen to go to the Institute of Foreign Affairs at the University of Hamburg. To this end I am presently applying for a Fulbright scholarship through the Institute of International Education in New York.

One of the requirements of this scholarship is that I must submit four letters of recommendation; at least three of which being from my instructors or supervisors. I am asking you to write the fourth letter and it would please and honor me very much if you would do this. Because my academic grades are only average, a great deal depends on these letters of recommendation.

Although I would hardly presume to dictate your letter, I would like to suggest some items that might be of interest to the reviewing committee of this Institute; such as, my interest in the United Nations and other international organizations, and my ability to get along with people of other cultures and other races. If you think that I might make a good representation of America and its principles, you might mention that.

The only other point that I would like to bring to your attention is the date on which this letter should be received in New York; November 1. The reason for this rush, is that I was not able to procure this application until last week. I know that you are busy and I appologize for this indiscreet haste. If you find you are delayed in writing this letter, I can pick it up on Tuesday night and post it via air mail and special delivery and it will be delivered on Wednesday. Otherwise, please just mail it yourself.

I shall call you Monday to see if you have any questions about this.

Thank you very much for your kind attention and consideration, and until I have the pleasure of seeing you again, I remain,

Sincerely,

Philip M. Rudisill

P.T.A.

Nall P.T.A

Shawnee

Mo.

Rush

Sy 4-9805

October 30, 1961

Mrs. Anne Braden
4403 Virginia Avenue
Louisville 11, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Braden:

There is a committee that plans the program of the Fellowship of the Concerned. Several live outside of Georgia, I could not get them together.

Certainly

On top of this, the agenda is so full I do not see how anything else could be presented.

I have just a moment before I leave for another week-end of meeting.

Hastily,

Dorothy Tilly

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

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October 25, 1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
c/o The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

This week I talked with Mrs. Nettie Alice Green here in Louisville, who told me she was coming down to Atlanta to your meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned on November 6-7.

I am writing to ask you if you would allow me to come to this meeting and have a few minutes on your program (5,10, or 15 would be sufficient---certainly no more than 15) to discuss with this group my husband's case, our efforts (according to our lights) in behalf of the First Amendment, and our struggle with the Un-American Activities Committee.

I realize that this is a highly controversial subject and may not be a part of what you are planning to discuss at this meeting. However, it seems to me that this matter of inquisitorial committees and the whole issue of our traditional freedoms and the Bill of Rights is one of the great questions of our time. In this sense, it seems to me that it is and should be a proper "concern" of the fine women who make up your group.

If you will allow me to come, I would be guided by your judgment in what approach to make to the question. If you would prefer that I not ask the group to do anything specific, I would not do so---that is, I do not need to ask them to sign a petition or anything like that. Rather, I could just present the matter as a piece of information on an important public issue of our day---for their consideration and thought. I certainly would not ask that they agree with my viewpoint---people of good will can have differing views on this question; all I would ask is that they consider my viewpoint and try to understand it. It may well be that some of those attending would not have previously talked personally with persons who have had a direct tangle with the House Un-American Activities Committee, and I should imagine they would be interested in knowing the viewpoint of those of us who have.

We are of course, as you know, carrying on a clemency campaign for my husband. However, our main concern at this time is not

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to get him out of jail but to try to enlist the interest of more people in the basic issues that we feel are involved in the case. As you may know, he is only one of 40 Americans who have either recently served jail terms, are in jail now, or are on their way to jail for citing the First Amendment in refusing to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee, Senator Eastland's committee, or one of the Southern state legislative committees modeled after them. We feel that these committees are destructive of the very heart of our democracy and that someone must take a stand against them. One way to take that stand is to refuse to cooperate with them---but of course there are other ways too.

When I met you in Atlanta, I believe I gave you a copy of the little booklet on Carl's case, but I'm not sure. So I will enclose one herewith. If you have time to read this, it will tell you what Carl's (and my) basic position is. I also enclose, for your information, one of the clemency petitions being circulated in his behalf.

I will deeply appreciate whatever consideration you can give this matter.

Let me take this opportunity to tell you what a privilege it was to meet you---even so briefly---this summer. I have long admired you and your work from afar. Someday, as I think I told you that day we met, I would be so appreciative if you would be able to give me some of your time and tell me some of the history of your long work for decency in the South. I have heard snatches of it from so many people, but never the whole story---and perhaps the whole story has never been compiled in one place. It is a story that should be written, as we noted that day we talked, and I hope that you will be able to write it so that more may know.

Sincerely,

Anne Braden

Anne Braden

October 31, 1961

Mrs. John B. Morris
4655 Jett Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Morris:

Some days ago I called you about The Fellowship of the Concerned meeting, which is to be held on November 6th and 7th, and told you that our discussion groups must face the tension today.

In preparation for this I asked you and some others from different states to meet with me on Sunday afternoon, November 5th, at 2:00 P.M., women's dormitory, Atlanta University at 50 Chestnut Street.

We will talk over the troubles and adventures at first, which will be more-or less a talkfest, then we will simmer it down so it can be presented to the meeting on Monday, November 6th in the afternoon.

Thank you so very much for your willingness to render this great service.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

November 1, 1961

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Georgia Field Secretary, NAACP
959½ Hunter Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

This is a follow-up of our telephone conversation. Thank you for agreeing to share in the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

You know we are faced with many problems - so we are bringing together people from different tension areas - 2:00 P. M. on Sunday November 5th, at the girls dormitory, Atlanta University, at 50 Chestnut Street. This is a special meeting for those who will present the problems for the discussion group on Monday afternoon. The discussion leaders will listen in.

At first this will be more-or-less a talkfest, for each may talk as long as they wish. Then we will simmer it down to that each of you will have just a few minutes on the next afternoon program. These discussions will have about five hours - in the afternoon and evening. We will need you in one of the groups as a resource preson.

I am enclosing a schedule of activities during the 6th and 7th.

Looking forward to seeing you at the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

November 1, 1961

Dr, Martin Luther King, Jr.
Ebenezer Baptist Church
413 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 12, Georgia

Dear Dr. King:

It is wonderful to us even to think of you being with us in the Fellowship of the Concerned.

What we would like very much for you to do for us is to give us "The Philosophy Back of The Student Movement." This will come at 2:00 P. M. on Monday afternoon, November 6th. If you want to express the subject differently, please call me, 522-8764.

There will be present women of both races Catholic, Protestants , from ten southern states. All leaders in their denominations.

Thank you more than I have words to tell you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

November 1, 1961

Mrs. W. G. Byers
1015 East 10th Avenue
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Byers:

I am very sorry to say that we have closed registration, and can not accept any more applicants for the meeting.

I feel sure we will miss you in this meeting, and trust that at some other time you will be able to be with us.

Regretfully yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

1015 East 10th. Avenue

Pine Bluff, Arkansas

October 30, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly :

Thank you very much for your invitation and, I am very sorry Iam alittle late writing you but that is our Test Week so, I had to work it in ## this week . I plan to arive there Monday Nov. 6, 1961. I hope I am not to late answering the letter. Very sorry to about your husband death , You have my prayers. My name is W. G. Byers dont know why some one write it G.W. Byers. Thanks again.

Yours in Christ,

Mrs. W. G. Byers

New Address:
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Hardy

Dear Friend:

You have had the first notice of the south-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned which is to be held here in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

It is time now to be hearing from you.

yes

First, will you attend? Did you know your expense of travel and entertainment will be taken care of?

If you are not coming, we need to know so someone else may be invited in your place.

Second, what in your opinion should be the theme of our Workshop--in light of the problems of today?

Please answer the two questions, and we would appreciate hearing from you quickly.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Tilly

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

May we invite either,
Mrs. Harold Daniel Johnson,
Mrs. T. B. Clonts, 235 Jade Co Drive
Longwood,
or - Mrs. J. J. Jones, Riverdale, Ga. New Dir.
Sec. C & R.

May 30, 1961

Mrs. Sadie Potter
1616 Ezra Church Drive
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Potter:

I have tried to contact you by telephone and have been unable to reach you.

I have a list of people sent by Mrs. Margaret T. May, but I do not have Mrs. May's address. She is one of our national officers I know, and I need to contact her.

Please call 522-8764 and ask for my secretary.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/jf

May 30, 1961

Mr. Arthur Levin
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Levin:

We would appreciate it if you would send us a list of those to be invited to the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned which will be held November 6 and 7.

We have funds for travel and entertainment for two from each of the southern states. However, we wish you would send at least four names from each state and mark the first and second choice.

Thanking you,

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/jf

June 2, 1961

Mrs. A. J. Rubin
1514 Wesley Parkway, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Rubin:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned will be held at Clark College, November 6 and 7, beginning at 10 A.M. on the 6th and ending at noon on the 7th.

We are rather insistent that every person register ahead of time and be prepared to stay from the beginning to the end of the Workshop as there are so many problems to be faced. We have found the B'nai B'rith Women, the Hadassah, the Council of Jewish Women, the Sisterhood Women and the Temple Women more adept in participating in the discussions than any other group, therefore, you can see how much we need you and depend upon you for your help and leadership. I think you will understand that to have continuity in a workshop it is necessary to have full attendance at all three sessions.

Personally, I am very grateful for the help that the Jewish women of Atlanta have always given us in the Workshop.

Sincerely,

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

June 2, 1961

Mrs. Howard Aronin
1557 Kay Lane, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Aronin:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned will be held at Clark College, November 6 and 7, beginning at 10 A.M. on the 6th and ending at noon on the 7th.

We are rather insistent that every person register ahead of time and be prepared to stay from the beginning to the end of the Workshop as there are so many problems to be faced. We have found the B'nai B'rith Women, the Hadassah, the Council of Jewish Women, the Sisterhood Women, and the Temple Women more adept in participating in the discussions than any other group, therefore, you can see how much we need you and depend upon you for your help and leadership. I think you will understand that to have continuity in a workshop it is necessary to have full attendance at all three sessions.

Personally, I am very grateful for the help that the Jewish women of Atlanta have always given us in the Workshop.

Sincerely,

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

June 2, 1961

Mrs. Michael Harris
1195 Old Powers Ferry Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Harris:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned will be at Clark College, November 6 and 7, beginning at 10 A.M. on the 6th and ending at noon on the 7th.

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Personally, I am very grateful for the help that the Jewish women of Atlanta have always given us in the Workshop.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/jf

June 2, 1961

Mrs. S. Harris
790 Briar Park Court, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Harris:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned will be held at Clark College, November 6 and 7, beginning at 10 A.M. on the 6th and ending at noon on the 7th.

We are rather insistent that every person register ahead of time and be prepared to stay from the beginning to the end of the Workshop as there are so many problems to be faced. We have found the B'nai B'rith Women, the Hadassah, the Council of Jewish Women, the Sisterhood Women and the Temple Women more adept in participating in the discussions than any other group, therefore, you can see how much we need you and depend upon you for your help and leadership. I think you will understand that to have continuity in a workshop it is necessary to have full attendance at all three sessions.

Personally, I am very grateful for the help that the Jewish women of Atlanta have always given us in the Workshop.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/jf

June 5, 1961

Mrs. H. Caplan
2975 Ridge Valley Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Caplan:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned will be held at Clark College, November 6 and 7, beginning at 10 A.M. on the 6th and ending at noon on the 7th.

We are rather insistent that every person register ahead of time and be prepared to stay from the beginning to the end of the Workshop as there are so many problems to be faced. We have found the B'nai B'rith Women, the Hadassah, the Council of Jewish Women, the Sisterhood Women and the Temple Women more adept than any other group in participating in the discussions, therefore, you can see how much we need you and depend upon you for your help and leadership. I think you will understand that to have continuity in a workshop it is necessary to have full attendance at all three sessions.

Personally, I am very grateful for the help that the Jewish women of Atlanta have alwa s given us in the Workshop.

Sincerely,

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

June 5, 1961

Mrs. J. Wallen
3710 Nancy Creek Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Wallen:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned will be held at Clark College, November 6 and 7, beginning at 10 A.M. on the 6th and ending at noon on the 7th.

We are rather insistent that every person register ahead of time and be prepared to stay from the beginning to the end of the Workshop as there are so many problems to be faced. We have found the B'nai B'rith Women, the Hadassah, the Council of Jewish Women, the Sisterhood Women and the Temple Women more adept in participating in the discussions than any other group, therefore, you can see how much we need you and depend upon you for your help and leadership. I think you will understand that to have continuity in a workshop it is necessary to have full attendance at all three sessions.

Personally, I am very grateful for the help the Jewish women of Atlanta have always given us in the Workshop.

Sincerely,

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

June 5, 1961

Mrs. Alvin Hamburger
3275 E. Wood Valley Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hamburger:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned will be held at Clark College, November 6 and 7, beginning at 10 A.M. on the 6th and ending at noon on the 7th.

We are rather insistent that every person register ahead of time and be prepared to stay from the beginning to the end of the Workshop as there are so many problems to be faced. We have found the B'nai B'rith Women, the Hadassah, the Council of Jewish Women, the Sisterhood Women and the Temple Women more adept in participating in the discussions than any other group, therefore, you can see how much we need you and depend upon you for your help and leadership. I think you will understand that to have continuity in a workshop it is necessary to have full attendance at all three sessions.

Personally, I am very grateful for the help that the Jewish women of Atlanta have always given us in the Workshop.

Sincerely,

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

June 5, 1961

Mrs. H. Adler
1322 Brookforest Drive, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Adler:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned will be held at Clark College, November 6 and 7, beginning at 10 A.M. on the 6th and ending at noon on the 7th.

We are rather insistent that every person register ahead of time and be prepared to stay from the beginning to the end of the Workshop as there are so many problems to be faced. We have found the B'nai B'rith Women, the Hadassah, the Council of Jewish Women, the Sisterhood Women and the Temple Women more adept in participating in the discussions than any other group, therefore, you can see how much we need you and depend upon you for your help and leadership. I think you will understand that to have continuity in a workshop it is necessary to have full attendance at all three sessions.

Personally, I am very grateful for the help that the Jewish women of Atlanta have always given us in the Workshop.

Sincerely,

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

June 5, 1961

Mrs. J. Levitt
1274 Reeder Circle, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Levitt:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned will be held at Clark College, November 6 and 7, beginning at 10 A.M. on the 6th and ending at noon on the 7th.

We are rather insistent that every person register ahead of time and be prepared to stay from the beginning to the end of the Workshop as there are so many problems to be faced. We have found the B'nai B'rith Women, the Hadassah, the Council of Jewish Women, the Sisterhood Women and the Temple Women more adept in participating in the discussions than any other group, therefore, you can see how much we need you and depend upon you for your help and leadership. I think you will understand that to have continuity in a workshop it is necessary to have full attendance at all three sessions.

Personally, I am very grateful for the help that the Jewish women of Atlanta have always given us in the Workshop.

Sincerely,

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 201, 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 6, 1961

Dear Friend:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned will be held at Clark College, November 6 and 7, beginning at 10 A.M. on the 6th and ending at noon on the 7th.

We are rather insistent that every person register ahead of time as packets of materials must be prepared, and there is also a provision that has to be made with the dining room for meals.

We are asking that women come prepared to stay through all three sessions - I think you will understand that to have continuity in a workshop it is necessary to have a full attendance at all three sessions as near as it is humanly possible.

We have found that the women of the B 'nai B 'rith, the Hadassah, the Council and the Temple Sisterhood are more adept in discussions than any other group; you can see we need you and depend upon you for your help and leadership.

Personally, I am very grateful for the great help the Jewish women of Atlanta have always given us in the Workshop.

We hope to have you with us on November 6 and 7.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Tilly/f

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/jf

Mrs. A. I. Botnick
2010 Evergreen Lane
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

gp

ADL

June 22,
1961

ok

Dear Miss Tilly —

In answer to your letter about the workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, I would be pleased to attend, all things being equal and circumstances not preventing at that time.

Sincerely —
Mrs. A. I. Botnick

MRS. NATHAN KRUMBEIN
17 OAK LANE
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Thank you so much for the invitation to join you in Atlanta November 6th and 7th. I planned to be with you at the Conference and I am looking forward to meeting you.

Sincerely yours,
Amy Krumbein

July 9, 1961

HARRY STRAUSS
AMELIA CORKLAND STRAUSS
PHONE 4-5491

STRAUSS & STRAUSS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
SUITE 401-404 COMMERCIAL NAT'L. BANK BLDG.
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

July 11, 1961

Decline

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
9 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

This will acknowledge your notification of the workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned scheduled for November 6 and 7. I am most appreciative of the invitation, for I have found these meetings to be exciting, stimulating, and gratifying and am always grateful when I am able to attend. I find, however, that I have scheduled for the same dates the national meeting of the executive committee of B'nai B'rith Women. As chairman of the National Allocations committee, as well as first vice president, I must attend these meetings in Washington.

If for any reason either your dates or ours are changed, I will certainly be in touch with you and hope that I may still be welcome.

Meanwhile my warm personal regards and my sincere good wishes for your continued health and activity.

Cordially yours,

Amelia C. Strauss

Amelia Corkland Strauss

ACS:vw

B'nai B'rith Women

DISTRICT NUMBER SEVEN

September 22, 1961

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MRS. ARNOLD ROYAL
10 WOODHILL ROAD
BIRMINGHAM 13, ALABAMA

Mrs. Me. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I sincerely regret, that due to a previous commitment, I will be unable to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned. I must be in Washington, D. C. for the B'nai B'rith Women's National Executive Committee Meeting on November 7.

Your work is familiar to me, and I feel that it is my loss that I am unable to participate in this Workshop. May I wish for you a stimulating and challenging meeting with fruitful results.

Sincerely yours,

Elaine Royal

Mrs. Arnold Royal

ER:er

Declined

September 25, 1961

Mrs. E. N. Bottingheimer
1425 Eastern Parkway
Louisville, 4, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Bottingheimer:

I have your correspondence of September 20th in which you stated that you did not receive my previous communication.

On/about July 1st, a copy of the enclosed letter was forwarded to you informing you of the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Your name was sent in to us by Bee Wild, Secretary of B'nai B'rith, here in Atlanta.

If further explanation is necessary please let us know. We are indeed looking forward to seeing you at this Workshop.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. N. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

NET:mm
Enclosures

Sept.20,1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Your letter of Sept.15 refers to a prior communication I did not receive. Kindly enlighten me as to its contents.

Mrs. E.M. Bottigheimer
1425 Eastern Parkway
Louisville,4,Ky.

3 Versailles Blvd
New Orleans, La.
Sept. 25, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I Shall be delighted to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, at Clark College on November 6th and 7th.

Please send me any information I need to have for this workshop as I have not attended one before.

I am looking forward with much pleasure to meeting you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs Jules L. Cahn

Mrs Jules L. Cahn

Mrs. Lewis D. [redacted]

564 Garden Drive, Louisville 6, Kentucky

September 26, 1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:-

To-night, my husband brought home your letter to me dated September 15th. Evidentally the address you have is for his business and the first letter must have been misdirected.

Thank you for your invitation to attend the South-wide Workshop in Atlanta on November 6th and 7th. Because of previous commitments during November I will be unable to attend.

Very truly yours,

Jean R Cole

D

Mrs. Stanley I. Harris

Mrs. Stanley I. Harris
790 Briar Park Court N. E.
Atlanta 6, Georgia

Oct. 23, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly.

The following are the names of all the B'nai B'rith Women who will be participating in the Fellowship of the Concerned meeting on Nov. 6 and Nov. 7. Most of them you already have. A few are additional names.

1.--Mrs. Howard Aronin
2.--Mrs. Bernard Facher
3.--Mrs. Henry Freedman
4.--Mrs. Sylvan Fisher
5.--Mrs. Leon Goldstein
6.--Mrs. Stanley Harris
7.--Mrs. ~~G. L. Hershberg~~
8.--Mrs. ~~Mike Halpern~~
9.--Mrs. Sidney Kogan
10.--Mrs. Kenneth Kronik
11.--Mrs. A. J. Rubin
12.--Mrs. Arthur Segal
13.--Mrs. Isidore Wilen
14.--Mrs. Ben Zimmerman

The only name I originally gave you at the first planning meeting who will not be attending is:

Mrs. Arthur Poliakoff

If I can be of any further help to you, please let me know.

Sincerely,
Judy Harris
A.D.L. Chairman
Atlanta Council
B'nai B'rith Women

Mr. Leonard Bagan
1471 Moorresmill Rd NW
Atl 5,

Mrs. Bernard E. Supworth

719 Paradiso Avenue, Coral Gables 46, Florida

October 4, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Declined

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I was so very sorry to hear of the loss of your beloved husband. His sweetness and charm will not be forgotten by those of us who had the opportunity to be with him at the yearly Southern Regional Council meetings. May the work that was so important to both of you be some source of comfort to you now. My sincerest sympathy to you.

I have hesitated answering your invitation to the November meeting of the Southern Regional Council. I am attending the University of Miami and have classes on Tuesday and Thursday. This semester started on Sept. 15th and I have

been trying to decide if I can afford to cut a full day's classes to attend the meeting. I want very much to participate. However, as you must have an answer by now, I shall have to regretfully refuse. I could only make plans on a last minute basis - never knowing when an exam will be scheduled etc.

I am sure you will have a most productive meeting and my thoughts will be with you.

Fondest regards,

Dawnord

Joan D. Sugworth

Joan Reed

Participants from B'nai B'rith Women:

1. Mrs. Stanley Harris
790 Briar Park Ct. N.E. (a)
Atlanta 6, Ga.

2. Mrs. Arthur Poliakoff
1619 Anita Place N.E. D
Atlanta, Ga.

3. Mrs. Leon Goldstein
2888 Sequoyah Dr. N.W.
Atlanta

4. Mrs. Sidney Kagan
1647 Mifflin Pl. N.E.
Atlanta

5. Mrs. Isidore Wilen
915 Berkshire Rd. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

6. Mrs. Howard Aronin
1557 Kay Lane N.E.
Atlanta

6/15/61

A.D.L.

Alabama

1. Mrs. Arnold Royal
   10 Woodhill Road
   Birmingham, Ala.

2. Mrs. Milton Rubin
   3416 Mountain Park Drive
   Birmingham, Ala.

3. Mrs. Louis Brook
   3416 Mountain Lane
   Birmingham 13, Ala.

4. Mrs. William P. Bloom
   5. Dearing Place
   Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Follow-up letters sent 9-13-61

Florida

1. Mrs. Bernard Supworth
   719 Paradiso Lane
   Coral Gables 46, Fla.

Declined

Mrs. Marvin Harris
2618 Mozart Mitchell
Atlanta 5, Ga.

Georgia

Mrs. Howard Aronin
5517 Kay Lane, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Stanley Harris
790 Briarpark Court NE
Atlanta 6, Ga.

~~Mrs. Irwin Greenbaum~~
~~1779 Merton Road, NE~~
~~Atlanta, Ga.~~

Mrs. J. Moret
2255 Lenox Road, NE
Atlanta 5, Ga.

Mrs. Blanche Poliakoff
1619 Anita Place, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. L. C. Goldstein
2888 Sequoia Drive
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Michael Harris
1195 Old Powers Ferry Rd. NW
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Sidney R. Kogan
1647 Mifflin Pl. NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Stanley Rawn
4574 Stella Drive, NW
Atlanta 5, Ga.

Mrs. M I. Wilen
915 Berkshire Road, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Arkansas

1. Mrs. Phillip Back
   1 Fairfax Terrace
   Little Rock, Ark.

2. Mrs. Leo Bishkin
   3307 Moore Drive
   Texarkana, Ark.

NORTH Carolina

1. Mrs. Madolyn Blumenthal
   505 Poplar Apt.
   Charlotte, N.C.

2. Mrs. Shelton Gorelick
   620 Edgement Rd.
   Charlotte, NC.

South Carolina

1. Mrs. Herbert Keyserling
   Box 682
   Beaufort, S. C.

2. Mrs. Alvin Levine
   1040 Brentwood Drive
   Columbia, S. C.

Mississippi

1. Mrs. Arnold Turner
   c/o Arnold's Spur
   Webb, Miss.

2. Mrs. Adolph Botnick
   2010 Evergreen Lane
   Hattiesburg, Miss.

Tennessee

1. Mrs. Harry Strauss
   2001 Emoriland Blvd.
   Knoxville, Tenn.

2. Mrs. Nathan Thorp
   Oakland Gardens
   Johnson City, Tenn.

Kentucky

1. Mrs. Lewis Cole
   719 West Chestnut
   Louisville, Ky.

Virginia

1. Mrs. Nathan~~iel~~ Krumbein
   17 Oak Lane
   Richmond, Va.

2. Mrs. Louis Mirman
   8852 Edinburgh Drive
   Lynnhaven, Va.

3. Mrs. Mike Fine
   4924 Bromley Lane
   Richmond, Va.

Louisiana

1. Mrs. Jules Cahn
   3. Versailles Blvd.
   New Orleans, La.

2. Mrs. Werner Friedman
   901 Burdette
   New Orleans, La.

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Organization and Planning

ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

In reserve

June 23, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am listing below additional names to be sent invitations to your Workshop this fall.

Florida

Mrs. Shepard Lewis
326 Macy Street
West Palm Beach
6/26/61 invite sent 10-9-61

Mrs. Herbert Heiken
8850 S.W. 18th Terr.
Miami
invite sent 10-9-61

Mrs. Adele Smith
4702 Leona St.
Tampa

Arkansas

Mrs. John Samuel
2911 N. Hayes
Little Rock

Mrs. Melvin Kusin
3506 Pine
Texarkana, Tex.

Louisiana

Mrs. Irving Goldstein
2820 Octavia
New Orleans

Mrs. Wm. Haspel, Jr.
141 Homestead Ave.
Metairie, La.

Mississippi

Mrs. I.A. Rosenbaum, Jr.
1839 43rd St.
Meridian, Miss.

Mrs. Stanley Hart
2121 Eastover Drive, Jackson, Miss.

Lee Weed

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE
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DR. IRVING GOLDSTEIN, Atlanta
DR. DAVID MONSKY, Montgomery
DR. SOL NEIDICH, Beaufort
MAYER U. NEWFIELD, Birmingham
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BENJAMIN SAMUELS
DORE SCHARY
MELVIN H. SCHLESINGER
JESSE STEINHART
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Executive Vice-President, B'nai B'rith

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Administration
LESTER J. WALDMAN
Organization and Planning

ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

June 21, 1961

6/22/61

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am listing below additional names to be sent invitations to your Workshop this fall.

✓Kentucky

Delegate: Mrs. Edgar Bottingheimer
316 West Market
Louisville, Ky.

D

Alternate Mrs. Sol Bizer
2606 Valetta Rd.
Louisville, Ky.

Mrs. Simon Goodman
19 Canterbury Drive
Louisville, Ky.

North Carolina

Alternates Mrs. Robert Kurtz
517 McAlway Rd.
Charlotte, N.C.

Mrs. Harold Mandel
2800 Wintergreen Dr.
Charlotte, N.C.

Virginia

Alternate Mrs. Paul Lipkin
6032 River Road
Norfolk, Va.

Sincerely,

Bee

Bee Wild

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
Of B'nai B'rith
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WILLIAM BREMAN, Atlanta
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DR. IRVING GOLDSTEIN, Atlanta
DR. DAVID MONSKY, Montgomery
DR. SOL NEIDICH, Beaufort
MAYER U. NEWFIELD, Birmingham
MORRIS L. STRAUCH, Memphis
MRS. HARRY STRAUSS, Knoxville
DR. ALFRED A. WEINSTEIN, Atlanta
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HERBERT H. LEHMAN
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WILLIAM SACHS
BENJAMIN SAMUELS
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President, B'nai B'rith
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Organization and Planning

ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

June 14, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

You will find attached a list of women to be invited to the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned which will be held November 6 and 7.

In each case, we have indicated first and second choices. Where I have given you only two names (or less) from any state, I shall attempt to get additional names for you.

If I can be of any further help to you, do not hesitate to get in touch with me.

Kindest regards.

Cordially,

Bee

Bee Wild

/bw

JF

Service—Fidelity
Devotion

ATLANTA COUNCIL

B'nai B'rith Women

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

May 8,1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Miss Cummings:

In answer to your letter regarding the list of Jewish Women's Organizations to be invited to the Fellowship of the Concerned, I am herein listing the names of the organizations and wherein I do not state the Presidents name, I would suggest you call the Jewish Community Council office for that information.

6/5/61

B'nai B'rith Women

Atlanta Council Pres.,Mrs. Michael Harris,1195 Old Powers Ferry Rd. N.W.
Covenant Chapter Pres.,Mrs. Howard Aronson, 1557 Kay Lane N.E.
Devotion Chapter Pres.,Mrs. A.J. Rubin,1514 Wesley Parkway N.W.
Fidelity Chapter Pres.,Mrs. Sidney Kogan,1647 Mifflin Pl. N.E.
Rishon Evening Chapter Pres.,Mrs. Richard Attinson on Palmour Dr.
Council Coordinator for A.D.L..Mrs. S. Harris,790 Briar Park Court, N.E.

Each Chapter of B'nai B'rith Women mentioned above has a committee working on human relations and I believe they would like to attend, therefore I would suggest you contact the presidents for their names.

Other Jewish Organizations

Hadassah,Pres.,Mrs. H Caplan,2975 Ridge Valley Rd. N.W.
Council of Jewish Women,, Mrs. J. Wallen,3710 Nancy Creek Rd. N.W.
Temple,Mrs. Alvin Hamburger,3275 E Wood Valley Rd. N.W.
A.A. Sisterhood, Mrs. J. Levitt, 1274 Reeder Circle N.E.
Shearith Israel Sisterhood, Mrs. H. Adler,1322 Brookforest Dr. N.E.
O.R.T.,Mrs. J. Bressler,1709 North Pelham Rd. N.E.
Beth El Sisterhood
Beth Jacob Sisterhood
Brandeis
City of Hope
Hebrew Academy P.T.A.
Mizrachi Women, Mrs. 705 Park Dr. N.E.
Pioneer Women

Please extend my best wishes to Mrs. Tilly for the hopeful

Service—Fidelity
Devotion

ATLANTA COUNCIL

B'nai B'rith Women

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

improvement in her husbands health.

Please inform Miss Tilly that the date of the 7th of November will be inconvenient for B'nai B'rith Women since it is our meeting date for our Chapters. I do not think it can be changed but she might suggest this to the Chapter Presidents before they go to our Jewish Community Presidents Council Meeting, where all dates are verified so there will be no overlapping of our organizational dates.

Looking forward to being of assistance in this endeavor,

Sincerely,

Charlotte Wilen

Mrs. I. Wilen,
Counseller of
Atlanta Council B'nai B'rith
Women

cc/ Mrs. Michael Harris, Pres. Atlanta Council B'nai B'rith Women

Mrs. Wilen

from:

CHARLOTTE WILEN

Dear Mrs. Tilly

I have just returned from Miami and found your letter regarding the meeting on the 6 & 7th.

I wrote you before I left that I would participate on the 6th but that we had a B'nai B'rith Women's meeting on the 7th. I also included names of other people. Please be sure to contact Mrs. Michael Harris, Old Powers Ferry Rd., who is the new AtlantaCouncil of B'nai B'rith Women, President. and the other Chapter Presidents which I sent to you previously.

If there is anything further I can do please do not hesitate calling on me.

Fondly

Charlotte Wilen

Many of our women wish to attend in addition to the Presidents.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY
DR. DOW KIRKPATRICK
PASTOR, ST. MARK METHODIST CHURCH, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
TO THE
FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED WORKSHOP
NOVEMBER 6-7, 1961

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Its been a good morning, and now we come to a word of St. Paul in Romans the first chapter. You will need to refer to the Phillips translation to get it to read like this. "I feel myself under a sort of universal obligation, I owe something to all men." We were being shephered by that most remarkable Methodist Bishop, Newall Booth, through immigration formalities in the air port in Elizabethville, last May. At the table sat the Immigration Officer, behind him the ever present picture of President Tshombe . Tracy Jones, one of my traveling companions and one of the top level Missions executives of the Methodist Church, said to me, "You didn't miss that sermon illustration, did you?" I said, "What sermon illustration?" Admitting that I had missed it of course. "Why," he said, "look what's behind that Immigration Officer, just under Mr. Tshombe's picture." There was one of these porcelain tables that belong in the delivery room in the hospital, a table on which mothers give birth to babies. Tracy said, "Surely you can't miss that." A nation is being brought to birth here, and the whole world is suffering its birth pains.

Well, I hadn't been thinking much about sermon illustrations that Sunday afternoon in May. We had set out that afternoon from Salisbury, Rhodesia to come to Elizabethville. It had been a wild kind of ride, the flight was a scheduled flight but when we boarded the plane, we noticed that it had no markings whatsoever, it was an old DC-4, I thought they were out of existence. And they were. They are out in the Congo, being used. In the passenger compartment was a lot of interesting looking freight, some boxes marked, (this was in May), marked "Easter Eggs made in Czechoslovakia." The crew, the kind you know, the pilot a fellow who grows a beard, and wears an ascot kerchief, and carries a dog under his arm when he gets on and off the plane, so we were apprehensive and as we circled the Elizabethville airport we noticed a great mob of people straining at the fences and that didn't help any. But when we landed and saw what was really happening we let off with that nervous kind of laugh that always releases tensions for we discovered that the citizens of Elizabethville were out for a pleasant Sunday afternoon at the airport to watch the parade, and to hear the bagpipes, for the Irish soldiers of the UN, (these boys who have been in such bad trouble lately), were in their Kilts and with their bagpipes were out for the afternoon, and that was something for an African to behold.

This is a little sample of our world, for as strange as it all seems, it is just as surely our world, as this lounge of Clark College is our world. And when you stop to try to list what are the factors

that make one, it would be easy to make a long list, and yet perhaps it would be more helpful to make a very brief list, for the one thing that is sure about our world and the one thing that is universal about our world is that it is revolution. It's a revolutionary world. Now it ought not be necessary to prove that to a group like this. You know that just over four years ago, there were four independent nations in Africa, now there is something like twenty-eight. That within the last year approximately seventeen areas have become independent areas.

The Congo is central because in a sense it is a sign and symbol of what's wrong and sad about our revolution. It's so central to the continent of Africa, it touches almost all the other areas of Africa, and the world. Five years ago, just five years ago, the officials of the Union Minere in Elizabethville, that's the Belgian company, that operates the minds there, the copper mines, and the source of much of the trouble. One of the officials of that company told Bishop Raines, who is the president of our Methodist Board of Missions, just five years, "Of course, these people must have independence, and we mean for them to have it in about fifty years." Five years ago! Well, five years ago, we were talking like that in Georgia, you remember.

There is a revolution and it is not as easily recognized as it may seem. In Rodesia for example, the trouble there is over the acceptance or rejection of certain so-called liberal concessions made in the constitution and the composition of the assembly. The Africans are saying,"no, we don't want these concessions,"and the white man is saying, "why not?" "We are offering you fifteen seats in the assembly." But fifteen out of fifty-two, it is too late in the world for that kind of thing, the revolution is already past beyond that. Or in Johannesburg, I was riding with one of our Missionaries in the afternoon, out in a section of the city, I recognized that we were in his end of the city and I said, "If you'll just put me on a bus, you won't have to take me downtown, you can just go on home." And he did, but only after explaining to me that they don't have segregated seating in Johannesburg, they have segregated bus lines! They've got two, and at every bus stop, there are two bus stops. It's too late in the world for that kind of thing, I tell you, the revolution is gone past it. Or in Angola, where the worse fighting of all is taking place, where you've got millions of African people, but only 30,000 allowed to vote, and that only once in seven years in an election for the president, who has already been picked before the election. It's too late in the history of the world for that kind of thing, there's a revolution on, all over the world.

You remember in Carlisle writing, the history of the French revolution, there was the night when the Duke of Lioncourt broke into the Royal Apartment of Louis the 16th, and told him of the activities of the people of France in the streets of Paris, Louis, the poor simple soul, said, "Why man, that's a revolt," Lioncourt said, 'Sire, it is not a revolt, it is a revolution." Now there are one

or two things that disturb me, about the universal nature of this revolution, that apply to us now. Of course, what has been said about Africa, can be said about the rest of the world, I was there as a part of its consultation on Missionary policy of our Church, we call it a part of long-range planning, we just wonder if God and history will give us enough time to make long-range plans. We're going to Latin-America next, we hope we can get there before too many revolutions break out, and then there is all of Asia. It's the same story all over the world, but there are one or two factors that bear down on us this morning, one is that this one world that is forming, is not forming along the lines you and I had expected.

We had hoped and believed that the one world would come together as a Christian World. This is not happening. What is happening is that there is emerging one culture, all over the world, and that culture is scientific and materialistic, Africans or Latins, or Asians may want the same culture we have, but they don't necessarily want our Christian culture. They want our scientific culture. They want our educational opportunities; they want our materialist standard of living. So you and I have got to decide what this means to the Christian gospel all over the earth. How we deal with a revolution which is producing one world as we had hoped.

The one world that is based on other factors in our culture, and not necessarily on our religious factor, and I think this says something to all of us of whichever race for everyone of us here this morning, has been caught in some of the subtle temptations of the scientific materialistic revolution of our time, the white church of America presents to the world a facade of materialism. The Negro race of America can easily be suspected of wanting freedom not for freedom sake, and not for the sake of the freedom of others in the world, but for the sake of economic priviledges, and the social privileges.

We have already confessed that neither one of us has any right to judge another. I simply say that we must face the fact that the world today is advancing in a direction we may not fully desire nor control. And it may be that we are caught in the same emerging materialism, we must be aware of it. The second place where this bears down on us is of course in our own church life as I have already indicated, and here of course I speak more perhaps to those of us who are members of white churches, but the thing that bothers me about my Methodist church is that I see it overseas as a part of and as the producer of this revolution. While in this country it is the conservative force pending to slow down or even work against revolution. Not always, but predominantly. For example, in Angolá, we have had five missionaries arrested, one has been released the others have been taken to Lisbon, where they are awaiting trial. It's no wonder that American Methodist Missionaries have been arrested by the Portuguese Government, Angola. It came as something

of a shock to read or have read to me from Luanda paper, the Capital of Angola, stories and editorials, which said that the Angola rebels are being furnished their arms from the American Methodist Mission Station.

It is a shock to read that. It is not true, but I will confess to you to a little bit of pride, that our church in Angola and our missionaries have been so identified with the revolutionary desires of the African people that the government could suspect this kind of thing. You would never suspect it of the American Methodist Church here. There they are one thing, here we are another. Or again an illustration. We spend a week-end in Victoria Falls before going on into Johannesburg, and on Sunday,,I purchased a newspaper from Johannesburg, a Sunday paper, I was going to Johannesburg the next day, and read with great interest and pride headlines, which said "Prime Minister says No to Methodists." Now this was the headline of a story about a very dear friend, Dr. J. B. Webb. Joe Webb has stood tall in his pulpit for more than twenty years, in the center of Johannesburg. He is one of the few men like Allen Payton, so influential that the government dare not touch him while they are arresting others, they dare not arrest men like this yet. These were the days just before the republic was proclaimed and there were many voices in South Africa calling for nation-wide multi-racial conventions to deal with these problems.

Finally Joe Webb had said to the Prime Minister, "Let the Methodists initiate such a conference, let us invite them, we will invite them to meet in our church," and it was to that proposal to which the headlines reported, "Prime Minister Says No To Methodists." This is the kind of identification with the world-wide revolution, which our churches have overseas, but not in this country.

Now our problem here in a sense is the same though very different, from the problems of the church overseas. For example, we hear a lot about African tribalism. I was privileged to be in the Annual Conference in Rhodesia, as they were debating a very interesting question. In Old Umtali in Rhodesia in the city of Umtali, there is a church named St. Andrews, which has been a Methodist congregation connected with our American Methodist mission for many years. It was organized to serve the European that came out from England largely. That congregation has insisted on remaining all white, and it has been a source of great irritation.

These laymen are primarily of English background and they haven't been happy with the breezy manner of the young American Missionaries who have been assigned, I mean you don't offer yourself to be a missionary to Africa to go to be pastor of a white congregation in Umtali. So it's been a source of irritation, and this year the proposal has been made by the laymen of the church that they be allowed to transfer out of our American Methodist Mission into the Synod of British Methodism. I may hasten to say that this gives a picture of British Methodism, which is not quite fair, but these are the facts

locally. So the debate was taking place in the Annual Conference as to whether this congregation would be allowed to move from American Methodism to British Methodism. And there arose a brilliant young African Layman, a Head-master of our School system there, he is a man with a Master's degree from the University of London, he is coming next fall to Harvard to do PHD work; he is one of the Lay-delegates at Delhi at the world council of churches assembly this month. Matthew said, "We hear often about African tribalism, let me tell you this is British tribalism." Let me ask you today, when the door of a church in your state and town and mine is closed to worship to an African or the American Negro, is this the religion of the New Testament? Or is it Tribalism? Is it the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ? or is it religion based upon the family mores and customs of our social culture? Or let me ask you again, when a patient is brought by an ambulance to a hospital door, a hospital owned and operated by a Christian Church and they are sent away, is this the religion of the Good Samaritan? Or is it Tribalism?

What we are saying today is that our world, though it can be characterized universally by many factors, it characterized by the revolution which unless we can somehow re-direct it, will not be Christian but will be scientific, technological, and materialist. And in the second place it bears down upon us in our own church life. Let me remind you that we have a unique reason for bringing the whole world together, Paul said, "I feel myself under a sort of universal obligation, I owe something to all men." Now Paul did not mean that he felt that he owed every man something because of what every man had done for him, but he felt he owed something to every man because of what God had done for him. My own experience is, and I am sure that yours must be, that when I stand in the presence of the Cross, I am struck with the over-whelming power of the Love of God for me. I know it's for everybody, but for a while, it's only for me, it's for me! This I can not escape, and when I realize that it's for me, then I am aware of how unworthy I am of it. I would say to God, "No, you can't love me, not like that, because you do not know how little I deserve it." But from the cross comes that answer, "I do know you, and I do love you," I can never forget that I owe something to all men, not because of what they have done for me, but because of what God has done for me. And so I suggest that you and I must find a way to identify ourselves with this revolution, this world and what's taking place in it.

Our places will all be different, everyone of us. I've not felt called upon to go with my friends on sit-ins, the freedom rides, but every person must find his place where he can sacrifice something where he can give something of himself to be a part of the redemption of the whole.

Coming out of Israel this summer, I had a new interest in Exodus, that I had not had earlier. If you read the book or saw the movie, you remember there is an incident that I want to close with

in both. It is the story of the little girl Karen, talking to her boy friend, who has his own reasons for being bitter against everybody. She is telling about how her own family sent her to Denmark, hoping to escape the Nazis scourge, but it moved on there too, finally, and then came the day when the decree was made, in Denmark, that all Jews would wear the Yellow armband, with the star of David. This cruel device had been used effectively in other places and now, it had come to Denmark. On a certain day every Jew must mark himself off from the rest of the human race by this outward sign, and you know what happened? When that morning came the King of Denmark appeared in public with a yellow band and the star of David, and all the citizens took the cue and soon everybody, Jew and Dane alike, were wearing the cursed sign.

Now you and I have got to find some sign in our lives, that this world revolution has cut deeply, down deep where it hurts into our hearts, and for some of us it will be the shape of a cross for that cross reminds us that He loved us that much, and because He loves us, we are under a sort of universal obligation, we owe something to all men.

See pages 41-44 for person invited to TJC.

ANNUAL MEETING

United Church Women of Georgia

FRIDAY, JANUARY 27, 1961, HOLY TRINITY CHURCH

515 East Ponce de Leon Avenue

Decatur, Georgia

THEME: "Some Imperatives of Christian Freedom"

The Eternal is hushed and still,
The Temporal stridant and loud;
Silently, over the strife on earth,
Moves the will of God.
Wilhelm Raabe

CALL TO PRAYER

75th Anniversary of the World Day of Prayer

Friday, February 17, 1961

Come, all whose hearts are moved with thanksgiving for the World Day of Prayer;
Come to worship the Hope of the world;
Come to pray that together we may proclaim his gospel;
Come to witness that his kingdom is everlasting.

PRAYER: Lord Christ, who prayed that all may be one through the might of thy spirit, forgive us that we have not yearned for brotherhood. Forgive our nearsightedness and complacency. Rule in the hearts of all men that we may learn repentance and forgiveness, for we live only in thy forgiveness.

Savior of the world, we pray for
eyes open to see thee at work in the events of nations;
ears sensitive to hear thy call to be peacemakers;
hands stretched forth to give the treasure held in trust for thee;
faith steady and unfaltering as we seek ways to do thy will;
For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever and ever. *Amen.*

HANDBOOK

Sent $25.00 May 1962

March 19, 1962

Mrs. M. A. Horne
President
Woman's Baptist Home & Foreign Missionary
Convention of North Carolina, Inc.
1467 Trade Street, N. W.
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Dear Mrs. Horne:

A thousand apologies for not answering your splendid letter sooner. I am still in a rolling chair and not coming to the office every day.

I am delighted with the outline you gave me of the work you have been doing. You have some big jobs and I can see why you had two institutes to cover the State. Seventeen hundred Baptist Churches to be reached is a great challenge. I have been interested in several newspaper stories of the great stand of the Baptist Church on integration.

I was so delighted to have two Baptist officers in the Fellowship of the Concerned last year. I think that I told you that each year I receive a list from Birmingham and sent out the invitations and never had a reply until you two from North Carolina came last year.

Yes, we do not only accept but need funds. We would appreciate anything in the financial way you may contribute.

You may be sure you will receive an invitation "to come back in 1962."

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Woman's Baptist Home and Foreign Missionary Convention of North Carolina, Inc.

BAPTIST HEADQUARTERS
~~[illegible] WILMINGTON STREET~~
~~RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA~~
~~PHONE TEMPLE 2-6794~~

MRS. M. A. HORNE, PRESIDENT
1467 TRADE STREET, NORTHWEST
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA
PHONE PARK 2-8081

MRS. ELLEN S. ALSTON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
P. O. BOX 1818, RALEIGH, N. C.

MRS. RACHEL L. BOYCE
CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE BOARD
WINDSOR, N. C.

MRS. ROSALIE F. WYATT
ASSISTANT CHMN. EXECUTIVE BOARD
SALISBURY, N. C.

MRS. C. E. MCLESTER
CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMM.
DURHAM, N. C.

MRS. L. E. MCGRIER
JR.-Y. P. SUPERVISOR
WARRENTON, N. C.

MISS DELORES MCGRIER
JR.-Y. P. PRESIDENT
NORLINA, N. C.

February 14, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Tilley:

Again, may I express my deep appreciation for the priviledge to meet you in that most profitable work-shop. I was greatly inspired to do everything possible to keep the lines of communication opened.

As a leader in my city and as president of our State Convention (which includes seventeen (1700) hundred Baptist churches I have been instrumental in working as follows:

One local Interracial Work-Shop (The Discussion Groups were most effective and well carried out.

One State-Wide Institute in the Western section of our state

One State-Wide Institute in the Eastern section of our state.

(The Discussion Group method was used throughout)
(The ones received in your work-shop)

It was most challenging and the workshops developed an awareness of what Christian women can and should do.

If I can be of service in a financial way plesae let me know. How your organization is supported financially I do not know. But, I am willing to help in this worthy cause.

I was very sorry to learn of your accident, I prayed for you and ~~if~~ I trust everything is going well with you.

Gratefully yours,

M. A. Horne

Mrs. M. A. Horne

P. S. Please let me come back in 1962

Woman's Society of Christian Service
and Wesleyan Service Guild

TENNESSEE CONFERENCE THE METHODIST CHURCH

1903 Lombardy Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee
March 31, 1962

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Some weeks ago, I was looking over the Work Book of the Fellowship of the Concerned used last November. I felt that I really should let you know how that meeting had benefitted me.

At this particular time, I turned to the Work Book in order to refresh my thinkimg along some lines that had been a challenge during those days together, and to find some pertinent remarks made by some of the speakers, for I had jotted down many of them, and now had occasion to quote some of them.

All the meetings of the Fellowship of Concerned have meant a great deal to me. This was about the sixth one, and, in many ways the most meaningful. Perhaps it was because I had been reading and thinking in connection with a study course of The Woman's Society of Christian Service entitled, "The Christian and Responsible Citizenship". Certainly the Workshop theme," The Kingdom Without Frontiers", as it was developed from day to day furnished much enrichment for later teaching of that course.

I have appreciated knowing persons of other faiths and races attending the Workshops and also the opportunity to get acquainted with fine, qualified, dedicated leaders who have stimulated our thinking, and helped us to work toward some understanding of what and how we might do in our local situations. Inspiration, courage, understanding, and information has resulted from each of the meetings.

Thank you very much for making it possible for me to have a part in such a Workshop.

Sincerely,

Agnes Williams

Mrs. Horace W. Williams
Secretary Christian Social Relations
Tennessee Conference Woman's Society of
Christian Service

WOMAN'S SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

LOUISVILLE CONFERENCE

The Methodist Church

Louisville, Ky.
March 26, 1962.

My dear Mrs. Tilley -

I want you to know how much I regret having been unable to come to the meeting of the Fellowship of The Concerned this past fall. As you know this is the first year I have not been present in this quadrennium and I am grateful each day for the opportunities which these meetings have made available to me. The work for which I am responsible in the field of Christian Social Relations in the western half of Kentucky places many demands upon me. I should have been far less well prepared to meet these demands had I not had the periods of briefings and discussion provided so richly by these meetings. And, sadly, nowhere, yet, is there

another such group representing such a diversity of interests and backgrounds! It is heart warming how Catholic, Jew, Protestant — Negro and white, find such a congenial atmosphere to sit down and talk to-gether.

This note is just to say thank you again for making it possible for this to happen, and for so graciously asking me to come.

With affectionate personal regards —

Chauncey M. Powell —
Secretary Christian Social Relations,
Louisville Conference
Woman's Society of Christian Service,
The Methodist Church.

Fr. L. D.

Please return

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. ROBERT L. WILCOX
SECRETARY OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
16 MINNEKAHDA PLACE
CHATTANOOGA 5, TENNESSEE

March 26. 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3. Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

You have been in my thoughts and prayers as you have been trying to carry on your regular activities in spite of a broken leg. Your marvelous courage and dedication is always a challenge to those who know you.

Please do not attempt to write "thank you" notes to the members of the Christian Social Relations Committee on behalf of the small "In Remembrance" Gift in memory and honor of Mr. Tilly who lived such an abundant and radiant life.

The Methodist women are looking forward to another "Fellowship of Concerned Workshop". When the dates have been established, please inform me, so I can include it on our next year's agenda. We as Methodist women could never express adequately to you what "The Fellowship of Concerned Workshops" have meant to each woman who has had the privilege of attending a workshop. Through the years we have seen attitudes changed, friendships develop, new insights and concerns become programs of actions in local communities, and a dedication on the part of Christian women to give their witness to the love of God and to His ideal of the brotherhood of man and of the love one for another without regard to race. Incident after incident, indeed we shared with you of women who came to know women of another race for the first time and to realize that all were the children of our Heavenly Father. We have never had another experience equal to "The Fellowship of Concerned Workshops" that has caused us to really understand one another and to have a mutual concern

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. ROBERT L. WILCOX
SECRETARY OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
16 MINNEKAHDA PLACE
CHATTANOOGA 5, TENNESSEE

for one another. You know better than I the far reaching results of the workshops but I just want to express my personal thanks to you for this opportunity each year and on the behalf of Methodist women to state again our appreciation for the opportunity which "The Fellowship of Concerned Workshop" provides for us to come together as Christian women to seek understanding and to create a climate from which we go to our local communities to give as image of what our Heavenly Father would have us to give as we seek to bring His kingdom upon the earth.

Sincerely
Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. E. L. GLOSSBRENNER
PRESIDENT
8213 BROOKFIELD ROAD, RICHMOND 27, VIRGINIA

March 11, 1962

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

This is late acknowledgment of your January 26 "greetings" and the summary of the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

As you know this was my first experience in this particular group. It was of tremendous help to me as a new president of the Jurisdiction Woman's Society and a member of the Department of C.S.R. of the Woman's Division. As far as my duties permit I had made contacts and maintained membership in several local and state groups working in interest of human relations and racial cooperation but it meant much to me to see these interests demonstrated on a larger scale or yet with peculiar emphasis on performance in smaller groups.

We were happy to hear Mr. Paul Rilling speak at a breakfast meeting for area Professional group in February. The major decision of that session was to work more

especially in every group we represented toward understanding and acceptance of all cultures - a thing considered as important & effective as that done in designated & avowed racial understanding organizations. This - suggestion - or conclusion came from the representation of the theatre group - with no axe to grind - but an unattached desire to include all groups or types in the art.

I'm sure you have been concerned as we over the issues stirred up in Augusta around our Bethlehem Center and its director. Today this week I learned that this is by no means resolved. But - how fortunate we were that Bishop John Owen Smith was ready to defend & give his support - even though some of his statements were misconstrued and used by the opposition.

How grateful we are in the South for your continuing facing of all these factors - without discouragement or self-preservation. May God continue to bless you and us through your courage, love and perseverance.

Incidentally, you should know that I am writing this from McComb, Miss. where I'm come for the Annual Meeting of the Woman's Society of the Conference. I'm to speak on "Factors That Confront Us."!

With appreciation & best wishes to you

Sincerely,

Dorothy W. Glassburner

Walterboro, S.C.
April 19, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
1013 Highland View, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

I would like to express my appreciation to you for making possible for me the opportunity of being in the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned. This meeting makes possible the sharing of ideas, experiences and advances. It also makes for better

understanding between racial, religious and political groups.

The quiet, unassuming way in which this group works and makes advances is a very worthwhile thing. And I am grateful for the privilege of attending and being inspired to do more.

Sincerely,

Agnes A Clark
(Mrs. Niles C.)

MAY FELLOWSHIP DAY

Friday, May 5, 1961

THE CHURCHES: FREE and RESPONSIBLE

The CALL

How free is your local church? Can your minister or rector speak the whole truth as he sees it in interpreting the Bible, in clarifying its message not only for your personal needs and problems but for the problems of your community, the United States, the world?

Are you, as a member of your church, free to discuss with others in the church questions troubling you about yourself, or the world, or your city, speaking the truth in love? Or do you feel that "it isn't done," or that you would be thought queer, or out-of-step? Are you free and encouraged to act in line with your convictions?

Are you getting the help you need in trying to live as a Christian in your job, your neighborhood, as a citizen of the U.S.A.? Should you expect this help from the church? Should your church prepare its members for the work of achieving a just ordering of society in community, state, in the nation and the world?

Should your church speak and act on social issues, and if so, how? Are these issues any of the church's business? What does it mean to say that Jesus Christ is Lord of all life?

May Fellowship Day is an invitation to all thinking women to consider the important questions: Is my church free and responsible? What is God's will for His church? What is my responsibility?

Information about the packet appears on the back of this sheet.

Sponsored by UNITED CHURCH WOMEN

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.

475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y.

May Fellowship Day

Friday, May 5, 1961

United Church Women—
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

Return Postage Guaranteed

ORDER FORM

May Fellowship Day

Friday, May 5, 1961

P & D, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y.

	QUANTITY	Material produced by the General Department of United Church Women		PRICE	F05
		Complete Packet, containing one each of items 1 through 7 listed below			
	_____	One or two packets	Each	.50	$_____
	_____	Three or more packets to one address	Each	.40	_____
		1. One Call Brochure, including order blank		Free	
	_____	2. The Poster, 3-color, 11" x 17", vertical	Each	.15	_____
BASIC	_____	3. Worship Service. $4.50 per hundred.	Each	.05	_____
MATERIAL	_____	4. "Churches: Free and Responsible." Basic study guide. 16 pp. condensation of "Christian Responsibility for Freedom."	Each	.35	_____
		5. "Committee Cues." Guide for MFD committees. Available in packet only.			
	_____	6. "Christian Responsibility for Freedom"	Each	.05	_____
		7. Report Blank (to be made out in duplicate).		Free	
RESOURCE MATERIAL	_____	8. "The Glorious Liberty" by Cynthia Wedel. Basic recourse for all UCW program areas and observances during the triennium. 48 pp.	Each	.35	_____
		See Committee Cues for complete list of other resources			
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IMPORTANT: **To avoid disappointment on late shipments, please observe the SHIPPING DEADLINE OF APRIL 21.**

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Office of P & D, National Council of Churches
637 W. 125th St., New York 27, N. Y.

POSTMASTER: Contents: Merchandise. This parcel may be opened for postal inspection if necessary. Return postage guaranteed.

Office of P & D, National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

Please send me the items checked.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ **Zone** _____ **State** _____

303 West Gwinnett Street
Savannah, Ga

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Sorry to have delayedso long in answer to your invita ion to the workshop on Nov., 6 -7.

I plan to attend. Is it necesaary for me to make my overnight arrangements?

Eunice E Stockton

Eunice E. Stockton

SAVANNAH
SEP 20
2 PM
1961
GA

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, 3 Ga.

Beth Comm Center
Savannah, Ga

The First Christian Church
(DISCIPLES OF CHRIST)
220 North College
Fayetteville, Arkansas

JAMES W. RAINWATER
MINISTER

September 20, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Since the arrival of your earlier letters, I have been trying to arrange for attending the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned. The workshop was such a fine experience last year that I am very reluctant to miss it this year. However, we will be moving into a new parsonage about that time, and it will be impossible for me to attend.

Last Thursday I talked with Mrs. C. G. Washington of Fort Smith. She is planning to attend, as you know,

but she seems to feel very strongly that she should not represent Christian Social Relations. She feels that a white woman should have this responsibility.

I do not know how the list is made out nor whether it would be possible to have a substitute. May I suggest some possibilities, if a substitute may be considered?

X Mrs. Kyle Engler, 836 Highland, Fayetteville
(former president of Ark. Council on Human Relations)

Mrs. Gordon Wilson, 2407 N. Pierce, Little Rock
(Vice President of Arkansas U.C.W.)

Mrs. James L. Smith, 824 Park, Fayetteville

X Miss Jean Norfleet, c/o Pulaski Heights Christian Church, Hillcrest & Spruce, Little Rock

Mrs. J. B. Hunter of Little Rock is the only person from Arkansas other than Mrs. Washington that is attending to my knowledge. The workshop is so very helpful & I regret that we shall not have a large number in attendance.

Best wishes to you.

Sincerely,
Sarah Rainwater
(Mrs. J. W. Rainwater)

2291 Bryant Drive
East Point, Ga.
Sept. 25, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilley, Dir. of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

I appreciate your invitation to share in the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned. I have marked November 6 and 7 on my calendar and am looking forward to being with you at Clark College on those dates.

Sincerely yours,
(Mrs. N. C.) Dorothy Johnson

Forward to Board 10-18-61

AC Cept

from:

CHARLOTTE WILEN

October 14,1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I regret deeply that I was out of town and did not know of your husbands passing to his reward. Please accept my sincerest condolences.

I am looking forward to participating once again with the conference. I do hopeyou received my reservation through your secretary.

Looking forward to seeing you,

Sincerely,

Charlotte Wilen

BOWEN TRAVEL SERVICE

3602 Henderson Boulevard
TAMPA 9, FLORIDA

PHONE
RE 7-5766

INV No. 3647

409 E. Kass Street
Tampa 2, Fla.

Date October 17, 1961

~~PLEASE SUPPLY:~~

Received from
Mr. and Mrs. Mrs. A. Smith

For One Delta ticket #062X 507609
Tampa/Atlanta/Tampa on Nov. 5.

Fare: $53.50
Tax: 5.35
$58.85

TYPE OF PAYMENT

Cash ☐
Check ☐
On Account ☐
Final Payment ☐

AMOUNT

BOWEN TRAVEL SERVICE

By

CUSTOMER'S COPY

PEACE CORPS

RECRUITMENT CONFERENCE

City Auditorium
Atlanta, Georgia

October 17, 1961

PROPOSED AGENDA

9:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m. - Registration

10:00 a.m. - Welcoming address--National Advisory Council member

10:15 a.m. - "Why the Peace Corps?" (broad sketch of origin of Peace Corps idea, its meaning, implications and ideals)

10:45 a.m. - Outline of Peace Corps programming and projects--Staff member

11:15 a.m. - Coffee

11:30 a.m. - The Peace Corps Volunteer, I (complete outline as to who he is, how he was recruited, selected and trained, how he is to be cared for overseas, etc.)--Staff member

12:00 noon - The Peace Corps Volunteer, II (a brief synopsis of experiences and impressions gained in working with Peace Corps Volunteers during a typical training cycle)--University faculty member from one of the campuses engaged in training

1:00 p.m. - Luncheon, address by Director or member of Director's immediate staff

2:30 p.m. - Outline of afternoon discussion groups, their purpose and scope

2:45 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. - Division of registrants into three equal groups to cover any topic of interest to the group, including kinds of volunteers needed, selection process, recruitment, training, project development and administration.

October 12, 1961

Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson
Chairman
National Advisory Council
PEACE CORPS
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your letter of October 11, 1961, has been received. However, Mrs. Tilly is out of the city, and is not expected back in the office until Monday, October 16. At that time she will contact you concerning your meeting on October 20-21.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Secretary to Mrs. Tilly

/nm

PEACE CORPS

Washington 25, D. C.

October 11, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Many people want to know more about the Peace Corps. To provide answers to their questions, a series of fourteen regional Peace Corps conferences have been scheduled across the Nation and will be sponsored by local organizations and institutions in each city.

As Chairman of the National Advisory Council for the Peace Corps, I would like to extend a personal invitation to you to attend the Conference in Washington, D. C., on October 20-21, at the Sheraton-Park Hotel. You will be joining with other leaders of civic, farm, labor, business, professional, educational and student groups who have indicated their interest in this conference.

Members of the Peace Corps staff will be present to answer your questions and discuss the program with you. A member of the National Advisory Council will be present at most of these conferences. There will be few speeches, but much open forum discussion. A tentative agenda for the Conference is attached.

The Sheraton-Park Hotel has reserved a block of rooms for our use at the following rates: $8.00 per day for a single room; $12.00 per day for a double. There will be a registration fee of $4.00, which includes luncheon on the second day.

Please complete the enclosed advance registration form and return it to the Peace Corps, giving us the names of members of your organization who will attend. Hotel reservation cards will then be mailed to these people.

I hope you will be able to be in Washington, D. C. on October 20-21 to discuss the Peace Corps.

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson

ADVANCE REGISTRATION FORM

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

_____

I will be attending the Peace Corps Regional Conference at

_____ on _____

I will be representing _____
(Name of organization or school)

The following people will accompany me:

1. _____
Name Address

2. _____
Name Address

3. _____
Name Address

Please return this form to:

Regional Conferences
Office of Recruitment
PEACE CORPS
Washington 25, D.C.

NOTE: In order to insure accomodations, please fill out and return this form immediately so that we may send your hotel reservation cards out by return mail.

October 17, 1961

Mrs. Stanley Harris
790 Briar Park court
Atlanta 6, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Harris:

I am delighted that you are going to be with us in the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, and I am asking you to serve as a Group Leader for us.

The Group Leaders will meet in a special meeting at 2:00 P.M., on Sunday, November 5th, at the Women's dormitory, Atlanta University, 50 Chestnut Street.

I am enclosing a postal card so that you can give me an immediate reply. I remain.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosure

October 17, 1961

Mrs W. W. Thrasher
10 S. W. 12th Street
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida

Dear Mrs. Thrasher:

I am delighted that you are going to be with us in the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, and I am asking you to serve as a Group Leader for us.

The Group Leaders will meet in a spcial meeting at 2:00 P.M. on Sunday, November 5th, at the Women's dormitory, Atlanta University, 50 Chestnut Street.

I am enclosing a postal card so that you can give me an immediate reply. I remain

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosure

October 17, 1961

Mrs. R. K. M. Patterson
5100 Riverside Drive
Richmond 25, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Patterson

I am delighted that you are going to be with us in the Workship of the Fellowship of the Concerned, and I am asking you to serve as a Group Leader for us.

The Group Leaders will meet in a special meeting at 2:00 P. M., Women's Dormitory, 50 Chestnut Street, on Sunday, November 5th.

I am enclosing a postal card so that you can give me an immediate reply. I remain

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosure

October 17, 1961

Mrs. Robert Wilcox
16 Minnekahada Place
Chattanooga 3, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Wilcox:

I am delighted that you are going to be with us at the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on November 6-7, and I am asking you if you will serve as a Group Leader.

I am enclosing a postal card so that you may give me an immediate reply. I remain

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

October 17, 1961

Mrs. Jules L. Cahn
3 Versailles Blvd.
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Cahn:

I am delighted that you are going to be with us at the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, on November 6-7, and I am asking you if you will serve as a Group Leader.

I am enclosing a postal card so that you may give me an immediate reply. I remain

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

October 17, 1961

Mrs. A. I. Botnick
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Botnick:

I am delighted that you are able to be with us at the Workship of the Fellowship of the Concerned on November 6-7, and I am asking you if you will serve as a reporter for one of the groups.

I am enclosing a postal card so that you may give me an immediate reply. I remain

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosure

October 17, 1961

Mrs. Addie M. Thomas
Twenty-second and Walnut Streets
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

I am delighted that you are to be with us at the Workship of the Fellowship of the Concerned on November 6-7, and I am asking you if you will serve as a reporter for one of the groups.

I am enclosing a postal card so that you may give me an immediate reply. I remain

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosure

October 17, 1961

Mrs. Arnold Slater
1800 Crestview Drive
Chattanooga 5, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Slater

It was so good to see you at Miami Beach, and this is to confirm the invitation to you to be at the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta, November 6-7.

I would like very much to have you serve as chairman for one of the discussion groups . The discussion group leaders will meet together on Sunday afternoon, November 5th, at Atlanta University, 2:00 P. M., Women's dormitory. This dormitory is located at 50 Chestnut Street.

I am enclosing a postal card so that you may give me an immediate reply. I sincerely hope you will be able to do this for us.

Mrs. Muhlchen of 1844 Crestview Drive also from Chattanooga plans to be with us, maybe you two can get together.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosure

October 17, 1961

Mrs. R. U. Robinson
Twin Oaks
Piedmont Drive
Lebanon, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Robinson:

I am delighted that you are to be with us at the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on November 6-7, and I am asking you if you will serve as a reporter for one of the groups.

I am enclosing a postal card so that you may give me an immediate answer. I remain

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
enclosure

October 17, 1961

Mrs. F. C. Lester
Field Secretary
906 Chestnut Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Lester:

I am delighted to have the opportunity to ask you to be with us in our Southside Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, and am enclosing material on the Fellowship of the Concerned for ready reference.

Please accept my apology for the delay in getting this invitation to you, but as you know my husband passed recently and this has delayed me in many things.

I am also asking you to serve as a Group Leader for us. There will be a special meeting for group leaders on Sunday, 2:00 P.M., at the Women's dormitory, at 90 Chestnut Street, Atlanta University.

I am enclosing a postal card so that you can give me an immediate reply. I remain

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosures

October 17, 1961

Dr. Frank Graham
United Nations
New York City

Dear Dr. Graham:

We are indeed looking forward to having you speak at Haygood Memorial Methodist Church, 1015 E. Rock Spring Road, N.E., Wednesday evening of October 25.

We begin with dinner at 6:00 P. M.

Please let us know where you will be staying. I will be with you at the Southern Regional Council Luncheon.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

October 17, 1961

Mrs. Clifford J. Durr
2 Felder Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Durr:

I am back in the office after a week at Miami Beach attending an Assembly of the United Church Women. In fact, I have been away more than I have been in the office in the last month or two as you can understand.

I traced finding why you were left off of the regular mailing list. The secretary I had for two or three years put in the files only the names of those who stayed at the Piedmont Hotel and Atlanta University, and worked from that list.

I hope this letter is not coming to you too late for you to be with us in our workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on November 6-7, and to serve as a reporter in one of the workshop groups. We have come to realize that a reporter is really more important than the group leader.

I am enclosing a postal card that you may give me your immediate reply.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosures

October 18, 1961

Mrs. Judson King
Franklinton Center
Bricks, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. King:

I have just discovered that Reverend Annie Campbell is not here in Atlanta with us any more. Therefore, I am rather late in extending an invitation to you to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, which is to be held at Clark College here on November 6-7.

We have available funds for travel and entertainment, and we hope you will accept this invitation.

Let us hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosures

October 18, 1961

Mrs. F. M. Rodgers
1618 Cooper Avenue
Anniston, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Rodgers:

I have just discovered that Reverend Annie Campbell is not here in Atlanta with us anymore. Therefore, I am rather late in extending an invitation to you to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, which is to be held at Clark College here on November 6-7.

We have available funds for travel and entertainment, and hope you can plan to be with us.

Let us hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosures

October 18, 1961

Reverend Annie Campbell
Robins, Tennessee

Dear Reverend Campbell:

I am glad, as you have left Atlanta, that you have not gone too far away.

The Fellowship of the Concerned is meeting on November 6-7, at Clark College, and I would certainly appreciate your being with us. You can stay either at the Piedmont Hotel or Atlanta University.

We have available funds for travel and entertainment. If you can come, I will feel all of the time that I have strong support because you are there.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest convience. I am indeed looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosures

October 18, 1961

Mrs. D. A. Freeman
901 Houston Street
Knoxville 14, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Freeman:

I am delighted that you are able to be with us at the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on November 6-7, and I am asking you if you will please serve as a reporter for one of the groups.

I am enclosing a postal card so that you may give me an immediate reply. I am

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosure

October 18, 1961

Mrs. Ben Russell
824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greenville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Russell:

I am delighted that you are going to be with us in the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, and also that you have consented to serve as a Group Leader for us.

The Group Leaders will meet in a special meeting at 2:00 P. M. on Sunday, November 5th, at the Women's dormitory, Atlanta University, 30 Chestnut Street.

I am enclosing a postal card so that you can give me an immediate reply. I remain

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosure

October 18, 1961

Mrs. Della M. Henson
327 N. Robinson Street
Philadelphia 31, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Henson:

Unfortunately, I have been out of the office a great deal because of the serious illness of my husband. He passed on to his reward a few weeks ago.

Am I correct in assuming that you no longer live in the South, specifically, Delaware. If so, I regret to tell you that we have no travel funds for anyone living outside the Southern area. The funds we have for travel will and must be used entirely for the Southern participants.

If you can come we can certainly give you board and meals.

Best wishes to you in your work, and we shall await hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosure

October 18, 1961

Mrs. Robert Johnston
509 11th Avenue
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Johnston:

I have just discovered that Reverend Annie Campbell is not here in Atlanta with us anymore. Therefore, I am rather late in extending an invitation to you to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, which is to be held at Clark College here on November 6-7.

We have available funds for travel and entertainment, and hope you can plan to be with us.

Let us hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosures

October 18, 1961

Mrs. Eleise W. Alston
1816 S. 43rd Street
Louisville 11, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Alston:

There has been a delay in writing you because I was attending an Assembly of the United Church Women in Miami Beach, Florida.

We can send you funds for plane or train fare in advance if you will give us the amount.

If you have to come on November 5th in time for the opening session at 10:00 A. M. on the 6th, and the meeting closes at noon on the 7th, I doubt if you will need to stay over another night, specifically, the night of the 7th.

We are glad you can come.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Memphis, Tennessee
October 18, 1961.

Mrs. Laura K. Fox,
Southern Regional Office Y.W.C.A.
41 Exchange Place, S. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Fox: -

Enclosed is the slip filled out as you requested.

I am expecting to travel with Mrs. Charles Henderson, flying via Eastern Airlines - leaving Memphis at 4:40 P.M. Sunday, and arriving at 8:08 P.M. It is necessary to leave Sunday to make the 10 o'clock meeting.

I am checking my preference as the Piedmont Hotel

only because of the hour of the arrival, and because Mrs. Henderson is staying there. As you perhaps knows, she is staying over after our Workshop to attend another meeting, and the Piedmont is the headquarters for the Yalta Conference.

However, I will be very glad to stay at Atlanta University, if, for any reason, you feel it would be better.

Sincerely,

(Mrs. J.L.) Margaret McWilliams
3679 Poplar Avenue
Memphis 11,
Tennessee

October 18, 1961

Mrs. M. H. Jones
1848 Freemont
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Jones:

I have just discovered that Reverend Annie Campbell is not here in Atlanta with us anymore. Therefore, I am rather late in extending an invitation to you to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, which is to be held at Clark College here on November 6-7.

We have available funds for travel and entertainment, and hope you can plan to be with us.

Let us hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosures

5000 - 14th Ave North
St. Petersburg 10 Florida
October 18. 1961.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director
Home's Work - Southern Regional Council.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly -

I phoned your hotel a number of times - even had you paged once - but was never fortunate enough to find you there while at Miami Beach -

However I knew I would be in Atlanta in November - so would be able to confer with you then -

I am looking forward very much to the Workshop on the 6 and 7th -

Sincerely yours
Helen Anderson

Mrs. David M. Anderson.

October 19, 1961

Mrs. L. Woodruff
1218 Myrtle Avenue
Danville, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Woodruff:

I am delighted that you are going to be with us in the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, and I am asking you to serve as a Group Leader for us.

The Group Leaders will meet in a special meeting at 2:00 P.M., Atlanta University Women's Dormitory, at 50 Chestnut Street, on Sunday, November 5th.

I am enclosing a postal card so that you can give me an immediate reply. I remain

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosure

October 19, 1961

Mrs. J. D. Ashley
1712 E. 1st Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ashley:

I am delighted that you are going to be with us at the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on November 6-7, and I am asking you if you will serve as a reporter for one of the groups.

I am enclosing a postal card so that you may give me an immediate reply. I remain

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosure

October 19, 1961

Mrs. Mary C.Willis
2170 - 32nd Avenue, North
St. Petersburg 13, Florida

Dear Mrs. Willis:

I am delighted that you are able to be with us at the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on November 6-7, and I am asking you if you will please serve as a reporter for one of the groups.

I am enclosing a postal card for your immediate reply.

I would be delighted to have your friend attend our meetings, in view of the fact that you both can travel as one, we can certainly give her meals.

May I hear from you at your earliest convenience?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosure

October 19, 1961

Mrs. E. Johnston Irvin
253 Louisa Avenue
Concord, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Irvin:

I trust by now that you have received your form for making reservations for you. Please return this form to me at your earliest convenience. As you know this is very necessary in keeping our records up to date.

Looking forward to seeing you on November 6-7.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

October 19, 1961

Mrs. Ruby Berkley
1336 Conklin Avenue
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Berkley:

We will be delighted to have your friend, Miss Helms, attend our meeting, and have already added her name to our list.

I regret to tell you that we have travel funds only for the southern participants, however, we certainly can furnish her meals.

Looking forward to seeing you both at the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

METimm

October 19, 1961

Mrs. Thelma Engler
836 Highland
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Engler:

The other persons according to my knowledge, that are supposed to come from Arkansas, per se, are listed below.

Mrs. A. C. Shanks
1714 Pine Street
Little Rock, Ark.

Mrs. Joseph B. Hunter
68 Berkshire Drive
Little Rock, Ark.

Mrs. C. G. Washington
1216 N. 8th Street
Fort Smith, Ark.

May we please have your confirmation on attending the meeting at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF
THE CHAPLAIN

October 19, 1961
P. O. Box 1255
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Telephone: 1123

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

All this time, I have wanted to write you concerning the meeting scheduled for November 6 and 7 because I am so much desirous of attending. It seems now that it will not be possible for me to come this year. My work has changed some, in that I am working mornings for the Chaplain and afternoons for the Dean of Women. This keeps me quite closely scheduled. It is my sincere hope that you will have as fruitful meeting as was true last year. An experience which I shall always cherish.

We enjoyed Paul Anthony a few evenings ago. I had not met him before but had talked with him many times on the telephone. One could feel his warmth of spirit and true dedication to the work of the Southern Regional Council. The story though old to some and new to some was well presented and challenging to those of us who sat quietly together and listened.

I was sorry to learn that Mr. Tilly was taken from us. Even though I never had the opportunity to meet him, I loved him because of you. We are sure that possessing the strong faith which you have in God, you know that he doesn't make a mistake. He will take care of you.

Please check your schedule to see if you could possibly come to speak to the women of our church and community the First Sunday in June, 1962. I serve as president of the Missionary Society at Greenwood Baptist Church. To have you come would mean so much not only to our own church women but to many, many others. We would invite women from neighboring communities and missionary societies of <u>all</u> churches to attend. With you in the center, this should be beautiful. Please do this if you can.

Sincerely,

Laura B. McCray

Laura B. McCray

October 23, 1961

Mrs. Pauline H. Muhlemann
817 McCallie Avenue
Chattanooga 3, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Muhlemann:

I certainly do appreciate your willingness to serve in the place of Mrs. Slater, as Chairman of one of the discussion groups.

We are having a special meeting, as you probably know, on Sunday, November 5th, at the women's dormitory, Atlanta University, at 2:00 P. M. Please return the enclosed card and let me know if you will be able to attend.

I am indeed looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosure

October 23, 1961

Mrs. Delia N. Henson
527 N. Robinson Street
Philadelphia 51, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Henson:

I have your letter of October 20th, and under the circumstances, I will be happy to have you come and be with us.

We have your reservation for the Atlanta University dormitory, and will be looking forward to seeing you on November 6-7th.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

Phila. 51, Penna.

OK come

527 N. Robinson St
Oct. 20th. 1961

Mrs. Mo. E. Tilly
Director of Women's work
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am deeply sorry to hear of your dear husband's death, however we know our father is too wise to make a mistake.

Mrs. Tilly the first letter I rec'd from your office was sent to Mrs. Horace Henry ~~to~~ who is the Del. Con. President of the W.S.C.S. Mrs. Henry lives in Wilmington Del. she sent the letter to me. when I answered I stated clearly what had happened etc.

Perhaps you dont relize our Con. extends from the Southern part of N.Y. N.J. Penna. Del. Eastern Shore of Md. + a part of Va. I am Christian Social Relations Sec'ty of the Del. Con. W.S.C.S.

However the difference in the car fare round trip from Phila. to Wilmington is $3.32

Ofcourse I thought all this was understood, therefore I have made my reservation for a seat coach to and from Atlanta, which is car fare $51.21 Chair seat round trip $4.40 total $55.61

I am very confused about the mix up as I have canceled some very important meetings such as two Christian Social Concerns workshops one of the northeastern Jurisdiction the other the combined workshop of the ~~Peninsula~~ Peninsula & Del. Conferences this is ofcourse very important as these two conferences have never met together before.

Tomorrow Sat. I will speak with our W.S.C.S. Treasurer she lives in Laurel Del. Perhaps she can help me.

I will look forward to coming to Atlanta if any funds can be given me.

Believe me I am interested and do feel I have gone to far to give up and know the Lord will bless.

Yours Sincerely

Nella M. Henson

October 23, 1961

Mrs. Moreland Smith
3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery 6, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Smith:

At 2:00 P. M. Sunday, November 5th, at Atlanta University, we will have a facing of trouble spots that we may gather information for discussion in the work shop next day.

Would you tell us the situation in Montgomery. This will be a more or less talk-fest at first and then we will simmer it down - so each of you (there will be 6 or 7 of you), may present her problem the next day in a few words.

Please do this for us. Enclosed is a postal card for your reply. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

October 23, 1961

Mrs. C. C. Sapp
519 Pine Avenue
Albany, Georgia

Dear Beulah:

I do hope I'll have three South Georgia's distinguished ladies with us on November 6-7th:

Mrs. C. C. Sapp, Mrs. C. Newman, and
Mrs. C. W. Greenlee.

They will be placed at the Piedmont Hotel. Please do you best for me.

I certainly enjoyed our ride from Miami Beach with you. It is such a soul release to be able to talk to someone understandigg the problems of our Church.

Blessings on you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

October 23, 1961

Mrs. George McCaskey
1526 Second Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. McCaskey:

The dates of the Fellowship of the Concerned are Monday, November 6, 10:00 A. M. (all day and evening), Tuesday, November 7, 9:30 through lunch. But I need you to be at Atlanta University, 30 Chestnut Street at 2:00 P. M. on Sunday, November 5th to give a picture of Louisiana or New Orleans now.

What we are doing is to bring together people from the tension spots (about 7), and really have a talk-fest, and then simmer it down, so each of you can have a few minutes on a panel on the afternoon of November 6.

The group leaders will be with us Sunday afternoon to listen in.

The result of the talk-fest will be the basis for the discussion in the Workshop Groups.

I did appreciate meeting Mr. McCaskey and the courtesies he showed me. Of course it was a joy to be with you also.

Please fill out and return the blank and postal card to me.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosures

October 30, 1961

Rev. John R. Youngblut
Quaker House
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Youngblut:

The theme for the Fellowship of the Concerned is, "One God - One World - One People," and the schedule is as follows.

Sunday, 2:00 P. M. girls dormitory, Atlanta University, the Group Leaders and those who present the problem will have a meeting. This will be a talk-fest, more-or-less, at first and then we simmer down so each of the participants will have just a few minutes on the next afternoon's program as a preface to the discussion groups. The problems may be distributed to the seven discussion groups, if we see fit.

Monday, November 6th.- Introductions - each telling from whence they came.
A Facade of Brotherhood - four ministers questioned by Mr. Eugene Patterson.
One World - Rev. Dow Kirkpatrick, D.D.
Lunch

2:00 P. M. - 4:30 - The Philosophy of the Youth Movement - by Martin Luther King, Jr. D. D.

The group presenting the Tensions (I haven't found a name for this yet).

The discussion groups.

Afternoon Session - Worship: Rev. Roland Maynes and two others. Students from Atlanta Integrated Schools - Work Shop Groups.

Tuesday, November 7 - 9:30 A. M. Worship.

The Social Action Programs

United Church Women
Catholic Women
B'Nai Brith

Reports of Discussion Groups -

Discussion - Commitment

Worship - Bishop John Owen Smith.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Directore of Women's Work

MET:nm

November 1, 1961

Mrs. T. F. Wallace
5340 Belinder Road
Shawnee Mission, Kansas

Dear Mrs. Wallace:

We are delighted that you are going to be with us on November 6-7. Enclosed you will find a schedule which will give you some idea of the hours the meeting will be held.

You and Helen Baker will room in No. 202, Kresge Hall, Clark College.

On Tuesday morning we want you to have a few minutes to tell something of the scope of the United Church Women.

My best wishes to you, and I am looking forward to seeing you next week.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

Mrs. T. F. Wallace

5340 Belinder Road, Shawnee Mission, Kansas

October 24

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Mrs. MacLeod and Miss French of UCU staff advised me to attend the Fellowship of the concerned, November 6, 7, + 8 in Atlanta.

Since I am planning to come, could you please advise me regarding any necessary preliminaries?

Might it still be possible to room with Helen Baker and-or Eleanor French?- Or at least secure a room in Clark College where they will stay?

We were happy to have you in attendance with us in Miami Beach at the UCN Assembly.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs. F. F.) Louise Wallace

January 5, 1961

Mrs. Catherine Gardner
Office of the Bishop
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Catherine:

I am enclosing the speech of the Bishop. Look over it and see if he wants it changed in any way. We have not sent it our sooner because I know that Thanksgiving and Christmas, etc, would cause the women not to open packages. But now the first of the year has come and they will want something new to work on.

Catherine the Bishop was great, and my, how much I do appreciate him.

Thanks for the card. I am fine, will be at the office next week. If we have our dinner anytime soon, you will have to come out here.

Best wishes to you and yours for the New Year, and a heart full of love to you and all the rest of the gang at Wesley Memorial.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

January 5, 1961

Mrs. Catherine Gardner
Office of the Bishop
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Catherine:

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Best wishes to you and yours for the New Year, and a heart full of love to you and all the rest of the gang at Wesley Memorial.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

January 5, 1961

Chief Herbert Jenkins
Police Department
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Chief Jenkins:

I can not let the New Year days pass without my expressing appreciation for our Atlanta Police Force, under your leadership.

What the force did in the School integration was wonderful; what the laymen did, what the School Board itself did, would not have mattered to nothing if we had not had the Police Force that we did.

I again have the wonderful privilege of being in the circle with your wonderful sister at Haygood.

With best wishes to you and yours for a most successful and happy New Year.

I remain

Yours truly,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

January 5, 1961

Chief Herbert Jenkins
Police Department
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Chief Jenkins:

I can not let the New Year days pass without my expressing appreciation for our Atlanta Police Force, under your leadership.

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With best wishes to you and yours for a most successful and happy New Year.

I remain

Yours truly,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Nov 1, 1961

Dear Mrs Tilly:

I shall be arriving in Atlanta on the 542 Eastern Airlines flight at 2:52 a.m. Monday, Nov. 6. I shall go directly to the Piedmont Hotel and I have written for a reservation there. I don't know if you made the reservations or not. I shall leave Atlanta on Wed. a.m. at 1:15 a.m. I'm looking forward to the meeting very much.

Sincerely,

Mrs Robert Hunt

WOMAN'S MISSIONARY UNION OF NORTH CAROLINA

Auxiliary to the Baptist State Convention

MISS MIRIAM J. ROBINSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

301 HILLSBORO RALEIGH

November 1, 1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilley
5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

Our state president, Mrs. A.L. Parker of Greensboro, and I are looking forward with keen anticipation to being with all of you at the meeting of The Fellowship of the Concerned. We will be on hand for the entire meeting.

In requesting reservation for us at the Piedmont, please be sure to remind them that we will be coming in late Sunday evening and ask them to hold our room for us.

Since I am quite tardy in sending in our requested reservation, if for any reason you have to put us some place else, please wire me collect at the above address so we will know where to go. If I do not hear from you by Friday afternoon I will assume that we have the Piedmont reservation.

We shall be much in prayer for you and the entire meeting.

Cordially yours,

Miriam J. Robinson

Miriam J. Robinson

Wednesday

My dear Mrs. Tilly:—

Thanks, from the depths of my heart, for another wonderful experience! Last year's meeting was superb — this one exceeded that one and I didn't think that were possible.

I am so grateful for the invitation and, even now, am looking forward to next year!

Eva Martin, my dear friend, came by and took us for a sight-seeing tour of Atlanta. That, we thoroughly enjoyed. None of us had seen anything except the campus and the scenery along the road from the airport!

We had a pleasant flight home. It was a dinner flight, and by that time, we were ready for it!

In the airport, we ran into a fellow delegate from Miami. Since we had an hour, we decided to go into Dobbs House for coffee. It was hilarious!

Posey Dawson was the only white woman with us and that floored them! They kept pointing to my nose and someone whispered, "She looks like Nehru"! Flattering, wouldn't you say? Posey said they're trying to figure out which one of your brothers I'm

married to! ☺

By the time the coffee was served, everyone knew we were there including the kitchen help who had come out at one time or another on an "urgent" mission.

We laughed, and it made us feel good to know another silly barrier had crumbled as they all eventually must!

If I can impose upon your kindness again, next year would you consider an invitation to Evelyn Raymond (Mrs. Wm R) 1590 Parsons Place, Louisville 5?

Evelyn is a state UCW officer, a Presbyterian and an ardent worker for better human relations. She is one of our wealthiest women,

but also one of our humblest. She was in Miami with us, and wanted life so much to have this experience. Much as I hate to come, I'd be happy to have her come in my place, if there's no room.

My love to you as always and I'm expecting you at Friends Leadership June 11-15 at Ky. State College.

8 Nov 1961

Love, Nettie Alice

VII. PLEASE FILL OUT AND RETURN TO ME AT ONCE!

Hour and date of arrival: Sunday Night - Nov 5th; 8-9 P.M.

I prefer to stay at: (Please check one)

(√) Piedmont Hotel

( ) Atlanta University

Signed Mrs Newton B. Fowler

Address 115 So. Grand Ave
Ft. Thomas
Ky

A Partial LIST OF PEOPLE WHO ATTENDED THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED ON [redacted] NOVEMBER 5-7, 1961

1- Mrs. Eloise Alston
1016 S. 43rd Street
Louisville, Ky.

2- Mrs. Leon R. Anderson (
1823 Tiger Flower Dr. N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

3- Mrs. Helen Anderson(David)
5000 14th Avenue, North
St. Petersburg 10, Fla.

4- Mrs. Earl P. Andrews
3135 Audubon Rd.
Montgomery 6, Ala.

5- Mrs. Desna P. Armstrong
446 North Main St.
Henderson, Ky.

6- Mrs. Aronin (HOWARD)
[redacted] Kay Lane, N. E.
1557 Atlanta, Ga.

7- Mrs. J. D. Ashley
1712 E. First Street
Winston Salem, N. C.

8- Mrs. Edward L. Askren, Jr.
170 Laurel Forest Ave.NE
Atlanta, Ga.

9- Mrs. Helen E. Baker
475 Riverside Drive
New York

10- Mrs. J. W. Baldridge
132 McCready Avenue
Louisville, Ky (6)

11- Mrs. Ruby Berkeley
1336 Conklin Avenue
Augusta, Ga.

12- Mrs. Edna Bresko
1638 Mt. Vernon Ave.
Petersburg, Va.

13- Mrs. Katie Bridges
406 East Street
Koscrusko, Miss.

14- Mrs. Isabelle Brooks
126 Chappel Rd. N.W.
Atlanta 14, Ga.

15- Mrs. W. G. Byers
1015 E. 10th Ave
Pine Bluff, Ark.

16- Mrs. E. Thelma Cahill
194 Asheland Avenue
Asheville, N.C.

17- Mrs. Jules L. Cahn'
3 Versailles Blvd.
New Orleans 25, La.

18- Mrs. Clayton Calhoun [redacted]
Paine College
Augusta, Ga.

19- Mrs. J. Carl Campbell
1213 Gartland Avenue
Nashville 6, Tennessee

20- Mrs, O.P. Captain
206 S. Blake
Lake Charles, La.

21- Mrs. John Carrell
11 Demorest Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

22- Mrs. P. M. Carter
504 Garfield St.
Clarksdale, Miss.

23- Mrs. D. L. Chisholm
P. O. Box 326
Walterboro, S. C.

24- Mrs. Niles C. Clark
Waterloo
South Carolina

25- Mrs/ L. B. Clark
704 E. 32½, Houston, Tex.

26- Mrs. Carl M. Conrad
3839 StateSt. Dr.
New Orleans, La.

27- Mrs. Jas S.Crate
8510 Ferris Drive
Houston 35, Tex

28- Mrs. Charlotte Crawley
715 Furnace Rd.
Harrisonburg, Va.

29- Mrs. Wm. H. Daniels
2829 W. Walnut St.
Louisville 12,KY

30- Miss Elmira R.Dennis
57 Argyle Lane
Asheville. N.C.

31- Mrs. Nellie C. Davis
304½ Reynolds
Evergreen, Ala

32- Mrs. Chas. P. Dawson
275 N. Hubbard Lane
Lousiville 7,Ky.

33- Mrs. Harold T. Dudley
2726 Anderson Dr.
Raleigh, N.C.

34- Mrs. R. R. Eckart
4547 Mark Twain Dr.
New Orleans, 26, La.

35- Mrs. Kyle Engler
836 Highland
Fayetteville, Ark.

36- Miss Harriet Fralix
Box 707
Fayetteville, N. C.

37- Miss Eulalie Ginn
Box 8225 Univ Br.
Miami 46, Fla.

38- Mrs. Thomas P. Green
407 N. Hite Avenue
Louisville 6, Ky.

Mrs. Edna Gray-39
Talladega College
Talladega, Ala.

Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner 40
812 Brookfield Rd.
Richmond 27, Va.

Mrs. M. B. Gaillard 41
601 N. First Street
Birmingham, Ala

Mrs. Manfred J. Gerhardt 42
1903 Kenilworth Blvd.
San Antonio 9, Tex

Mrs. G. W. Hummel-43
105 N. Seminary
Madisonville, Ky.

Mrs. M. A. Horne-44
1467 Trade Street, NW
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Mrs. Mary C. Hunter-45
68 Berkshire Drive
LittleRock, Ark

Mrs. Susie C. Holley-46
429 N. W. 16th Ave
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

Mrs. L. L. Haynes-47
522 Missouri Ave.
Ft. Worth, Tex

Mrs. Charles Henderson 48
4041 N. Walnut Grove, Cir.
Memphis 17, Tenn

Mrs. Della M. Henson-49
527 N. Robinson St.
Phila., 51, Penna.

Mrs. Robert Hunt-50
926 Linda Lou Dr.
San Antonio, Tex

Mrs. T. L. Illery-51
RFD 5, Box 111
Sumter, S. C.

Mrs. E. Johnston Irvin
253 Louise Avenue
Concord, N. C. -52

53-Mrs. Abbie C. Jackson
2303 W. Chestnut St.
Louisville, Ky.

54-Mrs. N. C. Johnson
2291 Bryant Dr.
East Point, Ga.

55-Mrs. A. C. Johnson
766 Covington Ave
Bowling Green, Ky.

56
Mrs. L. L. Jackson
1413 Cleburn Ave
Birmingham, Ala.

57
Mrs. Robert C. Johnson
509 11 Avenue, N.
B'ham, Ala.

58
Mrs. Arthur Keeney
c/o YWCA
Louisville, Ky.

59
Mrs. Alfred Lexow
610 N. 19th Avenue
Hollywood, Florida

60
Mrs. Edward Lantz
1040 Springdale Rd. NE
Atlanta 6, Ga.

61
Mrs. Charles Lloyd
Arogonne, N. C.
YWCA

62
Mrs. Fred Lemmond
521 South Main St.
Salisbury, N. C.

63
Mrs. Henry C. McDowell
6001 N. W. 8th Ave
Miami 37, Fla.

64
Mrs. J. L. McMillian
3679 Poplar Avenue
Memphis 11, Tennessee

65
Mrs. F. J. McGill
2424 Statesville Ave
Charlotte 6, N. C.

66
Mrs. George McCaskey
1526 Second St.
New Orleans 13, La.

67-Mrs. Vivian C. Mason
Recruitment Peace Corps
Washington 25, D. C.

68-Mrs. Lilliam B. Moseley
P. O. Box 5066
Daytona Beach, Fla

69-Mrs. H. D. Moye
211 E. Horne Avenue
Farmville, N. C.

70-Mrs. E. C. Mills
1835 4th Street, N. E.
Winston-Salem, N. C.

71-Mrs. M. C. Merriweather
1029 - 6th Avenue N.
B'ham, Ala.

72-Mrs. Constance H. Moser
Route 2, Box 46-3
Manassas, Virginia

73-Mrs. A. K. Montgomery
P. O. Box 374
Water Valley, Miss.

74-Mrs. Pauline H. Muhleman
871 McCallie Avenue
Chattanooga, Tenn

75-Mrs. T. S. Newbold
304 Charlotte Street
Rocky Mount, N. C.

76-Mrs. Marie M. Penn
Lane College
Jackson, Tennessee

77-Mrs. A. L. Parker
1710 W. Market
Greensboro, N. C.

78-Mrs. Ben Russell
824 Tusculum Blvd.
Greenville, Tennessee

79
Mrs. Albert Roberts
1402 Hawkins Street
Nashville, Tenn

80
Mrs. E. U. Robinson
P. O. Box 140
Lebanon, Tennessee

Mrs. J. Ward Rees
Millersburg, Ky-81

Mrs. T. M. Richards, Jr.
721 Kamga Drive-82
West Palm Beach, Fa.

Mrs. Miriam J. Robinson
301 Hillsboro Street
Raleigh, N. C.-83

Mrs. Blanche Love Stacks
2308 - 6th Street
Clarksdale, Miss.-84

Mrs. Ralph S. Smith
21 Malone Circle-85
Florence, Alabama

Mrs. Moreland Smith-86
3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery, Ala,

Mrs. LeeRoy Smith
Newnan, Georgia-87

Mrs. Cecilia Shepard
Paine College -88
Augusta, Georgia

Mrs. E. L. Simon
67 Ashby Street, SW
Atlanta 14, Ga. -89

Mrs. Sadie Shannon
1016 Abbot Court
Baltimore, Md.-90

Mrs. Wallis I. Schutt
955 Pecan Blvd/
Jackson 3, Miss.-91

Mrs. Julius H. Smith
1143 N. Windomere
Dallas 8, Texas -92

Mrs. G. A. Sewell
74 Ashby Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Ga. -93

Mrs. Edward L. Smith
4702 Leona Street
Tampa 9, Fla. -94

Mrs. Eleanor H. Smith
Kingston, North Carolina
95

Mrs. Addie M. Thomas
646 So. 21st Street
Louisville 3, Ky. 96

Mrs. D. R. Thurman
2712 Hiola Street
Miami, Florida 97

Mrs. J. C. Woods
223 Deaderick Ave
Knoxville, Tenn .98

Mrs. Bess B. Walcott
Box 40
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama 99

100 Mrs. Horace W. Williams
1903 Lombardy Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Mrs. Thelma Anderson Wills
1709 Villa Place 101
Nashville, Tenn

Mrs. Charles E. White
2209 Southmore Boulevard
Houston 4, Texas 102

Mrs. Margaret S. Wallace
7412 Rhodes 103
Chicago 19, Illinois

Mrs. Mary W. Wynn
810 Benbow Road 104
Greensboro, N. C.

Mrs. Geraldine White
Clarksdale, Miss 105
Box 795

Miss Mary Lena Wisehart
25 West Villa Place
Ft. Thomas, Ky. 106

Mrs. Clara L.Woodruff
1218 Myrtle Ave
Danville, Va. 107

Mrs. Mayme E. Williams
1200 N. W. 6th Ave
Miami 36, Fla. 108

Mrs. Mary C. Willis
2170 - 32nd Ave. N.
St. Petersburg 13, Fla.
109

Mrs. C. G. Washington
1216 N. 8th Street -110
Ft. Smith, Arkansas

Mrs. Lena E. White
214 Echols Street
Greenville, S. C. -111

Mrs. L. Wilson York
341 Ross Street -112
Danville, Virginia

Mrs. Clifford Durr
2 Felder Avenue -113
Montgomery, Alabama

Mrs. E. T. Woods
940 4th Street North -114
B'ham, Alabama

Mrs. Stanley Harris -115

Mrs. Sylvan Fisher - 116

Mrs. Thelma Williams
15 - 10th Court N. -117
B'ham, Alabama (4)

Mrs. Fred Hirsch
Atlanta, Ga. -118

Mrs. Ben Milner
58 Sheridan Plance, N.E.-119
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. C. J. Murphy -120
2628 Arlene Way, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Robert Wilcox
16 Minnekahada -121
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Mrs. Robert Hunt -122

Mrs. C. M. Lancaster -123

Mrs. Neva J. Dennis - 124

Mrs. Van Enloe -125

Mrs. Arthur Plunkett 126
2801 Charlotte Lane,
Fort Smith, Arkanaas

Mrs. R. K. M. Patterson
5100 Riverside Drive
Richmond, Virginia 127

Mrs. C. M. Weston
2052 Edinburgh Terr.
Atlanta 7, Ga. 128

~~XXXX

Mrs. Adolph Botnick 173
2427 B. Moosge Ct. NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dow Kirkpatrick 174

Euguen Patterson - 175

Dr. Lincoln
Clark College 176
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. A. Siegel
2812 Ridge Valley Road - 177
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. B. E. Mays
~~Mrs~~ 820 Fair St.SW - 178
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Thelma Stevens 179

Mrs. Vivian Birhnorm - 180

Mrs. Augustine M. St. Cyr - 181

Mrs. Dana C. Sherman - 182
Norfolk, Virginia

~~MrxxxRaul~~
Mrs. Carriellen Bales 183
Greensboro, N. C.

Mrs. D. R. Freeman
Knoxville, Tennessee 184

Mrs. J. A. Lovington
Roanoke, Va. 185

Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen 186
1197 Fountain Drive
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Bess B. Waller
Tuskegee Inst., Ala. 187

Mrs. William Green 188
U.C.W. Atlanta, Ga.

189

Mrs. C. B. Christian
503 So. 5th Avenue
Laurel, Miss.

6 students
195

Miss Ruby Bentley
Director
Bethlehem Center
1336 Conklin Ave
Augusta, Ga.

PERSONS ACCEPTED INVITATION TO ATTEND THE FOC - Nov. 6-7, 1961

[redacted]

WOMEN'S SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE: THE METHODIST CHURCH

1. Mrs. Thomas M. Richards
721 Ksnuga Drive
West Palm Beach, Fa.

2. Mrs. Broughton Hutchins(Christine)
1508 Watauga Street
Kingsport, Tennessee

3. Mrs. J. Ward Rees (Virginia)
Millersburg, Kentucky

4. MRS. Ralph Smith (Eleanor)
21 Malone Circle
Florence, Alabama

5. Mrs. E. Clayton Calhoun(Frankie)
1235 Fifteenth Street
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

6. ~~Mrs. H. S. Howie (Ann)~~
~~110 Argonne Drive~~
~~Greenville, S. C.~~

7. Mrs. C. W. Greenlee
2224 Florida Ave.
Savannah, Ga.

8. Mrs. Albert Roberts
1402 Hawkins Street
Nashville 4, Tenn.

9. Mrs. Horace Williams(Agnes)
1903 Lombardy Lane
Nashville, Tennessee

10. Miss Pauline Miller
104 Parker Road
Oak Ridge, Tennessee

11. Mrs. Desna Armstrong
446 N. Main Street
Henderson, Ky.

12. Mrs. J. M. Carraway
Farmville, North Carolina

13. Miss Kathleen Eidson
2410 Sewell Road, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

14. Mrs. J. Carl Campbell
1312 Gartland Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

15. Mrs. Harriet Fralix
P. O. Box 707
Fayetteville, North Carolina

16. Mrs. Fred Lemmond
521 South Main Street
Laurinburg, North Carolina

17. Mrs. Robert Wilcox
16 Minnekahda Place
Chattanooga 5, Tennessee

18. Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner
8213 Brookfield
Richmond, Virginia

19. Mrs. Niles Clark
Waterloo, S. C.

20. Mrs. Charles M. Henderson
4041 Walnut Grove Circle
Memphis 17, Tennessee

21. Mrs. Nellie C. Davis
304½ Reynolds Avenue
Evergreen, Alabama

22. Mrs. E. C. Mills
1835 4th Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

23. Mrs. L. L. Haynes
522 Missouri Avenue
Fort Worth, Texas

24. Mrs Paul Powell(Chauncey)
3622 West Broadway
Louisville, Ky.

25. Mrs. W. A. Bales(Carrieleen)
817 North Eugene Street
Greensboro, North Carolina

26. Mrs. C. G. Washington
1216 N. 8th Street
Fort Smith, Arkansas

27. Mrs. Maggie Fleshman
1124 Greenbrier Street
Bluefield, West Virginia

28. Mrs. T. S. Newbold(Helen)
304 Charlotte Street
Rocky Mount, N. C.

29. Mrs. Margaret Wallace
7412 Rhodes Avenue,
Chicago 19, Illinois

30. Mrs. C. B. Christian
503 So. 5th Avenue
Lauren, Misxissippi

31. Mrs. Kyle Engler(Thelma
836 Highland
Fayetteville, Arkansas

32. Mrs. William Green
1846 Ardmore Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

PERSONS ACCEPTED A INVITATION FOR FOC ON NOVEMBER 6-7, 1961

U.S. PRESBYTERIAN WOMEN (South)

~~MrXXXXX~~

1. Mrs. Julius H. Smith
   1143 N. Windomere
   Dallas 8, Texas

2. Mrs. Martha M. Baldridge
   132 McCready Avenue
   Louisville 6, Kentucky

3. Mrs. D. R. Freeman
   901 Houston Street
   Knoxville 14, Tennessee

4. Mrs. Carl Conrad
   3839 State Street Drive
   New Orleans, 25, Louisiana

5. Mrs. R. K. M. Patterson
   5100 Riverside Drive
   Richmond 25, Virginia

6. Mrs. ~~Fred Patterson~~ (Ida)
   ~~223 N. John Wesley Ave. CPK~~ new
   Atlanta, Georgia

~~XXXXXMrsXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

7. Mrs. Anna Beall Cobb
   ~~Mrs. James O. Cobb~~ ucw
   ~~241 Brown Circle~~
   ~~Smyrna, Georgia~~

8. Mrs. Mable C. Morley
   Director, Ed. Leadership Dept.
   Presbyterian Church in U.S.
   341-A Ponce-deLeon Ave.N.E
   Atlanta, Georgia

United Presbyterian Women Leaders - who accepted invitation to attend the Fellowship of the Concerned Nov 6-7, 1961

1. Mrs. Robert Elly UCW
1509 - 29th Street West
B'ham, Alabama

2. ~~Mrs. Ben Russell~~
~~8[illegible] Tusculum Blvd~~
~~Greenville, Tennessee~~

3. Mrs. T. L. Illery
Atlantic Synodical SEA Sec.
Route 5, Box 111
Sumter, S. C.

4. Mrs. Willa Chisolm
Atlantic Presbyterial SEA SEC.
P. O.,Box 326
Walterboro, S. C.

5. Mrs. F. J. McGill
Catawba Presbyterial SEA SEC.
2424 Statesville Avenue
Charlotte, N. C.

6. Miss Mary C. Willis
SW Florida Presby SEA SEC.
2170 - 32nd Avenue, North
St. Petersburg, Florida

7. Mrs. Mary W, Wynn
810 Benbow Road
Greensboro, North Carolina

8. Mrs. Robert [illegible]

CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTINA WOMEN - FOC, Nov 6 - 7, 1961

1. Mrs. Pauline H. Muhleman
   Bay Shore Drive
   Harrison, Tennessee

United CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY - FOC- Nov. 6 - 7, 1961

1. Mrs. Joseph B. Hunter
68 berkshire Drive
Little Rock, Arkansas

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

2. Mrs. Eleanor Smith
Box 1341 K
Kinston, N. C.

3. Mrs. Warren G. Birnbaum
2200 Monument Avenue
Richmond 20, Virginia

4.

NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTIONWOMEN - FOC, November 6 - 7, 1961

1. Mrs. Marjorie B. Gailliard
601 N. First Street
Birmingham, Alabama

2. Mrs. Susie Holley
429 N. W. 16th Street
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.

3. Mrs. J. C. Woods
223 Deaderick Avenue
Knoxville 16, Tennessee

4. Mrs. M. A. Horne
1467 N. Trade Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

5. Mrs. O. P. Captain
206 S. Blake Street
St. Charles, Louisiana

6. Mrs. Addie M. Thomas
646 S. 21st Street
Louisville, Ky.

7. Mrs. Rebekah J. Calloway
2916 Edgeway
Ridhmond 2, Virginia

8. Mrs. P. M. Carter
504 Garfield Street
Clarksdale, Mississippi

JEWISH WOMEN WHO ACCEPTED THE INVITATION TO ATTEND THE FOC, NOV. 6-7,1961

1. Mrs. Stanley Harris
   790 Briarpark Court, NE
   Atlanta 6, Georgia

2. Mrs. Nathan Krumbein
   17 Oak Lane
   Richmond, Virginia

3. Mrs. Adolph Botnick
   2010 Evergreen Lane
   Hattiesburg, Mississippi

4. Mrs. Charles Wilen (I.)
   Counselor of Atl. Council B'nai B'rith
   Women
   915 Berkshire Road, N. E.
   Atlanta, Georgia

101

y.

Y. W. C. A. FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED - NOVEMBER 6-7, 1961

1. Mrs. Clara L. Woodruff
   1218 Myrtle Avenue
   Danville, Virginia

2. Mrs. J. D. Ashley
   1712 East First Street
   Winston-Salem, North Carolina

3. Mrs. James M. Alexander
   North Carolina, Charlotte

4. Mrs. Monroe T. Gilmour
   Charlotte, North Carolina

5. Mrs. Gayle Rodgers
   President, Charlotte, YWCA
   400 S. Davidson Street
   Charlotte, 6, North Carolina

6. Mrs. J. L. McMillan
   3679 Poplar Avenue
   Memphis 11, Tennessee

7. Mrs. Elouise W. Alston
   1016 S. 43rd Street
   Lousiville, Kentucky

8. Mrs. L. Wilson York
   341 Ross Street
   Danville, Virginia

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN, WHO ACCEPTED INVITATION TO ATTEND THE FOC
ON NOVEMBER 6 - 7, 1961

1. Mrs. W. E. Thrasher
10 S. W. 12th Street
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

2. Mrs. Ben Milner
58 Sheridan Drive
Atlanta 5, Georgia

3. Mrs. A. C. Johnson
766 Covington Ave.

4. Mrs. Jimmie Simmons,
659 McCormick Street
Shreveport, La.

5. Mrs. J. Dudley
2726 Anderson Drive
Raleigh, N. C.

6. Mrs. Harold Timmerman
1002 Fairfield Ave.
North Augusta, S.C.

7. Mrs. H. Olin Troy
3708 Mayfield Drive
Knoxville 18, Tennessee

8. Mrs. Manfred Gerhardt
1903 Kenilworth
San Antonia, Texas

9. Mrs. Carl L. Moser
Route 2, - Box 46-3
Manassas, Virginia

10. Mrs. C. M. Weston
2052 Edinburgh Terrace
Atlanta, Georgia

11. Miss Mary L. Wisehart
25 West Villa Place
Fort Thomas, Ky.

12. Mrs. Ruth Wilson
1119 Harvey Street
Raleigh, N. C.

13. Mrs. L. G. M. Smythe
10 Belons Alley
Charleston, S. C.

14. Mrs. Ben Russell
624 Tusculum Road
Greenville, Tennessee

15. Mrs. Warren E. Besselieu
1527 Lullwood
San Antonio, Texas

16. Mrs. Charlotte Crawley
715 Furnace Road
Harrisonburg, Virginia(Sub)

17. Mrs. David D. Baker
Program -Co-ordinator
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

18. Mrs. David Anderson
5000 - 14th Avenue, N.
St. Petersburg, Fla.

19 Miss Annie Tait Jenkins
512 Clairmont Avenue
Decatur, Georgia

20. Mrs. Fred Patterson (I)
225 W. John Wesley Ave. CPk
Atlanta, Georgia

21. Mrs. James O. Cobb(Anna Beall)
241 Brown Circle
Smyrna, Georgia

22. Mrs. Van P. Enloe
31 South Prado, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

23. Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen
1197 Fountain Drive. S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

24. Mrs. R. R. Eckart
4547 Mark Twain Drive
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

25. Mrs. C. M. Lancaster
992 Cumberland Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

PERSONS ACCEPTED INVITATION TO ATTEND THE FOC - NOV. 6-7,1961

CME CHURCH WOMEN

1. Mrs. A. M. Montgomery
Water Valley, Mississippi

2. Mrs. Willie Williams
828 W. 39th Street
Savannah, Georgia

3. Mrs. E. T. Woods
940 4th Street, N.
Birmingham, Alabama

4. Mrs. L. B. Clark
704 E. 32½ Street
Houston, Texas

5. Mrs. Neva J. Dennis
530 So. Jones Street
Elberton, Georgia

6. Mrs. Marie Penn
Dean of Women
Lane College
Jackson, Tennessee

Mrs. Thomas P. Greene
407 North Hite Avenue
Lousiville 6, Ky.

Miss Vivian C. Mason
Asst. for Women's Activities and
Ethnic Groups
PEACE CORPS
Washington 25, D. C.

Miss E. R. Dennis
57 Argyle Lane
Asheville, North Carolina

Mrs. Arthur Plunkett, Jr.
Fort Smith, Arkansas
2801 Charlotte Lane

Mrs. Wm. H. Daniels(Evabelle)
2829 W. Walnut Street
Louisville 12, Kentucky

Mrs. JOSEPH B. HUNTER
TOUGALOO SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
TOUGALOO, MISSISSIPPI

Nov 8, '21

My dear Mrs. Tilly,

I want to express my gratitude to you for the inspiration of the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned. I am thankful too to the one who gave you my name. I hope I can prove worthy and be able in some small measure to bring better relation among the races.

I think you might be interested in the following. A Negro woman from Ft Smith, Arkansas was my room mate. She had come by train - very poor connections - 27 hours enroute. On the return trip she would have to wait 22 hours in Springfield, Mo for a train. I tried to persuade her to return by plane. Her answer was "I am so happy to be permitted to attend this meet-

ing. I would be willing to make the trip in a covered wagon, spending a week enroute. The whole meeting was an inspiration to all of us.

I am really from Little Rock, Ark., but my husband, though retired, is teaching this year at Tougaloo.

God bless you as you continue your good work.

Sincerely,
Mary C. Hunter

WOMAN'S MISSIONARY UNION OF NORTH CAROLINA

Auxiliary to the Baptist State Convention

MISS MIRIAM J. ROBINSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

301 HILLSBORO RALEIGH

November 8, 1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilley
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

If I had your ability to write perhaps I could adequately express to you on paper my deep gratitude for the abiding blessings of the meeting of the "Fellowship of the Concerned." The program was excellent, but above and beyond the blessing of the information it afforded, I shall be eternally grateful for the actual fellowship of this group and for the quiet inspiration of your beautiful and effective life. I have told the girls in the office here that if my own life does not clearly reflect the treasures that this experience added to my soul there is no hope for me!

Mrs. Parker, our president, and Mrs. M.A. Horne of Winston-Salem, the president of our Negro Baptist women's group, have already talked about how we can make use of this experience by sharing it with our folks here in North Carolina. It is our sincere intention to try next fall to have a similar type of workshop in our state. You may know that it has been our practice for a number of years to have two interracial fellowship meetings annually among the Baptist women of North Carolina, one in the east and one in the western part of our state. These have been growing in attendance and resultant practical value. You and your program committee have given us much to think about in the planning for another year. We will probably be writing you for further suggestions nearer the time for these meetings.

Let me express to you again my deep appreciation for this invitation, for what the meeting did to my heart and soul, and for

what I believe it will continue to do to my mouth and feet and hands and life.

When I wrote you asking for further information as to what this meeting was, you sent me a copy of the proceedings of last year's meeting. I am assuming that similarly the copies of this year's meeting will be distributed to those who attended. I am aware that the glow of it cannot be captured on the printed page. But the practical suggestions offered through the messages will be of great value to us as we try to spread this glow.

Very sincerely yours,

Miriam J. Robinson
pm

MJR:pm

Miriam J. Robinson

DON SELLERS, INC.
871 McCALLIE AVENUE
CHATTANOOGA 3, TENNESSEE
TELEPHONE AM 7-4721

HOME OFFICE
MIDDLETOWN, OHIO

Nov. 9th, 1961.

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

All morning has been spent in re-doing my notes so as to begin presenting them and the message of the workshop to as many people as possible.

I want to thank you again for this meeting and the giving of yourself and the bringing together these wonderful people in such a way. So many that were there for the first time kept saying --"How can I be asked to return".

Mrs. Tilly, out of this workshop there seemed to come a greater conviction and a determined woman-that she will do something when she returns. Too often we stopband do not let God use us--but this seemed different to me and your leadership has born fruit in that it has shown what one small woman can do with God's help.

My thanks to you and all those of your Council Staff for an experience I shall not soon forget. All of my notes I am getting ready for my pastor's wife Mrs. Slater and after going over them we will plan to use them in every way possible in all kinds of groups.

I spoke to Mr. Fillmore and do hope I can get a tape of Dr. King's address but if not I am awaiting the copy.

I thank God for you and may his greatest blessings be yours.

Sincerely,

Pauline H. Muhleman

Pauline H. Muhleman
(Mrs. F.R.)

2170 - 32nd Ave. N.
St. Petersburg 13, Fla.
Nov. 9, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I thanked you in person for inviting me to attend the meetings of the Fellowship of the Concerned, but I want to put it in writing and reiterate what I said to your sec'y. All my life I have had the privilege of attending conferences, institutes, etc. etc. but this is the only one which I think was consistently good from

beginning to end, everything was A #1, most worthwhile and so inspiring. It seems to me it will just have to go on and on in its scope. We who were present can't sit or stand still and just watch, we must tell others and act, influence others to act. My special area in our Presbyterial is Social Education and Action. Our topic this fall was, "God's people in God's World," so like the Fellowship of the Concerned! Again thanks. God bless you!

Sincerely, Mary C. Willis

Christian Women's Fellowship of Ky.

Mrs. Newton B. Fowler

115 South Grand Avenue, Fort Thomas, Kentucky

Friday, Nov 10

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I wish to thank you for the wonderful experience I had in attending the workshop of "The Fellowship of the Concerned".

It surpassed all my expectations. The splendid program, the fellowship, the experience of being with, meeting and hearing those of other faiths, other races, was a rare opportunity.

Please thank your own staff and all those who had any part in the planning for me. Personally, my best wishes to you and sincere thanks.

Nancy C. Fowler, Pres. of Ky - C. W. F

Miss Ruth C. Wilson
1121 ~~1119~~ Harvey Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

November 10, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. TillY;

I wish to apologize for any confusing in your plans that I caused in any way in connection with asking you to take Mrs. D. M. Jarnagin of Raleigh on expense account in lieu ~~of~~ my expense account,etc. I wanted Mrs. Jarnagin to have the experience so very much and I surely didn't want to miss it this year that I was quite willing to pay both of our expenses, if necessary. Miss Eleanor French and I, however, worked out another plan by which Mrs. Jarnagin's expenses could be paid, so I am enclosing expense requisition for my plane fare with explanation on the bottom of it.

I thought last year's program was excellent, but it seemed to me that this year's program was most excellent. I thought the spirit prevailing there was indeed a great experience for us all. I have one suggestion for improvement, however, for next year! That is: a public address system be provided so that all may have "the gems of wisdom and beauty" of your voice as well as the radiance of your lovely spirit.

I want to thank you, too, for inviting ~~more of~~ our State Southern Baptist leaders: Mrs. A.L. Parker, Miss Miriam Robinson and Mrs. M. A. Horne. I have long been identified with the work of United Church Women and was so pleased and grateful that they asked me there during the coffee break on Tuesday morning how they could become members. The association and experience there will mean a great deal in ways we will find to work together to make more real "The Kingdom without Frontiers" or barriers.

I hope you are fast recuperating from the headaches that attend ~~xxxx~~ preparations for such meetings and will now enjoy a much earned rest. We will employ the fruits of your labor in many ways and hope you will feel the rewards as we do so.

Cordially yours,

Ruth C. Wilson

Mrs. Charles C. Alford
714 North President St., Apt. B
Jackson 2, Mississippi Atlanta - Ga.
Nov. 11. 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

To my face red! When looking thru material to share with my leaders this A.M. I find this blue sheet which I forgot to turn in. Please excuse me. Just guess I was so carried away with the excellent speakers you brought together for this "Fellowship of the Concerned" that I couldn't get down to earth and do the part I personally was supposed to do.

For truly it was another "mountain top" experience in my life. Would I felt that I could make some viable advance in my State because of the experience! But this I do know some of us plant and others water and then God will give the increase. I shall continue to plant and help water and pray for God's promised increase.

Thank you again for inviting me to attend and for continuing to offer help to us in Mississippi. I do feel encouraged because of our recent meeting together at Greenside.

I trust the steering committee's meeting Jackson yesterday was successful in forming some sort of structure around and through which we can work for better race relations in our state, which we all have so much the at times grave weary of being constantly on the defensive about! (Poor sentence but you know what I mean!)

Again it was good to have been here. Thanks for making it possible.

Most sincerely

Helene G. Alford

Mrs. Charles M. Henderson
4041 North Walnut Grove Circle
Memphis 17, Tennessee

Nov. 11-1961

Dear Mrs. Jetley -

Again I want to thank you for having the privilege of being a part of your meeting this last week. Not since my four years as Tennessee president of United Church Women had I attended these work groups. This was the finest and best of all.

Since now I am a member of the Department of Christian Social Relations I am very sure I was better prepared to evaluate such planning and thinking. Too seven years on our Yr Board - 2 as president - working constantly on our inclusive policy has made me realize more and more the necessity of such a program.

For many years you have led the women of the South in inter-racial work and results are surely seen in many places. May you have many, many more years of service!

Again a sincere thank you!

Cordially,

Mary Henderson

(Mrs. Charles M.)

504 Garfield Street
Clarksdale, Mississippi
November 11th, 1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Accept my thanks to you for a very enjoyable meeting. I was deeply touched by the friendilyness of the friends I met there.

The aspiration and information of the speakers gave a greater determination and courage to face the evil forces here. Though PRAYER we shall over come.

The Lord Bless and keep you.

Sincerely yours,
P. M. Carter
P.M.Carter

Lincoln Leadership School of Christian Service

Madisonville, Ky., Nov. 13, 1961 -

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

(Foc) CR 11/15/61, RHA. Enclosed is a check for $14.00, a refund on my travel expense to Atlanta. When I turned in my expense account, I meant to come back Pullman; but instead, I came Day Coach, which made my expense less than I thought it would be for the return trip.

Your meeting was the best ever, I believe. It is good and heartening to know that there are those quietly at work in helping to solve some of our problems.

My best love to you -

Lovingly Pearl C. Hummel -

United Church Women

of Tennessee

3709 Mayfield Drive
Knoxville 18, Tenn.
November 14, 1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

May I take just one moment of your time to say " thank you " again for the high moments of fellowship and inspiration which we were privileged to enjoy last week during the Fellowship of the Concerned. This was the second time I have attended....and for me it was truly packed with both information and real spiritual help to go out and do things in our ASSIGNMENT: RACE.

I realize that not all who attended were focussed on this particular project of United Church Women ....yet the unity of the program and purpose behind all our sessions led directly into the action which we all hope will result. Thank you for the wonderful planning and careful work which made the two days full of meaning for each of us. Your staff were so efficient and I was amazed at the way such a large group could be handled, moved about , fed and kept so comfortable and Happy !

with deep appreciation for all you do,

cordially,

Jean Troy
Mrs. H.Olin Troy

Christian Women . . . United and Dedicated . . . Change The World

2170-32nd. Ave. N.
St. Petersburg 13, Fla.
Nov. 14, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly -

You certainly did have a good workshop and with such nice people. I want you to know that I appreciate your letting me attend your meetings and for my meals while in Atlanta. All your speakers were inspirational - There is so much to be done and I feel so helpless - our church is open to the Negro - but none attend Service tho they do attend meetings at various times. In my home town in Penn we were integrated in schools but

they prefer their own church but united in special meetings. I believe that is true here.

Thank you again for letting me share your meetings. I was with Miss Mary C. Willis.

Yours truly

Christina Baldwin

MERRY-GO-ROUND This appeared in our St. Petersburg Times

Postman Case May Affect New Jersey Election

By DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON — A Negro letter carrier in Savannah, Ga., may tip the scales in the election of the governor of New Jersey today.

There's a twofold lesson to be learned from this long - distance piece of politics: 1. Names mean a lot on election day; 2. The NAACP has cultivated the habit of kicking its best friends in the teeth.

The case of W. W. Law, the Savannah postman who spearheads the NAACP in that area, and the manner in which he was almost, but not quite, ousted from the postal service, is already pretty well known around the U.S.A. What isn't well known is the political reverberations it has caused in New Jersey and the manner in which the NAACP has been drubbing the man who has given a better break to Negro postmen than any other postmaster general in history.

THE WHOLE inside story is an interesting lesson in how to chastise your friends and how to win elections.

It so happens that Postmaster General J. Edward Day had made a Negro, Herbert Waddy, assistant postmaster of Washington, D.C., for the first time a Negro has held such a high post in history. He also has made a Negro, Christopher Scott, deputy assistant postmaster general for the first time in history. Scott, with a salary of $18,500 is one of the highest paid government servants below cabinet status.

DAY ALSO HAS made Henry McGee, another Negro, personnel director for the Chicago area, the highest position ever held by a Negro in the postal field service.

Day also has made a Negro, Mrs. James Avery, postmaster of a first class post office — in Pacoima, Calif. — for the first time in history. There are about 10,000 first class post offices in the United States but no Negro in 185 years has ever held one of these jobs until Day appointed Mrs. Avery.

The Country Parson

"If we prize our liberty, we'd better learn to love others — because you can't have one without the other."

Send 50 cents to Country Parson, c-o St. Petersburg Times, for a new booklet containing a collection of gems and wit from his column.

FINALLY, the Postmaster General has appointed Henry Dickson, a Negro, as employe relations officer in Washington and has given freer opportunity for Negroes to be promoted to supervisory positions in the postal service.

However, when he goofed in regard to the Savannah letter carrier, W. W. Law, the full publicity force of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was leveled against him, and Clarence Mitchell, Washington representative of the NAACP, has been busy kicking the shins of the most friendly postmaster general the Negro has ever had.

THIS IS WHERE the New Jersey election comes into the picture. It so happens that the candidate running for governor on the Republican ticket is James Mitchell, former Secretary of Labor. The name of the NAACP representative in Washington also is Mitchell. Names in politics are easily confused — as for example the treasurer of Massachusetts named Kennedy, who coasted to victory on the name of the President, and as per example Congressman Don Magnuson in Washington who coasted home on the popularity of Sen. Warren Magnuson.

Sen. Clifford Case, Republican of New Jersey, a good public servant, but not one to miss a political trick, has been holding press conferences in his office with Clarence Mitchell — of the NAACP — not ex-Secretary of Labor Mitchell. He has used these press conferences to sound off against the Kennedy Administration and Postmaster General Day, thereby helping another Mitchell in New Jersey.

THIS HAS MADE headline news in the Negro press; and the Negro vote is important in New Jersey. It gave Kennedy the margin of votes he needed to carry that state in 1960.

But this year, thanks to a Negro letter carrier in Savannah, the ingratitude of the NAACP, confusion over the name Mitchell, and the astute politics of Sen. Case, it's expected that the Negro vote in New Jersey will go for Mitchell. This despite the fact that Mitchell, when Secretary of Labor, ousted the first Negro to hold Little Cabinet rank, J. Ernest Wilkins, in order to make room for the handsome son of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge.

NOTE — The mistake which Postmaster General Day made in Savannah was in not firing postman Law outright. Law had a bad record and the regional postal director recommended his dismissal. This was overruled by the Appeals Board, two to three, two of the three being Negroes. Day upheld the board, but issued an equivocal statement.

✓ ✓ ✓

Jackie Kennedy, the elegant young First Lady, doesn't seem to take her husband's advice to heart. The President has been earnestly counseling that every act of Americans echoes across the world.

Last week Mrs. Kennedy created bad echoes for Uncle Sam and burned up a good many American women.

SOME 700 Washington women, ranging from professional women to housewives, school girls to grandmothers, marched to the White House to present Mrs. Kennedy a plea for both the United States and Russia to halt the nuclear bomb race. Jackie was too busy to see them, and even her social secretary, Tish Baldridge, was "too busy." So a petition bearing the names of some 1,000 women had to be left with Sgt. John Robbins, a guard at the White House gate.

In contrast, the Russian embassy rolled out the red carpet when the peace marchers came to present their petition. The petition was chiefly aimed at Khrushchev and his testing of the 50 - megaton bomb. But three Soviet embassy officials, two of them women, met the American women, talked with them for 45 minutes.

In Moscow earlier, Mrs. Khrushchev invited American peace marchers for tea.

This story already has hit the newspapers of neutral nations, which have commented on the "haughty indifference" of America's First Lady.

Laurinburg, N. C.
November 14, 1961.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I want to thank you again personally, and through you all of your associates at the Southern Regional Council, for the privilege of being present at the workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned this past Monday and Tuesday. It was a most rewarding experience for me, one which I shall not forget.

My brother, Dr. Charles S. McCoy of the Pacific School of Religion, has for many years been interested in groups which are trying to bring about better understanding and cooperation between the races. I have heard a great deal from him about the Southern Regional Council and its work, and it was a real pleasure to be able to attend one of your workshops. I only hope I may be able to put into practice some of the ideas and suggestions made there.

Very sincerely,

Rosemary M. Lemmond

Rosemary M. Lemmond

rl

Mrs. Fred Lemmond
521 South Main Street
Laurinburg, N. C.

united church women

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

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CHAIRMAN

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GENERAL DIRECTOR

November 15, 1961

rec'd
11/20/61

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I have thought of the Atlanta experience so constantly since returning. The meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned certainly reached a new high level. The panel on Monday morning has become my"picture of perfection" which I shall never forget. And to have both Dr. King and his wife with us in itself was worth the entire experience. We are once more very much indebted to you for another memorable meeting.

Our UCW sessions made possible because of the numbers of us you had already brought into one place was also very significant. The fact that all twelve states were represented and all but two or three were interracial in representation provided the basis for what, I am sure, was a unique and significant experience. We all feel that Assignment: RACE has really been accepted by this group, and the first steps toward its interpretation and the working out of its implications have been taken.

I enclose my expenses for the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned. If, by any chance, I am not supposed to be included among those whose expenses were provided, I know you will feel completely free to tell me.

I know you will let me know how you came out with your medical examination, and I do so hope everything is all right.

This brings you my love and continued gratitude.

Cordially,

Eleanor (S)

Eleanor French
Director
Christian Social Relations

EF:as
enc.

EXPENSE ACCOUNT

Fellowship of the Concerned
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Date: Nov. 15, 1961

TRAVEL (Type of transportation & destination)

Air - Eastern Airlines - New York City

to Atlanta, Geoggia and return

(auto @ .08 per mile) $ $106.04

TAXICABS & LIMOUSINE, ETC. $ 8.00

HOTEL (dates & places)

$

MEALS

Lunch

$ 1.25

OTHER EXPENSES (Itemize) porter 1.50

$

TOTAL $ 116.79

LESS ADVANCE $

TOTAL DUE $ 116.79

Signed Eleanor French Address 475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

Date & Nov. 5 - 9, 1961
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2819 CHESTNUT, WILMINGTON

MRS. LEE BLACKWELL, No. IV
214 PINE CIRCLE, GOLDSBORO

November 15, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

Thank you so much for inviting me to attend the Meeting of the Fellowship of the Concern - I thought the meeting last year was most provocative, but the one this year, it seemed to me, to be even finer than last year for the participation and spirit of the women privileged to attend was excellent. Already we in North Carolina, the three representing United Church Women, are planning to put into action as soon as possible some of the pertinent issues we discussed at

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the Atlanta meetings.

I apologize for not following your rules when I submitted my expense account. I did not know when I handed in my expenses to your Secretary Tuesday morning that I should not have paid my hotel bill at the Piedmont, but should have signed for the room expenses. The reason that I paid the bill was that I requested the desk clerk to give me an inside single room (I have not been too well this past month) rather than room with some one else. I told him I would

pay the difference for the single room as, of course, you had placed me in a double room. He told me the difference would be a dollar and a quarter for each of the two nights. (The third night was for the extra meeting for the State Presidents, which I attended.)

I hope you will accept my apology when you consider my expenses. If it has conflicted with your rules I will pay for the two nights and let your office just pay for my transportation and meals.

May God continue to bless you in your great work.

Sincerely,

Ruth Dudley

President WCTU of North Carolina

November 17, 1961

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

We, of the Southern Regional Council, think very highly of Mr. Slyvan Meyer. I am sure you know he heads Georgia State Advisory Committee on Civil Rights.

His paper, "The Gainesville Daily Times," stands forthrightly for equal rights for all people. Mr. Meyer is fearless, factual, and sincere in what he says through his paper and when he speaks to groups.

It would be a loss to us for him to leave the South, but at the same time he might be able to exert a wider influence if he becomes director of the Union.

I agree, anyone who follows Mr. Malin has to be a superperson. I believe Mr. Meyer would measure up.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

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November 10, 1961

Mrs. Dorothy Tilly
1013 Highland View, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am asked to inquire of you concerning Sylvan Meyer of Gainesville, a member of our National Committee who might be considered suitable as director of the Union to take Mr. Malin's place next April.

We know something of his record and standing, but we would like to get your judgment as to how suitable he would be, assuming that he would be interested to make the change.

With regards.

Sincerely yours,

Roger Baldwin

Roger N. Baldwin

The
Park Sheraton Hotel
202 76th St W.
May 19

November 17, 1961

Mrs. Gladys J. McGhee
President
Club Rho Nu
Miles College
Birmingham 8, Alabama

Dear Mrs. McGhee:

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's address is: The Park Sheraton Hotel, 202 Fifty-sixth Street, West, New York 19, N. Y., or she may be reached at United Nations.

When you write her, be sure that your president of Miles write her a letter that will reach her on the same day your letter reaches her. I have heard her say that she does not go to colleges unless an invitation comes from the president as well as from the specific group inviting her.

Let me know when you wish me to write her. It should reach her on the day or the day after your letters go.

I certainly hope she will find it possible to be your speaker on April 15th.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

MILES COLLEGE

BIRMINGHAM 8, ALABAMA

November 9, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
Director of Woman Work
Southern Regional Council
No. 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

Rev. L. H. Pitts, President of Miles College was kind enough to give us your name and recommend that we contact you with regard to a program which our organization is interested in presenting.

Club Rho Nu is a selective organization for young ladies on the campus of Miles College. The purpose is to assist, in various ways, in preparing the members, as well as others, to take their rightful place in society.

Each year the club observes what we call "Spring Week" at which time programs of a cultural nature are presented. This year Spring Week will be April 8-15, 1962, and we are desirous of presenting programs which will enhance better human relations in our city. Miles is a four-year liberal arts church related college with an enrollment of over 800 students and we feel that we could do a great deal in the area of human relations and Club Rho Nu wishes to make a start in this direction.

No doubt you have read a great deal concerning the police brutality and similar activities here which are not only a shameful blot on Alabama but on our entire country. We are sending you under separate cover some material which will give you a better insight on this.

For one of our programs, April 15, we would like to bring to our college and city Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Rev. Pitts has informed us that you may be able to intercede with Mrs. Roosevelt for us; explaining to her something of what we are trying to do at Miles College to make our world a better place in which to live; the objectives of Club Rho Nu in its cultural and educational activities; and what it would mean to this entire area to have her appear in Birmingham at this time.

We know, of course, that you are a very busy person but we sincerely hope that you can find the time to assist us with this particular project and please be assured of our profound gratitude for any assistance which you can give us.

Sincerely yours,

Gladys J. McGhee

(Mrs.) Gladys J. McGhee, President

Countess Felder

(Mrs.) Countess Felder, Chairman
Program Committee

Wesley Foundation
UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI • P. O. Box 8225 Coral Gables 46, Florida • MOhawk 1-1695

November 17, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

May I express to you again in writing my deep appreciation for the wonderful experience of meeting with the Fellowship of the Concerned recently in Atlanta. All of the meetings, speeches and discussions were very helpful to me but at the risk of sounding effusive, I must confess that the biggest inspiration to me was observing you in action. I have known of you and known you through many other people down through the years, but to know you personally was worth the trip to Atlanta.

Another interesting detail is that I needed to cash a rather large check in Atlanta since I found that I had only one blank check left and still had several other meetings to attend before getting back to the office. They simply asked me at the hotel if I were a friend of yours and by claiming your friendship they cashed a check for $100.00 without blinking an eye. Thank you for this assistance.

May God continue to bless you and give you strength for the important work you are doing.

Sincerely yours,

Eulalie Ginn
ht.

eg/hjt

Eulalie Ginn

DIRECTORS: EULALIE GINN, ALLAN J. BURRY STUDENT EXECUTIVE OFFICERS: HERB PEREZ, TOM PERKINS, BARBARA FINCH, SANDI FORSYTH

Richmond
Nov. 17, 1961

Dear Mrs Tilley,

Mrs Rebecca Calloway of Va. Union University, my good friend, asked me to write in her behalf concerning her absence last week. She should have notified you — and we both regret that she failed to — but unfortunately her very heavy schedule kept her so involved that she forgot.

Excessive demands are made upon Mrs Calloway's time and energy. And in addition to that not long ago she was called away to consider new duties.

This latter she is not making public yet.

But she is deeply interested in your program and one of the Fellowship of the Concerned in spirit at least. And so am I, though I never hear about the meetings in time.

Both Mrs Calloway and I are working in the Co-Council on Human Relations, with the African Students here, and doing church work. I have been able to give more time this fall to the local and state Councils. And we rejoice in the understanding built up in Richmond. We also go off to Prince Edward to assist in the program for Negro children denied public education.

With best wishes for you
in your splendid work -
Sincerely,
Mary D. Fisch
2938 Northern
Boulevard

MRS. DAVID M. ANDERSON
5000 - 14TH AVENUE NORTH
ST. PETERSBURG 10, FLORIDA

November 18. 1961.

Dear Mrs. Tilly -

It was a very wonderful experience for me to be able to attend the workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta last week, and I do want to say a heartfelt 'thank you' for the privilege of being there.

We are working on our plans for our Florida workshop on March 6th and 7th and have written the denominational presidents giving them the date and place and am getting out a letter to all the local W.C.T.U. Councils in a day or two.

Sincerely yours
Helen Anderson

UN
WE BELIEVE

275 N. Hubbard Lane
Louisville 7 Ky.
Nov. 23-1961

My dear Mrs. Tilley-

To-day is Thanksgiving Day and in counting my many rich blessings. People such as you, make me thankful - because you were so gracious to have included me to be a part of the Southern Regional Council Meeting. That meeting meant more to me than you could ever know. One thing I know, - that it would never have been the Council that it is to-day - had it not been for people like you and your husband; who had their fellow man in heart and mind. How wonderful and how unselfish you have been in this work. You have worked and planned for many years. There is no mistake about it; there are hard things in life. The tests of life are to make - not break us. The blow at the outward man, may be the greatest blessing to the

inner man. If God, then, puts or permits anything hard in our lives, we must be sure that the real trouble, is what we shall lose if we flinch or rebel.

"God gets his best soldiers out of the highlands of affliction".

I thank you for letting me be a small part of your meeting; I thank you for your wonderful Christian Witness in your every day living - I thank you for the inspiration that was mine when I left your City - a wonderful feeling to do more for my fellow man in every way that is possible.

You have done all this for me and I'll try to carry on some thing of what we should all do to make this world a friendly one - One of brotherly love.

For this - I thank you, my dear Mrs. Tilley -

Love -

Mrs. Charles (Posy) Dawson -

November 27, 1961

Dr. Frank Graham
United Nations
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Graham:

I know you must have wondered what has become of me, I rather wonder myself.

First, I held up writing until I could send you the Workshop Program of the Fellowship of the Concerned of the Southern Regional Council, then I really have been sick.

You were wonderful that night at my church - How did you know about the Haygood family from whom our church was named.

You made some telling remarks that sunk home. I have been thanked over and over again for having you for our speaker. One of the men said a week or so afterwards, he was in North Carolina and told some business friends about you and your speech at Haygood. He said his friend replied "Frank Graham is the finest Christian I have ever known."

Thank you for coming to us and a heart full of thanks to you for being my friend. I hope you will have time to look over the Workshop book I am sending under separate cover.

This is the Women's work of the Southern Regional Council - we had 250 women - Jews, Catholics, Protestants - from 12 southern states. We had three times as many Negro than ever came before.

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr. was really our star. She has a wonderfully trained voice and tied the program together with group singing and solos.

Dr. King was magnificent - We had our ten Negro children in the integrated schools at the beginning of our evening session. I know you are interested in all of this.

Best wishes to you and thanks to you from Maygood. Enclosed you will find a check for the amount of your expenses.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

527 N. Robinson St.
Phila. 51, Pa.

Nov. 27th. 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I want to thank you from the very depth of my heart, for the wonderful opportunity you gave me for allowing me to attend, the workshop on "The Fellowship" of the Concerned.

Mrs. Tilly I can't express to you the impact the workshop had on me. As a Christian I have been inspired to try to do more than the little things I have done,

The council and it purposes gave me a new incentive and idea of the power of women who are concerned regardless of their race or creed. All entrested in one thing equal rights and opportunity for all people, as we are all one in our Saviors sight

This is written very crudely however from my heart.

Thank you and all the persons of the Council for hospitality, may the Good Lord ever bless you and all you do for the building of his Kingdom here on the earth.

Since I returned home I have attended "Christian Social Concerns" and "Human Rights" Commissions and told them of my experience Have been asked to give them a more definite report. Is it possible to recieve a copy of Mr. King's + Bishop Smith's addresses? If so I am willing to pay for same.

Thank you again + again for every thing the Check for my expenses

Yours in His Service

C.S.R. Sec. of Wela. Con. W.S.C.S. Nella M. Henson

OFFICERS

MRS. JANIE POE GOODMAN
Recording Secretary
739 Florida Ave.
Sarasota, Florida

MRS. A. O. PARKER
Corresponding Secretary
P. O. Box 1229
Cocoa Florida

MRS. SUSIE C. HOLLEY
President
429 N. W. 16th Avenue
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

MRS. JOSIE Q. JAMES
Treasurer
930 Second Ave.
Daytona Beach, Florida

MRS. TEMPIE FORD
Directress of Youth Work
716 Old Bainbridge Rd.
Tallahassee, Florida

November
27
1961

Mrs. M. M. Tilly
5 Forsythe Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I do want you to know how much I appreciated attending the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta. It was my first experience and I came away with much inspiration and information with a deeper desire to work more ardently in the areas of Human Relations.

Aside from the meeting itself, I learned much about you and your dedication to the work. This means so much to me. I am praying for your added strength and for all of those that you have brought into the fellowship.

May God bless and keep you, giving you added strength for every job you undertake.

Yours with faith,

Susie C. Holley

Susie C. Holley

SCH/s

Wednesday
10 o'clock

[illegible]

November 28, 1961

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Ebenezer Baptist Church
413 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. King:

God was good to me that you could come to us and speak to our Fellowship of the Concerned.

How did you happen to be in Atlanta? How did you find time to come to us? You surely were filled with power from on high as you spoke. We have your speech recorded and it will go out to the women some time soon.

We are so glad you are a resident of Atlanta now. Although we may not see you often as you are away so much, it it good to know you are a fellow-citizen.

I thank you very much for the women who heard you and would like to thank you in person and please accept my heartfelt gratitude for the challenge of your message to all of us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

[redacted]T:nm

Quaker House 1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA, DRAKE 3-7986
ATLANTA MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

November 28, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilley,

How very sweet of you to write me a letter of appreciation for what I was able to do for your Fellowship of the Concerned. I want you to know that it meant a great deal to me to participate in those meetings.

What you have built over the years through the quiet but persistent challenge of your own convictions is really quite extraordinary. It is, I think, a monumental piece of work. It must have been very satisfying to you to have such a fine response in that number of women from all over the South. In particular, I have had personal word from the ladies of Mississippi that they went home with a renewed hope and inspiration.

I too was pleased with the way the transfer students came through for us that night. There was something so warm and appealing about their attitude. It was good to know that a number of the women were deeply touched by this.

I know that your Christmas season will bring mixed feelings to you. You will profoundly miss the companionship of your husband, but you have such great resources of your own that it will yet be a season of joy and gratitude for you.

Mrs. Yungblut sends her affectionate greetings to you.

Faithfully yours,

John Yungblut

November 29, 1961

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
The Temple
1589 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rabbi:

How wonderful it is for me to know you! Much more wonderful it is to me for you to answer my requests when I need you. It gives me such a thrill to have the joy of presenting you to women from twelve Southern States, who come together each fall to study together and seek God's way to build "a Kingdom without Frontiers." I know this is what you are seeking yourself and helping us all along the way. Thank you.

I regret so much that a virus had me in its clutch and I could not be at Glenn Memorial on Thanksgiving Day. I truly wanted to be there. The day was my wedding anniversary - the first one without Mr. Tilly. I know he would have liked for me to have been there.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

November 30, 1961

Mrs. David Anderson
5000 - 14th Avenue, N.
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Mrs. Anderson:

The State Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned should be a "kick-off" time for the greater emphases on race.

I have these suggestions for your program: I told you that I had plenty of covers for your program. The same cover we used November 6-7. The theme could be the same, "One God." If you can get a Rabbi, a Catholic Priest and a Protestant Minister, it would be well.

Better still, have someone who attended the New Delhi World Council of Churches, who went from Florida to speak. It would be wonderful.

One World might be presented by Mrs. Phelps, or some world traveler you know. All of this would be your stepping stone to One People. Then would be the time to speak on the great program of Race that is before us. You could tell yourself what you heard from Miss French and Miss Meares.

This should be the bases for your Workshop. "What and How to Do It.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

December 1, 1961

Miss Eleanor French
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Miss French:

Answering your questions:

1. I had never seen Mrs. Nellie C. Davis of Evergreen, Alabama until she came to us on November 6-7. She is Secretary of Christian Social Relation - Thelma Stevens may know her.

2. Yes, The Fellowship of the Concerned has Workshops in Tennessee, North Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia. We missed South Carolina last year - Florida is the only one sponsored by the United Church Women. We have had them in Texas, but last year I could not go that far from home. Of course, in all of these the new Emphasis on Race will be the basis for the group discussions.

Well, while I thought our November 6-7 experience was great in many ways, I must say that I was amazed at the attendance. The expenses were $3,000 more than we had before. We most certainly have to have fewer people next year.

If you could possibly, in your budget find enough to cover your expenses it would help. You were one of the real workers and carried responsibility - and this request is awful. I have written to Mrs. Anderson and gave her an outline. What she will do with it I do not know. I think she will have a good attendance though.

Georgia is not facing the new program very well. Assignment - Race. I suppose you know this. I certainly appreciate your evaluation of the Workshop.

We are trying to have an album of letters about November 6-7, to present to Foundations for Funds, for next year. However, very few letters have come in. Can you in any way push your group on this. They do owe the Southern Regional Council for the trip if for nothing else.

Please, if you do write them, I know you will not let them know I have asked you. You know the way to foundations.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

December 1, 1961
646 South 21 st Street
Louisville 3, Kentucky

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

As we enter the Christmas Season, and think of all the goodness of our Heavenly Father. I pause a moment to thank a perious Little Christian woman whose heart is full of love and devotion for all people. To tell her how delighted I am to have been chosen as one to attend the Southern Regional Council, on the Fellowship concerned.

The conference was wonderful. I am very greatful to you for inviting me.

May God's richest Blessings ever be with you.

Sincerely yours,
Addie M. Thomas
Mrs. Addie M. Thomas

Women of the Church

Synod of North Carolina

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

253 Louise Avenue
Concord, North Carolina
December 13, 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

This is a late, but nonethe-less sincere, note to tell you that I do thank you for inviting me to the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned the first of November. It was a most unusual experience for me and a most rewarding one, also. It was a real awakening to me. I hope that I shall be able to live and witness according to the ideals set forth in this Workshop.

Thank you again for this privilege.

Yours very truly,
Marguerite P. Irvin
Mrs. E. Johnston Irvin

December 29.

Dear Mrs Ficley.

This is a cold day, with a bit of a trace of snow, here in Louisville, Kentucky, but memories of the warmth of our meeting in Atlanta are still sending thrills up my spine. I've told my friends of the very fine meeting and at our Women of the Church meeting I was asked to have the devotional using James 2:1-14. That gave me the opportunity to tell several stories and experience we had in Atlanta. May the value of the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned

continue to grow.

And since you are to be still for a few weeks you can plan the best program "ever" for 1962. Of course, we are all sorry of your accident but the Lord has a reason. That reason you may see now or later. My prayers will be with you.

I'm "tending" my year old twin grandsons while their Mother shops. To me, of course, they are very precious.

Your well wisher

Martha Mae Balandge

(Mrs. J.W.)

December 29, 1961

Mrs. George Ray Mitchell
3986 Club Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Mitchell:

We are thinking of brotherhood week - the last week in February, and need your help and cooperation.

Therefore, we are asking you to come to my house on January 5th, at 1:00 O'clock. My address is 1013 Highland View, N. E. (Highland View runs off of Highland Avenue, and is between Ponce de Leon and Virginia Avenue. It is a short street that does not go through, but begins at Highland Avenue.) It is the fifth house from Highland Avenue, you will see a colonial type house, brown with yellow trim, that is my bungalow. You will also see some chairs turned down on the porch, stumble over them and come on in. I broke my hip before I could bet them stored.

This will be a brunch as well as a planning meeting. A brunch does not mean much food, but there will be something.

My best wishes to you and yours for a most successful and happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

December 29, 1961

Mrs. M. L. King, Jr.
Ebenezer Baptist Church
413 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. King:

We are thinking of brotherhood week - the last week in February, and need your help and cooperation.

Therefore, we are asking you to come to my house on January 5th, at 1:00 Oclock. My address is 1013 Highland View, N. E. (Highland View runs off of Highland Avenue, and is between Ponce de Leon and Virginia Avenue. It does not go through, but begins at Highland Avenue.) It is the fifth house from Highland Avenue, you will see a colonial type house, brown with yellow trim, that is my bungalow. You will also see some chairs turned down on the porch, just stumble over them and come on in. I broke my hip before I could get them stored.

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My best wishes to you and yours for a successful and most happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

December 29, 1961

Dr. James Brawley
President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Brawley:

I hope you have been so busy that you have not remembered that I have not thanked you for all of your graciousness and courteousness shown at Clark College.

It was really a great great contribution that you made to the Southern Regional Council and the Southern Women that are trying to make out South what it should be.

I have a vain pride that we all are in the same church, and like to boast about it.

My best wishes to you and your wife for a successful and happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

December 29, 1961

Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen
1197 Fountain Drive, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Bowen:

I have a pain in my conscious that shoots terribly bad every once in a while, because I have not written to thank you for the wonderful dinner, and your being such a marvelous hostess, at the beginning of the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop.

I never saw such a happy group, nor such a wonderful hostess.

I am dictating this letter from my home, due to the fact that I fell and broke my hip on the 10th of December.

My best wishes to you and yours for a successful and happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

December 29, 1961

Mrs. George Gunning
17 Demorest Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Gunning:

We are thinking of brotherhood week - the last week in February, and need your help and cooperation.

Therefore, we are asking you to come to my house on January 5th, at 1:00 O'clock. My address is 1013 Highland View, N. E. (Highland View runs off of Highland Avenue, and is between Ponce de Leon and Virginia Avenue. It does not go through but begins at Highland Avenue.) It is the fifth house from Highland Avenue, you will see a colonial type house brown with yellow trim, that is my bungalow. You will also see some chairs turned down on the porch, just stumble over them and come on in. I broke my hip before I could get them stored.

This will be a brunch as well as a planning meeting. A brunch does not mean much food, but there will be something.

My best wishes to you and yours for a successful and most happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

December 29, 1961

Mrs. Stanley Harris
790 Briar Park Court
Atlanta 6, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Harris:

We are thinking of brotherhood week - the last week in February - and need your help and cooperation . Therefore, we are asking you to come to my house on January 5th at 1:00 O'clock. My address is 1013 Highland View, N. E. (Highland View runs off of Highland Avenue, it does not go through, but begins at Highland Avenue. Coming from Highland Avenue on Highland View, you will see a colonial type house on the left side, brown with yellow trim.) On the front porch you will see some chairs turned down, just stumble over them and come on in because I broke my hip before I had time to store them,

This will be a brunch as well as a planning meeting. A brunch does not mean much food, but there will be something.

My best wishes to you and yours for a successful and happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

December 29, 1961

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Atlanta, Georgia

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My best wishes to you and yours for a successful and most happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

December 29, 1961

Mrs. Phil Narmore
595 McAfee Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Narmore:

We are thinking of brotherhood week - the last week in February, and need your help and cooperation.

Therefore, we are asking you to come to my house on January 5th, at 1:00 O'clock. My address is 1013 Highland View, N. E. (Highland View runs off of Highland Avenue, and is between Ponce de Leon and Virginia Avenue. It does not go through, but begins at Highland Avenue.) It is the fifth house from Highland Avenue, you will see a colonial type house brown with yellow trim. You will also see some chairs turned down on the porch, just stumble over them and come on it, I broke my hip before I could have them stored.

This will be a brunch as well as a planning meeting. A brunch does not mean much food, but there will be something.

My best wishes to you and yours for a successful and happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

December 29, 1961

Mrs. John Correll
Cathedral of Christ the King
2699 Peachtree Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Correll;

We are thinking of brotherhood week - the last week in February, and we need your help and cooperation.

Therefore, we are asking you to come to my house on January 5th, at 1:00 O'clock. My address is 1013 Highland View, N. E. (Highland View runs off of Highland Avenue, and is between Ponce de Leon and Virginia Avenue. It does not go through but begins at Highland Avenue.) It is the fifth house from Highland Avenue, you will see a colonial type house brown with yellow trim, that is my bungalow. You will also see some chairs turned down on the porch just stumble over them and come on in, I broke my hip before I could have them stored.

This will be a brunch as well as a planning meeting. A brunch does not mean much food, but there will be something.

My best wishes to you and yours for a successful and Happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

December 29, 1961

Mrs. John Patton
1745 W. Wesley Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Patton:

We are thinking of brotherhood week - the last week in February, and need your help and cooperation.

Therefore, we are asking you to come to my house in January on the 5th, at 1:00 O'clock. My address is 1013 Highland View, as you know.

This will be a brunch as well as a planning meeting. A brunch does not mean much food, but there will be something.

My best wishes to you and yours for a successful and Happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

January 5, 1962

Rev. Roland Haynes
Professor
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Haynes:

I hope you have been so busy teaching that you have not realized my rudeness in not thanking you for the wonderful part you played in the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop. I have had this thought in my heart all the while.

Every now and then my conscious pricks me because I let the days go by, but my days have a way of filling up with unexpected things.

You did a wonderful job for us and it was highly appreciated. Please accept my thanks and best wishes for a great year, 1962.

A heart full of hope for your seccess.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

January 5, 1962

Rev. Roland Haynes
Professor
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

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Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

January 5, 1962

Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick
Pastor
St. Marks Methodist Church
781 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dow:

I am enclosing the copy of your speech. If you will look over it, you can see this one word that stumped us all. There may be other changes . We want to send it out pretty soon. I did not send it out before Christmas because I know all of this material would lay around until after Christmas.

Thank you Dow, for everything, and I am still appreciative for your visit to the hospital. I am doing fine, and expect to go down to the office next week.

My best wishes to you and yours for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

January 5, 1962

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St. Marks Methodist Church
781 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

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My best wishes to you and yours for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

January 5, 1962

Bishop John O. Smith
Bishop of North and South Georgia
Methodist Conferences
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bishop Smith:

While my heart has been full of gratitude for what you did for the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop, I have thought of it for days, but my days seem to run away with me, and as yet, I have not let you know how much we appreciated your giving the time to us,and that wonderful message.

The Prophets have always been very meaningful to me, but since you said what you did about them, it has given me more insight.

I read over and over again Jesus' statement about the lilies, and your words about them sank down in my heart. Your message was a great climax for what we had done in those two days and the women, Jews, Catholic, and Protestant, will never forget your message. God was good to us in Georgia, to let you come to us.

Thank you Bishop from the depth of my heart. God's blessings on you. He is blessing us, and I am giving thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

January 5, 1962

Bishop John O. Smith
Bishop of North and South Georgia
Methodist Conferences
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

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Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

January 5, 1962

Mr. Robert Tucker
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Tucker:

It was wonderful of you to take time from your school schedule to share in the wonderful program of the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop.

The women were most appreciative for the wonderful service, and all three who participated did a wonderful job.

I regret to be so long thanking you, but I hope you have too busy to realize it.

My best wishes to you and yours for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

January 5, 1962

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Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

January 5, 1962

Mr. Daniel Mitchell
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I hope you have so busy with School work and Christmas, also Thanksgiving, that you have not realized my rudeness for not thanking you for the wonderful program you participated in at the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop.

I have thought of it each day, and before you know it, the day was gone and no letter written. Please accept my thanks and appreciation.

Best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

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Best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

January 5, 1962

Mrs. David Baker
Program Co-ordinator
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mrs. Baker:

You did get to the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop, in spite of all my fears, and you don't know how much I do appreciate it. Even if I have waited all of these days to tell you.

I hope you have been as busy as I have been so you wont realize my rudeness.

It was wonderful to have you to let us have an insight in what we are trying to do. I am getting together some things which will be coming to you soon.

With a heartfull of thanks, I wish you every happiness for the New Year.

I just received your lovely letter, it was wonderful to think of me and write.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

January 5, 1962

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Program Co-ordinator
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

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Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

January 5, 196[illegible]

Mrs. T. F. Wallace
5340 Belinder Road
Shawnee Mission, Kansas

Dear Mrs. Wallace:

The days and weeks have gone by since you so graciously came to the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop. We felt very much lifted by your presence, and of the United Church Women.

I hope you have so busy with meetings, that you have not realized that I have so discourteous that I have not written you. But meetings followed meetings.

Even before Christmas came, I was in the hospital with a broken hip , however, the hip is doing fine, and so am I.

Best wishes to you and yours for a most successful and Happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

January 5, 1962

Mrs. T. F. Wallace
5340 Belinder Road
Shawnee Mission, Kansas

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Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

WOMAN'S STATE CONVENTION
AUXILIARY OF THE
GENERAL MISSIONARY BAPTIST AND EDUCATIONAL CONVENTION OF MISSISSIPPI

President
MRS. POLLY MAE CARTER
504 Garfield Street
Clarksdale, Mississippi
Phone MAin 4-6723

Corresponding Secretary
MRS. ELIZABETH BROWN
705 Florida Avenue
Clarksdale, Mississippi

Recording Secretary
MRS. RUBY JOHNSON
P. O. Box 216
Arcola, Mississippi

Treasurer
MRS. ERNESTINE WILLIAMS
419 Church Street
Cleveland, Mississippi

Febuary 20, 1962

Mrs. Dorthy Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

On my arrival from the meeting ,November 6th, I made my report to the Grand Lodge of the Sir Knights and Daughters in Tunica Co. Many pledged to pay their Poll Tax and registar. Five subscribed to the New South Magizene.

I have been able to reach many of my people in the churches. Large numbers have paid their Poll Tax and registered. We are also helping to recruit students for the Adult Classe

Since the Boycot , December 2nd,1961, our International movehas been slow. But we are not discouraged. WE WILL WIN!

Dr. M.L.King and Atty. Walkers visit here inspired a massive crowd. Each night there wase not standing room . There was and have not been any aftermath. Thak God.

I will not stop as long as I have strenght to WORK, FIGHT and PRAY for the rights of all people.

God Bless and keep you,

Sincerely yours,

Polly mae carter

P. M. Carter

YWCA PERSONS ACCEPTED TO ATTEND THE FOC

~~1. Mrs. James Alexander~~

2. Mrs. E. L. Simon (Negro) lives in city Mrs. Lena White? Negro

3. Mrs. L. B. Moseley (Piedmont)

4. Mrs. Henry McDowell A.U.

5. Miss Eulalie Ginn - A.U.

6. Miss Hattie Droll City

7. Mrs. Ernest Caldwell - A.U.

8. Mrs. Clara Woodruff - Piedmont

9. Mrs. Joseph McMilliam - "

10. Mrs. Hazel York - ~~A.U.~~

11. Mrs. J. D. Ashley A.U.

12. Mrs. Eloise W. Alston - A.U.

13. Mrs. James M. Alexander
14. Mrs. Monroe T. Gilmour
15. Mrs. Gayle Rogers

} Piedmont at own expense

15. Mrs. Lovington - see Piedmont hotel reservations

A. U.

16. Mrs. Edward L. Smith Piedmont Hotel
17. Mrs. T. L. Illery
18. Mrs. D. L. Chisholm
19. ~~Mrs. Mereland Smith~~ K
20. Mrs. J. W. Baldridge
21. Mrs. Julius H. Smith
22. Mrs. L. B. Clark
23. Mrs. Charles E. White
24. Mrs. L. L. Haynes
25, Mrs. Jas. S. Crate ?
26. Mrs. Mary C. Hunter
27. Mrs. Kyle Engler
28. Mrs. C. G. Washington
29. Mrs. P. M. Carter (Negro)
30. Mrs. Blanche Love Stacks
31. Mrs. Wallis I. Schutt (Jane) K
32. Mrs. Katie Bridges
33. Mrs. A. K. Montgomery
34. Mrs. Wm. H. Daniels
35. Mrs. Abbie C. Jackson(will stay at Dr. Clemtnts (Negro) not

Re Clements

AU. CONTINUED

36. Mrs. Chas. P. Dawson Predm

~~37. Mrs. Paul S. Powell~~

38. Mrs. J. Ward Reese 1

39. Mrs. Della M. Henson - Negro 2

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

40. Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner Piedmont

41. Mrs. Constance Moser 3

42. Mrs. Charlotte A. Crawley 4

43. Mrs. Sadie Shannon 5

44. Mrs. R. R. Eckart 6

45. Mrs. Carl M. Conrad 7

46. Mrs. Jules L. Cahn 8

47. Mrs. E. U. Robinson Piedmont

48. ~~Mrs. Pauline Muhleman~~

49. Mrs. Robert Wilcox Piedmont

50. Mrs. L. L. Jackson K

51. Mrs. Marie M. Penn (Negro)

52. Mrs. Ben Russell K -

53. Mrs. D. R. Freeman K

54. Mrs. H. Olin Troy K

55. Mrs. Horace W. Williams Pied

56. Mrs. Thelma A. Wills

57. Mrs. J. Carl Campbell Piedmont

58. Mrs. Albert Roberts

59. Mrs. M. C. Merriweather

60. Mrs. M. B. Gaillard (Negro)

61. Mrs. Robert C. Jackson

62. Miss Bess B. Walcott

63. Mrs. Earl P. Andrews K

64. Mrs. Nellie C. Davis - Negro.

65. Mrs. Vivian C. Mason

66. Mrs. Genevieve Lexow K

67. Mrs. Susie Holly (Negro)

68. Mrs. Helen Anderson

69. Mrs. Mayme E. Williams

70. Mrs. Helen Baker K

71. Mrs. E. C. Mills

72. Mrs. Fred Lemmond

73. Mrs. F. J. McGill

74. Miss Elmira R. Dennis

75. Mrs. Mary Wynn will live in city

76. Mrs. Harriett Farlix

77. Mrs. ~~Margaret~~ T. M. Wallace K

78. Mrs. George McCaskey K

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

79. Mrs. Arthur P. Gray

80. Mrs. Thomas P. Green

81. Mrs. J. C. Woods (Negro)

82. Mrs. O. P. Captain (Negro)

83. Mrs. Rebekah J. Calloway (Negro)

84. Mrs. E. T. Woods (Negro)

85. Mrs. Neva J. Dennis (Negro)

86. ~~Mrs. Nellie C. Davis~~ (Negro)

87. Mrs. Margaret S. Wallace (Negro)

88. Mrs. ~~Ed~~ Cecilia Shepherd live in Dr. Mays home

89. Mrs. ~~Carl~~ J. Carl Campbell
Mrs. A. C. Dell

90. Mrs. Willie Williams

91. Mrs. Wolsey Gay

92. Mrs. Ralph S. Smith Piedmont

A. U. continuted

93. ~~Dorothy Wagner (coming at own~~ expense)

94. Mrs. Harold Toliver (Meals furnished only, if attend)

95. ( ) Representatives Mrs. French
96. ( ) recommended, through Mrs.
( ) Schutt.

97. Mrs. Moreland Smith K

98. ~~Mrs. I. F. Mebeed~~

99. Mrs. Maggie Fleshman (negro)

100. Mrs. Byers - Arkansas, Pine Bluff

101. Mrs. Augustine M St. Cyr.

102. Mrs. E. T. Woods - Alabama

103. Mrs. E. G. Holmes ?

104. Mrs Wm. Green

105 - Mrs. Cordelia Blount - Payne College

106 - Mrs. St. Cyr.

107 - Mrs. Keeney - Piedmont

Need Heros

Mrs. Palmer - 6 Group

Mrs. Stanley Raven

Mrs. Christia S. Baldwin

Kresge Hall

Mrs Green - La

Mrs. Houghton

YWCA PERSONS ACCEPTED TO ATTEND THE FOC

K Mrs. Lena White (?) negro 8 a. u

~~1 Mrs. James Alexander~~ city

1. ~~Mrs. E. L. Simon (Negro)~~ 7

2 Mrs. L. B. Moseley (Piedmont) 8

3. Mrs. Henry McDowell - A.U. Piedmont ✓

4 Miss Eulalie Ginn - A.U. 2 Piedmont ✓

5. Miss Hattie Droll - city 5

6. ~~Mrs. Ernest Caldwell~~ (A.U. 3 mrs. Charles Lloyd

7. Mrs. Clara Woodruff Piedmont 4

8. Mrs. Joseph McMilliam - " 5 Piedmont ✓

9. K Mrs. Hazel York - A.U. 6 ✓ ~~Piedmont~~

10 K Mrs. J. D. Ashley A-U. - 5 ✓

11. K Mrs. Eloise W. Alston A.U. 6

13. Mrs. James M. Alexander 7 Piedmont

13. Mrs. Monroe T. Gilmour at own 8

14 Mrs. Gayle Rogers expense 1

5

15, Mrs. Lovington Piedmont 2 ✓

A. U.

AU 16 1 Mrs. Edward L. Smith 3

" 17. 2 Mrs. T. L. Illery 4

" 18. 3 Mrs. D. L. Chisholm 5

19. ~~Mrs. Moreland Smith~~ 6

" 20. 4 Mrs. J. W. Baldridge 7

21. 5 Mrs. Julius H. Smith 8

22. 6 Mrs. L. B. Clark 1

23. 7 Mrs. Charles E. White 2

24. 8 ~~Mrs. L. L. Haynes~~ 9 exp 3

25, 9 Mrs. Jas. S. Crate ? 4

26. Mrs. Mary C. Hunter 5

27. Mrs. Kyle Engler 6

28. ~~Mrs. C. C. Washington~~ Negro 7

29. Mrs. P. M. Carter (Negro) 8

30. Mrs. Blanche Love Stacks 1

31. ~~Mrs. Wallis I. Schutt~~ (Jane 2

32. Mrs. Katie Bridges 3

33. Mrs. A. K. Montgomery (negro 4

34. Mrs. Wm. H. Daniels 5

35. ~~Mrs. Abbie G. Jackson(will stay at Dr. Clomtnts~~ (Negro) 6

16
3 3 2
5 1

AU. CONTINUED

36. ~~Mrs. Chas. P. Dawson~~ 7

37. ~~Mrs. Paul S. Powell~~

38. Mrs. J. Ward Reese 8 18

39. Mrs. Della M. Henson Negro 1 19

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

40. Mrs. ~~E. L. Glossbrunner~~ 3

41. Mrs. Constance Moser 4 20

42. Mrs. Charlotte A. Crawley 5 21

43. Mrs. Sadie Shannon Negro 6.22

44. Mrs. R. R. Eckart 7 23

45. Mrs. Carl M. Conrad 8 24

Mrs. ~~Jules L. Cahn~~ 6

47. ~~Mrs. E. U. Robinson~~ 1

48. Mrs. ~~Pauline Muhleman~~ 4

49. ~~Mrs. Robert Wilcox~~ 5

50. Mrs. ~~L. L. Jackson~~ 7

51. Mrs. Marie M. Penn (Negro) 6 25

52. ~~Mrs. Ben Russell~~ 7

53. ~~Mrs. D. R. Freeman~~ 3

54. ~~Mrs. H. Olin Troy~~ 1

55. ~~Mrs. Horace W. Williams~~ 2 P

56. Mrs. Thelma A. Wills 3 26

57. ~~Mrs. J. Carl Campbell~~ 4

58. ~~Mrs. Albert Roberts~~ Negro 5 27

59. ~~Mrs. M. C. Merriweather~~ 6 28

60. Mrs. M. B. Gaillard (Negro) 7 29

61. ~~Mrs. Robert C. Jackson~~ 1 30

62. Miss Bess B. Walcott Negro 2 31

63. Mrs. ~~Earl P. Andrews~~ 3

64. Mrs. Nellie C. Davis Negro 4

65. Mrs. Vivian C. Mason 6 - 32

66. Mrs. ~~Genevieve Lexow~~ 7

67. Mrs. ~~Susie Holly~~ (Negro) 8

68. Mrs. ~~Helen Anderson~~ 1 33 Negro

69. Mrs. ~~Mayme E. Williams~~ Negro 2 34

70. Mrs. ~~Helen Baker~~ 1 Stop

~~Mrs. T. T. Wallace~~ 2

72. Mrs. E. C. Mills 35

72. Mrs. ~~Fred Lemmond~~ 3

73. Mrs. F. J. McGill 4

74. Miss Elmira R. Dennis 5

75. Mrs. Mary Wynn 6

76. ~~Mrs. Harriett Farlix~~ 7

77. Mrs. ~~Margaret Wallace~~ T.M. ~~Negro~~ 7

78. Mrs. ~~George McGaskey~~ 8

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

79. Mrs. Arthur P. Gray 1

80. Mrs. Thomas P. Green Negro 2

81. Mrs. J. C. Woods (Negro) 3

82. Mrs. O. P. Captain (Negro) 4

83. Mrs. Rebekah J. Calloway (Negro) 5

84. Mrs. E. T. Woods (Negro) 6

85. Mrs. Neva J. Dennis (Negro) ~~X~~ 7 XX

~~86. Mrs. Nellie C. Davis (Negro)~~

~~86. Mrs. Margaret Wallace Negro~~ 8

87. Mrs. C. B. Christian (Negro) #1

~~88. Mrs. Cecilia Shepherd Negro~~ 2 ~~10~~

89 - Mrs. A. C. Dell 3

90. Mrs. Walsey Gay 4

~~91. Mrs. Ralph S. Smith~~ 5

92. XX Mrs. Willie Williams XX 6 32

A. U. continuted

93. ~~Dorothy Wagner (coming at own~~ expense)

94. Mrs. Harold Toliver (Meals furnished only, if attend)

95. ( ) Representatives Mrs. French
96. ( ) recommended, through Mrs.
( ) Schutt.

97. Mrs. ~~Moreland Smith~~

98. ~~Mrs. J. F. McLeod~~

99. Mrs. ~~Maggie~~ Fleshman

2

56
43
11

99
7
169

ATLANTA PARTICIPANTS IN THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

1. Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick
2. Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
3. The Reverend John Mulroy
4. Dr. M. L. King, Jr.
5. Mrs. M. L. King.
6. Bishop Smith
7. Reverend Roland Haynes
8.
9.
10. Dr. Sneed
11. Dr. Dunbar
12. Mrs. ~~Beasley~~ Booger
13. Dr. Moss — 1
14. Mrs. Long — 2
15. Mr. Paul Rilling — 3
16. Mrs. M. E. Tilly
17. Mr. Fillmore — 4
18. Mr. Youngblut — 5
19. Mrs. E. French — 6
20. Miss Thelma Stevens — 7
21. Mrs. H. Q. Huie 8
22. Mrs. J. G. Walsh 1
23. Mrs. H. Kerr Taylor 2
24. Miss Elizabeth Lollar 3
25. Mrs. Mable C. Morley ~ 4 resource

100%

Rennie

26. Mrs. L. C. Goldstein ✓ 5
2888 Sequoia Drive
Atlanta, Ga.

27. Mrs. Howard Aronin ✓ 6
5517 Kay Lane, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

28. Mrs. Sidney Kogan ✓ 7
1647 Mifflin Place, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

29. Mrs. Isidore Wilen ✓ 8
915 Berkshire Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

30. Mrs. Standley Harris ✓ 1 leader
790 Briar Park, Ct., N. E.
Atlanta, 6, Georgia

31. Mrs. Leon Anderson 2
1823 Tiger Flower Drive
Atlanta, Georgia

21

ATLANTA PARTICIPANTS IN THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

XXX

32. Mrs. Newton C. Johnson 3
2291 Bryant Drive
East Point, Georgia

33. Mrs. James O. Cobb 4
241 Brown Circle
Smyrna, Georgia

34. Mrs. E. L. Simmon 5
67 Ashby Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

35. Mrs. A. I. Botnick 6 reporter
2427 B. Morosgo Court, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

36. Mrs. Isabelle Brooks (C) -7
126 Chappel Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

37. Mrs. W. E. Hendricks (C) 8
143 West Lake Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

38. Mrs. T. D. Curtis 1
784 Hillpine Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

39. Mrs. Myrtice Stienbrugge ~~10~~ 2
2025 Peachtree Rodd, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

40. Mrs. Wm. Green 3
1846 Ardmore Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

41. Mrs. A. D. Harry 4
Box 87
West Point, Georgia

42. Mrs. Fred W. Patterson resource 5
2959 West Andrews Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

43. Miss Annie Tait Jenkins 6 resource
512 Clairmont Avenue
Decatur, Georgia

44. Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen - 7 (C)
1197 Fountain Drive, SW
Atlanta, Georgia

45. Mrs. Ben Milner - 8
58 Sheridan Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, aGeorgia

46. Mrs. Van P. Enloe - 1
31 South Prado, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

47. Mrs. C. M. Lancaster 2
922 Cumberland Rd. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

48. Mrs. Bernard Facher - 3

49 Mrs. Henry ~~Freedman~~ Freedman 4

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

50. Mrs. Seymour Haber 5 5 6

51. Mrs. Fred Hirsch 6

52. Mrs. Ben Marks 7

53. Mrs. Ben Zimmerman 8

54. Mrs. Joe Moret 1

55. Mrs. Sidney Marks 2

56. Mrs. Nathan Lifton 3

57. Mrs. Eva Parks 4

58. Mrs. LeRoy Smith — Atl. 5

59. Mrs. Edward L. Askren, Jr. 6

~~60. Mrs. H. E. Freedman~~ (Mon only) 7

61. Mrs. Bernice Kronick (Mon Only) 8

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

~~62. Mrs. N. C. Johnson~~

63. Mrs. D. M Jarnagin -Raleigh (Negro 1
(will live in town)

64. Robert Shrider 5

65. Mrs. J. Edward Lantz 2

66. Mrs Esther Turner 3

ATLANTA PARTICIPANTS - CONTINTUED

67. Mrs. Sylvan Fisher 4

68. Mrs. A. L. Hershberg 5

69. Mrs. Kalisher 1

70. Mrs. A. J. Rubin 2

71. Mrs. Arthur Segal 3

72. ~~Mrs. Margaret~~ Boozer

73. ~~Mrs. C. O. Williams~~

74. Mr~~s. Randolph Clairbor~~ne

75. Mr~~s. A. S. Dickers~~on

76. Mrs. James Beach 4

77. Mrs. W. L. Humphress 5

78. Miss Kathleen Eidson 6

79. Mrs. Jack ~~Patterson~~

80. Mrs. C. M. Weston 7

81. Mrs. A. A. Hardy 8

82. Mrs. Thomas Bockman 1

83. ~~Mrs. Florence Harris~~

84. Mrs Connie Meares (Kresge hall)

83
13
~~70~~ 68

PIEDMONT HOTEL RESERVATIONS

1. Mrs. Mary C. Willis - 1

2. Mrs. Percy S. Johnson 2 5'

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

3. Mrs. Harold J. Dudley - 3

4. Mrs. Newton B. Fowler - 4

5. Miss Ruth C. Wilson - 5

6. Mrs. Niles C. Clark - 6

7. Mrs. Robert Hunt - 7 Texas

8. Mrs. Addie M. Thomas ~~Reporter~~ San Antonio ~~A. U. (negro)~~ 21

9. Mrs. A. C. Johnson 8

10. ~~Mrs. G. W. Hummell~~ 1

11. Mrs. Desna P. Armstrong 2

12. Mrs. Mary Lena Wisehart 3

13. Mrs. Lovington (Norena) 4

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

14. Mrs. Charles M. Henderson 5

15. Mrs. D. R. Thurmond 6

16. Mrs. Adele F. Smith 7

[redacted]

18. Mrs. T. M. Richards - 1

19. Mrs. M. A. Horne 2 A.U. (negro)

20. Mrs. Eleanor H. Smith 3

21. Mrs. H. D. Moye 4

22. Mrs. E. Johnston Irvin/ 5

23. Mrs. T. S. Newbold 6

24. Mrs. Eunice S. Stockton - 7

48. Mrs. J. H. Price, Jr. - 8

49. Mrs. C. C. Alford - 9

~~50. Mrs. J. A. Burt~~

51. Mrs. Warren G. Birnbaum 1

25. ~~Mrs. H. S. Howie~~ (declined)

26. Mrs. Julia Plunkett 2

27. Mrs. Ruby Berkley - A.U. 3

28. ~~Mrs. Broughton Hutchins~~ 4

29. Mrs. Pauline Miller 5

30. Mrs. Carrielleu Bales 6

31. ~~Mrs. A. W. West (Negro)~~ 7

32. Mrs. Nathan Krumbein 8

~~33. Mrs. Jules Cohn~~

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

33 Mrs. Ruth Wilson 1

34. Mrs. Edward Brecko 2

35. Mrs. Manfred J. Gerhardt 3

36. Miss Miriam J. Robinson 4

37. Mrs. A. L. Parker 5

38. Mrs. W. K. Mullins 6 (?)

~~39. Mrs. C. W. Greenlee~~

40. Mrs. J. M. Carraway 7

~~41. Mrs. David Thurmond~~ 8

~~42. Mrs. W. W. Thrasher - 2~~

43. Mrs. Jimmie Simmons 3

44. Mrs. Harold Timmerman 4

45. Mrs. Warren E. Besselieu 5

~~46. Mrs. David Baker~~ 1

47. Mrs. David Anderson 6

PIEDMONT HOTEL RESERVATIONS

1. Mrs. Mary C. Willis
2. Mrs. Percy S. Johnson

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

3. Mrs. Harold J. Dudley
4. Mrs. Newton B. Fowler
5. Miss Ruth C. Wilson her own
6. Mrs. Miles C. Clark Waterloo S.C
7. Mrs. Robert Hunt
8. Mrs. Addie M. Thomas
9. Mrs. A. C. Johnson
10. ~~Mrs. G. W. Hummell~~
11. ~~Mrs. Desna P. Armstrong~~ Henderson Ky
12. Mrs. Mary Lena Wisehart
13. Mrs. Lovington (Norena) yweer

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

14. Mrs. Charles M. Henderson Memphis Meh Clack
15. Mrs. D. R. Thurmond
16. Mrs. Adele F. Smith
17. Mrs. Robert H. Palmer
18. Mrs. T. M. Richards
19. Mrs. M. A. Horne
20. Mrs. Eleanor H. Smith
21. Mrs. H. D. Moye
22. Mrs. E. Johnston Irvin Concord N.C
23. Mrs. T. S. Newbold
24. Mrs. Eunice S. Stockton
25. ~~Mrs. H. S. Howie~~ (declined)
26. Mrs. Julia Plunkett
27. Mrs. Ruby Berkley - A.U.
28. ~~Mrs. Broughton Hutchins~~
29. Mrs. Pauline Miller
30. Mrs. Carrielleu Bales
31. Mrs. A. W. West (Negro) - A.U.
32. ~~Mrs. Nathan Krumbein~~
33. Mrs. Ruth Wilson
34. Mrs. Edward Bresko
35. ~~Mrs. Jules Cann~~
36. Mrs. Manfred J. Gerhardt

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

36. Miss Miriam J. Robinson
37. Mrs. A. L. Parker
38. Mrs. W. K. Mullins (?)
39. ~~Mrs. C. W. Greenlee~~
40. Mrs. J. M. Carraway
41. Mrs. David Thurmond
42. ~~Mrs. W. W. Thrasher~~
43. Mrs. Jimmie Simmons
44. M s. Harold Timmerman
45. Mrs. Warren E. Besselieu
46. ~~Mrs. David Baker~~
47. ~~Mrs. David Anderson~~
48. Mrs. J. H. Price, Jr.
49. Mrs. C. C. Alford
50. ~~Mrs. J. A. Burt~~
51. Mrs. Warren G. Birnbaum

Mrs. Chas Lloyd
Argonne N.C

ATLANTA PARTICIPANTS IN THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

1. Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick
2. Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
3. The Reverend John Mulroy
4. Dr. M. L. King, Jr. no
5. Mrs. M. L. King.
6. Bishop Smith no
7. Reverend Roland Haynes no
8. —
9. — no
10. Dr. Sneed no
11. Dr. Dumbar
12. ~~Mrs. Beasley~~
13. Dr. Moss
14. Mrs. Long
15. Mr. Paul Rilling
16. Mrs. M. E. Tilly
17. Mr. Fillmore
18. Mr. Youngbount
19. Mrs. E. French
20. Miss Thelma Stevens
21. Mrs. H. Q. Huie
22. Mrs. J. G. Walsh ✓
23. Mrs. H. Kerr Taylor
24. Miss Elizabeth Lollar
25. Mrs. Mable C. Morley
26. Mrs. L. C. Goldstein
    2888 Sequoia Drive
    Atlanta, Ga.
27. Mrs. Howard Aronin
    5517 Kay Lane, NE
    Atlanta, Ga.
28. Mrs. Sidney Kogan
    1647 Mifflin Place, N. E.
    Atlanta, Ga.
29. Mrs. Isidore Wilen
    915 Berkshire Road, N. E.
    Atlanta, Georgia
30. Mrs. Standley Harris
    790 Briar Park, Ct., N. E.
    Atlanta, 6, Georgia
31. Mrs. Leon Anderson
    1823 Tiger Flower Drive
    Atlanta, Georgia

Space { Mrs. Berkeley
Mrs. Houghton
Mrs. Shepherd
or Mrs. Moore

Exec Sec'y, Mrs D. M. Jernigan

ATLANTA PARTICIPANTS IN THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED _

XXX

32. Mrs. Newton C. Johnson
2291 Bryant Drive
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Atlanta, Georgia

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37. Mrs. W. E. Hendricks
143 West Lake Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

38. Mrs. T. D. Curtis
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Atlanta, Georgia

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2025 Peachtree Rodd, N. W.
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40. Mrs. Wm. Green
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Atlanta, Georgia

41. Mrs. A. D. Harry
Box 87
West Point, Georgia

42. Mrs. Fred W. Patterson
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Atlanta, Georgia

43. Miss Annie Tait Jenkins
512 Clairmont Avenue
Decatur, Georgia

44. Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen
1197 Fountain Drive, SW
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Ben Milner
58 Sheridan Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, aGeorgia

Mrs. Van P. Enloe
31 South Prado, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. C. M. Lancaster
992 Cumberland Rd. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Bernard Facher

Mes. Henry ~~Freedman~~ Freedman

50. Mrs. Seymour Haber

51. Mrs. Fred Hirsch

52. Mrs. Ben Marks

53. Mrs. Ben Zimmerman

54. Mrs. Joe Moret

55. Mrs. Sidney Marks

56. Mrs. Nathan Lifton

57. Mrs. Eva Parks

58. Mrs. LeRoy Smith

59. Mrs. Edward L. Askren, Jr. ✓

60. Mrs. H. E. Freedman (Mon only) ?

61. Mrs. Bernice Kronick (Mon Only) ✓

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

62. Mrs. N. C. Johnson

63. Mrs. D. M. Jarnagin-Raleigh(Negro)
(will live in the city.

64. Robert Shnider

65 - Mrs. Esther Turner
66 - Mrs. J. Edward Lantz

ATLANTA PARTICIPANTS - CONTINTUED

67. Mrs. Sylvan Fisher

68. Mrs. A. L. Hershberg

69. Mrs. Kalisher

70. Mrs. A. J. Rubin

71. Mrs. Arthur ~~Segal~~ Sigal

72. Mrs. Margaret Boozer

~~73. Mrs. C. C. Williams~~

~~74. Mrs. Randolph Clutterbuck~~

~~75. Mrs. A. S. Dickerson~~

76. Mrs. James Beach

77. Mrs. W. L. Humphress

78. Miss Kathleen Eidson

~~79. Mrs. Jack Patterson~~

80. Mrs. C. M. Weston

81. Mrs. A. A. Hardy

82. Mrs. Thomas Beckman

~~83. Mrs. Florence Harris~~

83 Mrs Malcolm Bryan

J M Wallace
Baker
Meaner
Schutt

Sherman
Spatig

Memo from **MRS. M. E. TILLY**

Telegrams

Mrs. Chas. R. Dawson
275 N. Hubbard Lane
Louisville, Ky

Mrs. Robt McCoy
16 Minnehahala Place
Chattanooga, Tenn

Mrs. E. L. Gross Brenner
8213 Brookfield Rd.
Richmond, Va

Mrs. ~~Fred Lemmond~~
~~Fayetteville, N. C~~

Mrs. Horace Williams
1903 Lombardy Ave
Nashville, Tenn

Mrs. Ralph S. Smith
21 Malone Circle
Florence, Ala

Mrs. Joseph McMilliam
3679 Poplar Ave
Memphis, Tenn

Memo from **MRS. M. E. TILLY**

Mrs. Eulalie Gwin
1210 Miller Drive
Coral Gables
Florida

Mrs Olin Troy
3709 Mayfield Dr.
Knoxville, Tenn

In the days that are passing over us even fools are arrested to ask the meaning of them ;

few of the generations of men have seen more impressive days, days of endless calamity, disruption, distress, confusion the worst confounded.

It is not a small hope that will suffice us.

The ruin id clearly universal.

There is to be a new world, if there is to be a world at all ..... It is a time to make the dullest man consider w whence he came and whither he is bound,

a veritable new era, of the foolish as well as of the wise

But in the midst of great curerents sweeping in human history, we must not forget that "God is loose in human history", and ever and anon in His own special way, he takes hold of great human drifts and turns them mightily to account in the progress of human life on this earth.

Masefield's play.

Let's dare to take a look at our country. 22 million

civil rights. —

civil freedoms

Memo from **MRS. M. E. TILLY**

New Episcopal List

Send invitations to

1 Mrs S. M. Montgomery
Keyhs at Blanton
Rolling Fork, Miss.

2 Mrs William McQueen
131 Courtland Dr Montgomery

3 Mrs. Seaton O Bailey
P.O Box 2
Griffin, Ga

4 Mrs. Herman Clark
1604 Twin Lake Dr
Fayetteville, N.C

5 Mrs. J. H. Wolf Jr.
2113 Jordan Terrace
Jacksonville 7, Fla

6 Mrs. D. Lee Krauss
East Beach
St. Simons, Ga

pinkies
Zee

Memo from **MRS. M. E. TILLY**

7 Mrs. John W. W. Epperson
1921 Griffith Place West
Owensboro, Ky

8 Mrs. Angus W. McDonald
Deepwood Dr, Lexington, Ky

9 Mrs. Tom McGlothlin
Box 581 - Laurel, Miss

10 Mrs. J. P. Thomas
1614 West Nash St.
Wilson, N.C

11 Mrs. J. Elliott Wannamaker
196 Elliott St. S.E

12 Mrs. Richard S. Ordway
25 Nassau Dr
Metairie, La

13 Mrs. William E. Black
310 7th St So.
St Petersburg, Fla

Memo from **MRS. M. E. TILLY**

14 Mrs. C. M. McCay.
7218 Sherland Ave.
Norfolk Va

15 Mrs Jench Filghman
405 Clay Circle
Blacksburg, Va

16 Mrs. George L. Goss
906 Marengo Lane
Nashville, Tenn

17 Miss Lois Mills.
R.F.D 2. Spartanburg, S.C

18 Mrs Clifford Downs (Negro
1818 Augusta Road
Greenville, S.C

19 Mrs. Garland S. Sydnor,
~~9 Stonehurst Green~~
9 Stonehurst Green
Richmond 26
Va

20 Mrs. R.L. Haden.
Route 5 - Hendersonville N.C

Tonie
Teames Un
Sunday - around
8

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

Mrs. Harriet Fralix
Wesleyan Service Guild
Chairman of Christian Social Relations
Box 707
Fayetteville, North Carolina

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

The members of the Committee on Christian Social Relations of the Southeastern Jurisdiction wish to thank you for the privilege of having been invited to attend the Workshop of "The Fellowship of the Concerned".

You are to be commended on planning an excellent meeting. It was interesting and informative, and all who attended received a real blessing.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Wilcox
Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox, Chairman

Harriet Fralix
Mrs. Harriet Fralix, Secretary

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. CHARLES M. HENDERSON
[redacted]
4041 N. WALNUT GROVE CIRCLE, MEMPHIS 17, TENN.

Mrs. M.E.Tilly
5 Forsyth St N W
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Many times I have looked back and marveled at the wonderful opportunity that was afforded those of us who were privileged to attend the WorkShop of the Fellowship of The Concerned of The Southern Regional Council in Atlanta November 6-7, 1961.We came from many areas, from many and varied organizations- but all concerned and serving in some field of human relations.To come together and discuss our efforts- some making progress and some rather discouraging, helped each of us.Here we found inspiration, information and ways of serving that others have tried and found good. And it encouraged even the least of us, to go back home and do greater things in the Master's name.

The Workshop. built around the theme"The Kingdom Without Frontiers" was carefully planned. The speakers were people who spoke with authority. Everyone had a part- in discussion groups or in open meeting. And we all came home enthusiastic and challenged, better prepared to meet opportunities round about us. Many avenues have opened up to us that we had not thot possible before.

We are deeply grateful for one such as Mrs. Tilly, who gives so bountifully of herself for the cause she has carried on so gallantly for many years. The world is a much better place in which to live because of her unceasing efforts. Many have benefited thru the years from her planning such meetings as this Workshop.I pray this same privilege may continue that others may benefit from such opportunities of coming together in His name.

Sincerely,
Mary Henderson
Mrs. Charles M.Henderson
Board of Missions
The Methodist Church

Dear Mrs. Tilly

May I take this time to express my appreciation for your wonderful example and the enlarged vision you have given me.

Thank you particularly for inviting me to the work-shape of the Fellowship of the Concerned, and for making it possible for us to bring some of that spirit into similar meetings in Florida

God bless you this Christmas Day

Genevieve

PEACE ON EARTH

Good will toward men

Genevieve and Alfred Lexow

FRANK P. GRAHAM

1914-1930	Professor University of North Carolina
1917-1919	United States Marine Corps
1930-1949	President of University of North Carolina
1942-1945	Public Member of the National War Labor Board

First Chairman of the Board of the Oak Ridge Institute for Nuclear Research

1947-1948	United States Representative on United Nations Committee of Good Offices in the Dutch-Indonesian Dispute.
1949-1950	United States Senator from North Carolina
1951	Defense Manpower Administrator in the United States Department of Lagor.
At Present	In June 1951 was appointed United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan.

united church women

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

rev. edwin t. dahlberg, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

mrs. william sale terrell
chairman

mrs. w. murdoch macleod
general director

May 17, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Room 201
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thelma Stevens and I have just had a good conversation about the fall meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned, and I have promised to try to share it with you in writing.

We began with your idea of focusing on the situation in the churches and how best to work toward full desegregation. We found ourselves facing two factors, however, which we felt needed to be taken into account. One was that in relation to the issue of church desegregation, policy and plan would more effectively come from the denominations themselves rather than an informal Fellowship and second, that the Three Year Program on Race Relations of United Church Women with church desegregation as one of its three focal points will have just been launched at the Assembly. In view of these factors, and the present increasingly serious blocks to progress in the area of race relations and any action toward social change, we would like to suggest a two-fold emphasis for the program. This would include a review of present church and synagogue policy and program in race relations and a basic consideration of how we can meet the attacks of the ultra right wing groups.

Such a program might be developed as follows:

FIRST SESSION

A review of Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish policies and plans in race relations with special emphasis upon desegregation in the churches.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
May 17, 1961

SECOND SESSION

An analysis of the principle groups which are seeking to block the Christian Churches and the Jewish community from moving toward these accepted goals in race relations. These groups would include the K.K.K., John Birch Society, the Circuit Riders and others.

THIRD AND FOURTH SESSIONS

Specific ways in which the religious forces can deal most effectively with these blocks.

Thelma and I agreed that just as soon as the Three Year Program in Race Relations gets under way we can expect increasing resistance from these extreme forces. We feel that the Fellowship of the Concerned would make a very significant contribution to the problem of church desegregation if it could give sound leads regarding how to meet attacks.

We realize that this suggested program is a bit different in focus and emphasis from your original idea though stemming from it. We send it along for you to toss out or use as your own good judgment and greater knowledge of the needs of the south dictate.

Thelma and I also talked abit about next steps in planning for the meeting, carrying on from the telephone conversation you and I had. You will remember you asked if I would do the workshop again. We found ourselves feeling that it is hard to help from this distance except with general ideas. We realize how much planning is necessary after the basic program orientation is determined. We thought of the unusually strong people in Atlanta who could be so much more useful in helping you work out the plans - people such as you mentioned over the phone the other day and others - Arthur Levin, Grace Hamilton, Florence Harris, Mrs. Patton. I remembered your mentioning having brought together in other years a group to do some real thinking and planning. If you decide this is the way you want to proceed this time, I would hope that some one out of the group you bring together would be a "natural" to coordinate the workshop in November. He or she would be in so much a stronger position to carry through than some one like me who, being so far away, will not have been able to be in on the thinking.

Thelma and I will be happy to be of help in any way we can from this distance as the plans move ahead or at the conference itself. You know you can always count on us. We are passing

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
May 17, 1961

along these thoughts about the planning as we did those on content knowing that you will use them or not depending upon your own judgment.

Regarding attendance, do I remember correctly you said you are planning to invite Y.W.C.A. representatives as you did last year? If so and if you would like me to, I would be glad to share with the "Y.W.C.A. powers" how important we feel the experience of the November meeting is and how greatly the total cause would be strengthened if they could take full advantage of the invitation. I would be glad to do this but need your help in knowing whether it would be appropriate.

I hope the Director of the Three Year Program in Race Relations will have been chosen and on the job by November and that you would feel it valuable for her to attend the meeting. The* budget could carry her expenses.

We shall look forward to hearing from you. With our love to you and very deep appreciation for all that you do and are,

Cordially

Eleanor

Eleanor French
Director
Christian Social Relations

EF:as
cc: Miss Thelma Stevens

* Project budget

1204 Fairmont St. N.W.
Washington 9, D.C.
June 6, 1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilley
5 - Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley,

I am sorry we have not been able to find a suitable apartment for Mrs. Flowers. I also regret very much that I did not have an opportunity to talk with her when she was here last week.

Do you think Mrs. Flowers would be interested in renting a house - either furnished or unfurnished? I am planning to do some travelling, and I had thought of renting my house. However, I had hoped to rent it to adults. How many children does she have, and what ages? Please ask her to write to me or call me when she

comes to the city, if she is interested in a house. I am near the schools (walking distance), and about 20 min. to her job by public transportation.

My best regards to you and Mr. Tilley

Sincerely,

Ruth D. Brooks

General Correspondence

June 7, 1961

Mrs. Robert W. Brooks
1204 Fairmont Street, N.W.
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Brooks:

Between what you and Mrs. Oliver did, Mrs. Flowers found an apartment in Washington over the past week-end.

Mrs. Oliver referred her to a real estate agent who showed her several apartments, and she is delighted with the one she found, and is most grateful to you and to Mrs. Oliver.

Mrs. Flowers has her own furniture and is here now having it packed, and will, herself and child, leave about Friday to live in Washington. I hope you will come to know her. I regret that I do not know her address in Washington.

It has been splendid for me to know you and Mrs. Oliver. You have done so many favors for me that I cannot find words to express my appreciation.

With thanks and the best of wishes to you, I remain

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/jf

June 8, 1961

Mrs. David M. Anderson
5000 - 14 Avenue
St. Petersburg 10, Florida

Dear Mrs. Anderson:

Thank you for your letter of May 24, letting us know that you are the newly elected Chairman of Christian Social Relations of the United Church Women of Florida.

The South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned will be held at Clark College, Atlanta, November 6 and 7. We hope you will make plans to attend. We have funds for your travel and entertainment.

As for your Florida Workshop, you should clear the dates with each denominational group. This year we found the Methodist women, for the most part, were in their Jurisdiction meeting. One year the dates coincided with a conference of Negro women.

Please try to get more Negroes and Jews and Catholics than we have had before. I am glad you have a good connection with the Council of Jewish Women and members of the A.M.E. and Baptist conventions--you are certainly on your job. It is going to be a joy to work with you.

Sincerely yours,

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MRS. DAVID M. ANDERSON
5000 - 1[illegible] AVENUE NORTH
ST. PETERSBURG 10, FLORIDA

May 22, 1961.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I should like to introduce myself, as the newly appointed Christian Social Reltions Chairman for the United Church Women of Florida. Mrs. Owens felt that she had to resign because of ill health, and Mrs. Lexow asked me to finish out Mrs. Owens' unexpired one-year term of office. To this I agreed but with considerable trepidation!

After coming home from the state annual meeting in Daytona Beach last week, excited and very happy over the advances in the area of human relations which seemed evident there, and over the deep and prayerful concern of many of the women, it seemed terribly difficult to even believe that such shameful and appalling things could be happening in Alabama. And as state chairman I shall do everything in my power, limited though it may be, to try to prevent any such hatred coming in our state.

When I asked Mrs. Lexow about the yearly Workshop for our CSR division of UCW, which is held by and with the Fellowship of the Concerned, she suggested that I write to you at once, asking that you please set the time and place as soon as possible. I realize that you have to clear it with the various denominations, our Jewish friends, etc. Mrs. Lexow mentioned the probability, or at least possibility, of February and Lake Byrd Lodge at Avon Park.

I am already thinking much and dreaming about the workshop, for I do so hope it will be, not only a memorable experience for our women in having fellowship together across racial and interfaith lines, but also a place where we can learn practical ways by which we can go back into our own churches and communities, and translate it all into action. Somehow we need to know how to meet the local problems involved, and how to overcome them with wisdom and tact, and how to advance.

While at Daytone, I started talking about the workshop, and have already ehlisted the support of some of the women there. I hope to promote it not only through our local Councils of UCW, but also through the various denominational presidents for the state, and their state Chairmen of CSR.

Two of my good friends, the presidents of the A.M.E. and the General Baptist Convention women, Mrs. Epperson and Mrs. Holly, have enthusiastically promised to try to interest their women in attending the workshop, and just as soon as the dates are set, they will get it into their program for the year. (Incidentally, maybe you have heard that Mrs. Holley, that fine Negro woman, was elected first vice-president of the UCW of Florida last week. Am I thrilled!)

I have worked closely on an interfaith basis with some of the wonderful women in the National Council of Jewish Women here, and the(~~[illegible]~~) president of the St. Petersburg Section is my good friend. I have already enlisted her support, as well as that of my many close friends among the Negro people here. So I am already working on it!

It will be a great privilege to work under you, for as William Peters says, you are almost a 'legend' in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Helen Anderson

United Church Women

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

June 13, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the November 6-7 Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Yes, I do plan to come and I do understand that expense of travel and entertainment will be taken care of.

As for the theme, I stand with Eleanor French and Thelma Stevens in their suggested content and procedure as outlined in Eleanor's letter to you of May 17. I do believe these suggestions could be fruitful.

All good greetings to you!

Sincerely,

Helen

HEB/mh Mrs. David D. Baker

cc: Eleanor French

June 21, 1961

Mrs. Paul Arrington
1735 Piedmont Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Bess,

I am so distressed that you are so ill. I hope by now the hospital experience is over, and you are better. I am writing to Martha to let me know how you came out.

We hope Mr. Tilly is improving--we do not know, however. There is a "bug" in his blood stream, and without warning fever rises often as high as 104 degrees.

For five weeks, death hovered about us, but he is at home now--cheerful and determined to get well.

He is a wonderful person, and often when I get home, I find some preacher has dropped in, and is talking to him and they always say they secure more strength from him than help they give him.

I do hope you, Martha Burt and Mrs. Schutt will be with us. We have not heard from the President of United Church Women of Mississippi, nor from Mrs. Patrick. Your conference secretary of C.S.R. has declined the invitation.

Here's hoping to get good news from you.

A heart full of love to you -- from

MET/jf

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

1735 Piedmont St.
Jackson, Miss.
June 9, 1961

Dear Dorothy:

Thank you for the invitation to attend the Fellowship of the Concerned Nov. 6-7. I'd love it I am sure for I thought the one last year was marvelous.

I think you had better ask someone else this time for I do not know that I can come. I have not been well for some time In fact too tired and weak to do what was needed in my home. After physical examinations I am told my heart is giving me trouble,

there is a thinning of the bones, and too high Chlo~~ster~~sterol count, irritation in lower stomache and breast surgery necessary. So I'm to enter hospital Monday for surgery Tuesday. ~~Thus~~ The first requirement, says Doctor now, is to lose weight. I am not fearful of the outcome whatever it reveals but have got to try to rebuild. By Nov. I may be much better - hope so - but now I'm at a low ebb.

Wish your secretary had added a note telling me how Mr. Tilley is doing.

Some young man from Harvard called me other day and said he had

been in Atlanta and talked with you and you suggested that he call me to talk with him. I told him I was ill and unable to see him but could refer him to one who would be glad to see him and give him information he wanted. I referred him to Martha. She was glad to talk with him. She said he told her I wouldn't talk to him, but he could have explained I think.

Why not invite Martha to the workshop instead of me. She'd love going and could use information well.

My love to you, dear Dorothy.

Bess

Program

July 11, 1961

Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

We hope Monday, November 6th is an open date on your calendar.

"The Fellowship of the Concerned," the women's work of the Southern Regional Council, will have its yearly two day workshop, November 6 and 7 at Kresge Hall, Clark College.

At eleven o'clock until 12:30 on November 6th, we will have "A Facade of Brotherhood" and we very much need you to be the Interrogator of Rabbi Rothschild, Father Mulroy, Dr. Harry Richardson, and Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick. The questions will be in three areas:

1. Religious Tolerance
2. Open Schools and Open Churches
3. Honest Interpretation of Brotherhood to our Youth

We are more than hoping you will find it convenient to do this.

There will be about 150 women, state leaders in the field of social action. They will be from our southeastern states and Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas, representatives of the Protestant and Catholic Churches and of the various Jewish groups.

You may recall being with us in one of these workshops when Mrs. Roosevelt was with us.

Please know the women would be most grateful to you if you find it possible to serve us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/sm

20 July 1961

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

Must say again how very much we enjoyed having you with us! It was a treat indeed!

In addition to Mrs. Dawson, I am also sending the name of Mrs. Evabelle Daniels from one of our Central Jurisdiction churches. Mrs. Daniels is CSR secretary of her local church, present Promotion sec'y of the district, is chairman of the division of Human Relations of the local church Commission on Christian Social Concerns. She is a past district president of our WSCS.

She is a wonderful woman and very active in all phases of the work in human relations here in L-ville. She is the mother of 10 children and her opportunity for attending meetings such as this has been limited. Now her children are grown and she has more time. I would appreciate your considering her.

Mrs. Charles Dawson tr
275 North Hubbard Lane
Louisville 7 Kentucky

Mrs. Evabelle Daniels Negro 7/24
2829 West Walnut Street
Louisville 12 Kentucky

Trust Mr. Tilly continues to improve. Do give him my kindest regards. Take care of yourself, and I'm looking forward to November.

All my love,

Nellie Mae

Mrs. Thomas P. Green

407 North Hite Avenue
Louisville 6 Kentucky

July 26, 1961

The Rev. John Mulroy, S.T.L.
Director of Catholic Information Service
2699 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Father Mulroy:

I thank you very much for agreeing to share in another "Facade of Brotherhood." When you find you have time to see me, I would much appreciate getting some guidance from you on the "Facade." You helped us greatly before.

I think I told you "The Fellowship of the Concerned" is the women's work of the Southern Regional Council. This yearly South-wide workshop came into being between the two world wars, and has gone on under several names as issues required. It was for several years "The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching." When the job was done, the name was changed.

I hope you have encircled on your calendar November 6th, 11:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m., Kresge Hall, Clark College.

With thanks and best wishes to you,

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/sm

July 26, 1961

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
The Temple
1589 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Rabbi Rothschild:

Following up our conversation of some days ago, this is to put in writing the date, place and hour we will have "The Facade of Brotherhood" in the workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

The date is Monday, November 6th.
The hour -- 11:00 o'clock to 12:30.
The place -- Kresge Hall, Clark College.

You have been with us before and probably know the women in the workshop come from our Southeastern states and are selected by their overhead church bodies because of their leadership in the field of human relations. The group is interracial and interfaith.

We have had such wonderful reactions to our Y.W.C.A. Facade that we feel this will be more than worthwhile for this wider group.

I hope you have encircled this date on your calendar. You have been wonderfully kind to me, and more than helpful. Please accept my thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/sm

July 27, 1961

Mr. Eugene Patterson
Editor
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Patterson:

Thank you so much for granting me a few minutes of your busy time last week. I am even more grateful to you for consenting to be the "Questioner" in the "Facade of Brotherhood" November 6th in the workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, Southern Women Concerned About Their South. The "Fellowship" is the women's work of the Southern Regional Council. I am afraid that I forgot to tell you this.

Please note in your calendar, November 6, 11:00 a.m., Kresge Hall, Clark College.

I will give you some further information about your part in the "Facade" a little later.

Deeply grateful to you for this great service you will render to all of us "Concerned about our South," I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/sm

July 27, 1961

Bishop John Owen Smith
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bishop Smith:

I have been by your office twice to thank you for your gracious letter that gave me every hope that November 7th is marked on your calendar for the workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held at Kresge Hall, Clark College. I wish I might have found you in your office, but I learned a long time ago a Bishop has to be in many places.

The schedule for November 7th is Opening Worship at 9:30 a.m., and we close the session at 12:30. Of course, we will arrange the time for you to speak to us at any hour you suggest. Our theme for the workshop is "The Kingdom Without Frontiers -- One God, One World, One People." We begin on the 6th with "A Facade of Brotherhood" in which Mr. Eugene Patterson, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, will question Rabbi Rothschild, Father John Mutroy, Dow Kirkpatrick, and Dr. Benjamin Mays in the areas of three questions: Religious Tolerance, Open Church and Open Schools, Interpreting Social Changes to the Uncommitted. As the hours go on, we'll think of One World, and you will have an opportunity, if you wish, to lead us into realizing we are "One People -- Are we not the children of one Father?" This is left with you to decide.

I want to add my thanks to the many I know you must have received for your patient and wise leadership over our Annual Conference. Your words after the acceptance of the report of the Commission on Social Concerns certainly strengthened this great program in this Conference.

I wish the vote on the Amendment had been favorable, however it was good it was a close "~~yes~~", and Bill Cannon's speech was great. "nay"

I am very thankful that you came to be our Bishop.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/sm

July 27, 1961

Mr. John Yungblut
Quaker House
1384 Fairview Road, N. E.
Atlanta 6, Georgia

Dear Mr. Yungblut:

I am deeply grateful to you for consenting to be the workshop leader for "The Fellowship of the Concerned" at Kresge Hall, Clark College, November 6 and 7. This is just a reminder to you to circle these dates on your calendar. The general theme is "The Kingdom Without Frontiers -- One God, One World, One People."

The dividing into the six or eight working groups will be about 2:30 or 3 on the first day, and they will have an evening session. They will be really planning groups to find ways and means of working when they go home to help our country be what it started to be, "A Kingdom Without Frontiers." On the next day, you will lead the discussion on the reports from the groups.

Later on you will be called to a committee meeting to work out details.

With best wishes and a heart full of thanks to you, I remain,

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/sm

July 28, 1961

Mrs. Susie Holley
429 N.W. 16th Avenue
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Dear Mrs. Holley:

The South-wide workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned will be at Kresge Hall, Clark College, Atlanta, November 6 and 7. Not only are we extending an invitation to you to attend, but are asking you to participate in a round table discussion "rounding up" our problems in human relations, looking at them, thinking through ways to solve them.

I have heard you say in the Florida workshop that it is difficult to get Negro women to attend an interracial meeting -- many of us are not aware of this. Surely this is a problem to be faced.

There will be several people in the round table, and we are asking all of them to be here on Sunday, November 5th that we may meet each other and plan more fully what we will do on the afternoon of the 6th.

We will make reservations for you, also, we are enclosing a mimeographed letter that gives you instructions about travel, etc. I would like to have you answer as soon as possible, and I hope your answer will be favorable.

Best wishes to you. I have enjoyed knowing you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/sm
Enclosure

July 28, 1961

Mrs. Wallis Shutt
955 Pecan Boulevard
Jackson 3, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Shutt:

One of the features of the workshop will be a round table discussion "rounding up" our problems in building better relations, facing them, thinking through ways to solve them. This is to ask you to be a member of this discussion group.

The round table discussion is an answer to the request of many who have asked that it be a part of our work, and this will preface the breaking up into small groups as we did last year.

We are asking all of you on the round table to be here on Sunday, November 5th that we may meet each other and plan more fully what we will do the next afternoon.

I know of the faked interview that came to you over the phone, but I have not seen the story that came from it in your church paper. I would like to have a copy.

Please let me hear from you if you can take this part in the program.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/sm

Quaker House 1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA, DRAKE 3-7986
ATLANTA MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

August 11, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your letter of July 27th concerning the Conference of the "Fellowship of the Concerned" at Clark College, November 6 and 7. I have put these dates on my calendar and am looking forward to participation in the Conference.

I like the theme of your Conference, "A Kingdom Without Frontiers". It does seem to be very well chosen. I will no doubt be hearing from you again before long with regard to more detailed plans.

I received a very good letter from Jane Schutt the other day. You will recall her. She is the woman who has been very active in your group whose home is in Jackson, Mississippi. She has had a very difficult summer caring for a very ill father, but is now about to return home and wrote me that she is planning to be here for your conference in November.

I appreciate your confidence in me and trust that I shall not fail you in fulfilling the assignment you have given me.

Faithfully yours,

John Yungblut

THE METHODIST CHURCH
ATLANTA AREA
63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

August 16, 1961.

JOHN OWEN SMITH
RESIDENT BISHOP

CONFERENCES:
NORTH GEORGIA
SOUTH GEORGIA

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Am terribly sorry that you have missed me when you called by my office. It would have been a delight to have chatted with you and am sorry that our schedules did not conform.

I have written November 7th in my little black book as a time when I plan to be with you for the meeting at Clark College. You may depend upon me to bring some thought in keeping with the theme you suggest. I look forward to being with you and sincerely hope that I will not let you down in your anticipations.

Please accept my gratitude for the lovely things which you say in your letter with regard to the recent session of the North Georgia Annual Conference and what little I have been able to do since coming to this area. Thank you so much.

With all good wishes to you, I am:

Very sincerely,

J. Owen Smith

J. Owen Smith

JOS/kg

August 24, 1961

Miss Mary Lena Wisehart
25 West Villa Place
Fort Thomas, Kentucky

Dear Miss Wisheart:

Mrs. Tilly has been out of the office due to the illness and passing of her husband. However, in discussing your letter of August 8 with her, she feels that in view of her plans the date of the "Fellowship of the Concerned" Workshop can not be changed. She also agrees with you that absentee ballot is the answer.

Mrs. Tilly is indeed looking forward to seeing you in November.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Secretary to Mrs. Tilly

/nm

United Church Women of Kentucky

Miss Mary Lena Wisehart
25 West Villa Place
Fort Thomas, Kentucky

Aug 8-1961

Dear Mrs Tilly.

I have your letter & one from Eleanor French with dates of Nov 6 & 7 for Workshop in ~~Atlanta~~. My date books show Tuesday Nov 7 as election day. I wonder if you mean October. I can't just see if it is wise for me or others to be away on Election Day. With so many in Group, they surely have duties at the Polls or for Election.

Absentee Ballot is the answer but I just don't approve of taking our women from Civic Duties which we are encouraging them to carry on.

Always
Mary Lena.

August 24, 1961

Mrs. S. M. Harmon
Secretary
Southeastern Jurisdiction
Wesleyan Service Guild
2179 Poplar, Apt. 44
Memphis 4, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Harmon:

Due to the illness and passing of her husband, Mrs. Tilly is out of the office. However, in discussing your letter with her, she wishes you to know that she appreciates your prayers for success in the workshop, and expresses regrets of your not being able to attend.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Secretary to Mrs. Tilly

/nm

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. S. M. HARMON
2179 POPLAR, APT. 44
MEMPHIS 4, TENNESSEE

August 8, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I appreciate very much your letter with the information concerning the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned which will be held in Atlanta on November 6 and 7.

I wish it were possible for me to attend this meeting but I know now it will not. This certainly is my loss and I shall be thinking of you and praying for the success of your work.

Sincerely,

Catherine Harmon

Mrs. S. M. Harmon, Secretary,
Southeastern Jurisdiction
Wesleyan Service Guild

Memorandum

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

To:

September 1, 1961

National Board
Southern Region
Suite 201
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

From: Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

There is an opportunity available to leaders of YWCAs in the Southern Region which we want you to know about and upon which we need your suggestions. YWCAs in the Southern Region may have two representatives from each of nine states in the 1961 meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned. The meeting will be held in Atlanta at Clark College on November 6 and 7. Enclosed are informational sheets describing the Fellowship and its concerns. Travel and entertainment will be available to assist the representatives of YWCAs who can attend the meeting.

Will you describe this opportunity to the members of your Board and/or Committee on Administration? Please return the enclosed postal to us no later than September 15, so that we and the Fellowship of the Concerned may know whom to expect. We believe that the YWCA has much to contribute and to learn from this opportunity to share with other "concerned" southern women.

FCH:gl;c
cc-Mrs. M.E. Tilly
NOTE: This is the letter which we sent to people on our list who were invited to Fellowship of Concerned Meeting. A copy was also sent to the Executive Director of each Association from which people were invited. The enclosure was not sent to the executive directors but was sent to those invited to the meeting. F.C.H.

September 1, 1961

Miss Eleanor French
Director
Christian Social Relations
United Church Women
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Miss French:

The enclosed list contains names and addresses of members of your group that accepted the invitation to the Fellowship of the Concerned, and also of those who declined the invitation.

Follow-up letters will be sent to those who have not responded either way within the next week.

I am indeed looking forward to seeing you in November.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. H. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS EXPECTED TO ATTEND THE FELLOWship
OF THE CONCERNED - NOVEMBER 6-7, 1961

ALABAMA - : Mrs. Dorothy Eily, 1509 29th Street, W. Birmingham, Alabama

FLORIDA - : Mrs. David Anderson, 5000-14 Ave., N., St. Petersburg, Fla.

Mrs. Alfred Lexow, 610, N. 19th Ave, Hollywood, Fla.

Mrs. W. W. Thrasher, 10 S. W. 12th Street, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

GEORGIA - : Mrs. Ben G. Milner, 58 Sheridan Drive, Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. C. M. Weston, 2032 Edinburgh Terrace, Atlanta, Georgia

KENTUCKY- : Mrs. A. C. Johnson, 766 Covington Ave., Bowling Green, Ky.

Miss Mary Lena Wischart, 25 West Villa Place, Fort Thomas, Ky.

LOUISIANA- : Mrs. Jimmie Simmons, Shreveport, Louisiana

Mrs. R. R. Eckart, 4547 Mark Twain Dr., New Orleans, La.

MISSISSIPPI: Mrs. C. C. Alford, 623 Chicksaw Avenue, Jackson, Mississippi

Mrs. Jane Schutt, 955 Pecan Blvd., Jackson, 3, Mississippi

S. C. : Mrs. Harold Lee Timmerman, 1002 Fairfield Ave., North Augusta, S.C.

TENNESSEE : Mrs. H. Olin Troy, 3709 Mayfield Drive. Knoxville, 18, Tennessee

TEXAS - : Mrs. Warren Besselliou, UCW of Texas, 1527 Lullwood, San Antonio

Mrs. R. G. Hunt, 1000 Linda Lou, San Antonio, Texas

Mrs. Eleise Gebhardt, President of UCW of Texas, 1903 Kenilworth Blvd., San Antonio Texas.

VIRGINIA - : Mrs. Constance Moser, Route 2, Box 46-3, Manassas, Virginia

Miss Charlotte Crawley, 715 Furnace Rd., Harrisburg, Virginia

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REFUSALS: Mrs. S. C. Meisberg
Mrs. W. Murdoch MacLeod
Mrs. Daniel E. Leatherman

September 8, 1961

The Rev. John Mulroy, S.T.L.
Director of Catholic Information Service
2699 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Father Mulroy:

Please call me if you can see me Wednesday or Thursday of next week.

Home phone - TR.2-2951
Office - 522-8764

I need to have your help in planning for our Workshop on November 6 and 7.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

September 8, 1961

Mrs. Geneva Sneed
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
1057 N. Central Street
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Sneed:

Mr. Paul Christopher has sent us a copy of his letter to you, and we do hope that you can give us the names of two women in each of Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, Florida, the Carolinas, Tennessee, and Arkansas, that we might write and invite to come and attend the Fellowship of the Concerned meeting.

We are enclosing a copy of the invitation we will send to them, and also something about the Fellowship of the Concerned. We certainly would appreciate your help.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:rm
Enclosure

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY
PRESIDENT

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

REGION NO. 8. PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, DIRECTOR
216 FLATIRON BUILDING
705 BROADWAY, N. E.
KNOXVILLE 17, TENNESSEE
4-7481-2

Hold for letter

August 11, 1961

Mrs. Geneva Sneed
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
1057 N. Central Street
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Geneva:

Confirming our telephone conversation this morning, herewith attached is a photostat copy of Mrs. Tilly's letter asking that arrangements be made to have some AFL-CIO women union members participate in the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on November 6 and 7, 1961 at Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia.

Now that you know the nature of this very fine organization of dedicated church women, I hope very much that Local #90 or the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America will take the necessary action to see that at least two or three women go to Atlanta for this Workshop.

It would also be appreciated if you would make the necessary contact with your counterparts in Atlanta and try to interest them in sending some of their members also.

Your interest and concern in this meeting is deeply appreciated.

Fraternally yours,

Paul R. Christopher
AFL-CIO Region VIII Director

PRC:lr
oeiu 144 afl-cio

CC: Mrs. M. M. Tilly

September 21, 1961

The Rev. John Mulroy, S.T.L.
Director of Catholic Information Service
2699 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Father Mulroy:

While you were away, I certainly needed you, but I am glad that you are back at home and hope you will find time to discuss the program of the Fellowship of the Concerned with me.

I feel sure you have it on your calendar that we are expecting you to take part in the Facade of Brotherhood on November 6th, at 11:00 A. M., Kresge Hall, Clark College. This time you will have a much larger audience than you had at the YWCA.

There will be representatives of the three faiths from the Southeastern states, and I feel that you are going to render us a wonderful service.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

September 22, 1961

Mrs. Susie Holley
429 N. W. 16th Avenue
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Dear Mrs. Holley:

On July 28th we sent you the enclosed letter, and we are disturbed that we have not heard from you.

We would appreciate it very much if you would send us an immediate reply.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosure

September 22, 1961

Mrs. Horace W. Williams
1903 Lombardy Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Williams:

I have received both of your letters and have been trying to locate a copy of "God Versus Segregation" for you.

You are correct, it was in the program of the Fellowship of the Concerned, in 1955. However, the stencil has been destroyed and as yet we have not made new copy. As soon as we can get a stencil made on this article, we will be happy to send you copies.

Please accept my apology for not writing you before now, but as you know Mr. Tilly passed on August 19th, and that has delayed me in many things.

My best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

Woman's Society of Christian Service
and Wesleyan Service Guild

TENNESSEE CONFERENCE THE METHODIST CHURCH

1903 Lombardy Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee
September 20, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Sometime ago I wrote to see if copies of a little story "God vs. Segration" was available through the Southern Regional Council. I had not been able to get it here at the Tennessee Council on Human Relations. I have not received a reply as yet, and thought I had better write again to see if it is available. I shall appreciate any information you can give me about this article. I think I first saw the article at one of your meetings of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Sincerely yours,

Agnes Williams

Mrs. Horace W. Williams

September 22, 1961

Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick
St. Mark Methodist Church
781 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Kirkpatrick:

The fall has come and I am thinking considerably about the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

This is to remind you that we are expecting you to take part in the "Facade of Brotherhood", which is to be held at Clark College, Kresge Hall, on November 6th at 11:00 A. M., and we are asking you to stay for lunch. And, in the afternoon talk to us about "One World," our theme is, "The Kingdom Without Frontiers--One God, One World, One People."

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

September 22, 1961

Mr. Eugene Patterson
Editor
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Patterson:

November 6th is not too far off for me to be concerned about the group of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

We are looking forward to your being the questioner in the "Facade Brotherhood", in which you will question Dr. Kirkpatrick, Rabbi Rothschild and The Reverend Mulroy.

I will let you know, as soon as we get the Committee together again, the range in which these questions will be.

I am very greatful for your acceptance in doing this for us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

September 22, 1961

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
The Temple
1589 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Rabbi Rothschild:

The fall has come and the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned looms high on my horizon.

This is to remind you that we are expecting you again to have a part in a "Facade of Brotherhood" at our opening session, which is to be held in Kresge Hall, Clark College on November 6th, at 11:00 A. M.

I am deeply appreciative for the help that you have given me.

As you have been with us before you know something of the size of the group, and the states that will be represented by women of the three faiths.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

MRS. DAVID M. ANDERSON
5000 - 14TH AVENUE NORTH
ST. PETERSBURG 10, FLORIDA

September 24. 1961.

Dear Mrs. Tilly -

Thank you for your letter which arrived yesterday.

I had not known about your sorrow in the loss of your husband in August — and I feel badly that I had to bother you about the Workshop at this time.

I have written Lake Byrd Lodge to reserve Tuesday and Wednesday, March 6th and 7th. I had phoned them earlier this last week and learned they had that week still free -

I hope I may have the opportunity to confer with

you briefly at Miami Beach. I am so very anxious that the workshops may be of great value to our church women.

I am so sorry that I had to bother you about the details at this time, and send you my sincere sympathy.

Sincerely yours
Helen Anderson

September 22, 1961

Mrs. Helen Anderson
5000 14th Avenue, North
St. Petersburg 10, Florida

Dear Mrs. Anderson:

Please forgive my delay in answering your letter, but as you know Mr. Tilly passed August 19th, and has caused me to be delayed in many things.

The early part of March for the meeting is fine with me, since it does not conflict with any of my plans.

Looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

5000 14th Ave North,
St. Petersburg 10, Florida,
September 13, 1961.

Mrs. M.E.Tilly, Director of Women's Work,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth St. N.W. Atlanta, Georgia.

Re: Workshop for Christian Social Relations, Florida UCW.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am a little concerned that my letter of late August may not have reached you as yet.

It took so long to get replies from the various denominational leaders that it was almost the end of August before I could report to you about the majority of them. February seemed to be a good month for all except the Negro Baptist women, and I only heard from them finally just before I wrote to you. There are three district or state association meetings for them in February, and they include so many Negro women that it seemed unwise to try to hold the workshop in February.

However the early part of March seemed to be free for almost everyone.

We are anxious to get a date set for the workshop, for other groups in the United Church Women are also making plans for the winter and spring, and want to know our dates. Also the conference centers are already booking dates for next year, and it would be wise to get ours set as soon as possible.

I realize that I was a long time reporting back to you, and that there are many demands on your time and attention, and I do not want to seem to be making another demand. But I have not felt that I could make the decision as to the time or place without your approval, for they must be a place and date which will fit in with your plans, and at your convenience. So I should be so very happy to hear from you as soon as possible.

We are working very hard to try to have as many Negro women as possible at the General Assembly in October. It is very difficult for so many of them work. We are thrilled here in St. Petersburg, for at least five, and maybe six, of the Negro churches are sending someone of their women as a representative from the church. They have become very enthusiastic about the Assembly here.

Please, I do hope I may hear from you soon, as I am so anxious to get the workshop set up as to time and place.

Sincerely yours
Helen Anderson

As an amateur typist, I make many mistakes. Please overlook them.

Mrs. Tilly

October 31, 1961

Miss Ethel Simpson
Executive Director, YWCA
118 West North Street
Greenville, South Carolina

Laura K. Fox
Field Staff, Community Division

We have had some cancellations for attendance to the Workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned. Therefore it is safe to register Mrs. Lena White. Enclosed you will find the registration form. Please return it directly to Mrs. Tilly's office.

The Workshop opens November 6th at 10:00 a.m. and closes November 7th after lunch

sd
Enc.

c.c.- Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Hattie Droll
Florence C. Harris

The Women's Convention
Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.
MIGHTY PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES—BUT A MIGHTIER GOD!

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Baltimore, Maryland

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Southern Director
Birmingham, Alabama

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Second Vice-President
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

October
5
1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forythe Street N. W
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

I was quite surprised to learn from your conversation today that you had not received my letter stating that I would be in Atlanta, November 5. I explained in the letter that I had not received all of your communication, possibly because I had been away a great deal and it could have gotten lost or misplaced in forwarding.

I am sending this letter special delivery to the same address that I have sent the others just to see if you will get it. I hope however you have the letter in question by now.

It will be a joy to see you Monday.

With every good wish, I am yours

Susie C. Holley

Susie C. Holley

/s

October 17, 1961

Miss Eleanor French
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Miss French:

The address of the Women's dormitory at Atlanta University is 50 Chestnut Street, S. W.

We will meet with those who will present problems and with us will be the leaders of the discussion groups.

I have asked Mrs. Gordon of South Carolina and Mrs. Harvey, Jackson, Mississippi to be with us.

Mrs. Eva Parks will be with your group.

Devotedly yours,

Dorothy Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

October 17, 1961

Mrs. Clarie Collins Harvey
3338 Hollywood Avenue
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Harvey:

The Fellowship of the Concerned will have its Annual Workshop at Clark College, Atlanta, on November 6-7, 1961.

I need you - you have done so much to help the Freedom Riders - and have much to tell us.

The discussion groups will meet at Atlanta University at 2:00 P. M. on Sunday, November 5. We have funds for your travel and entertainment.

I will like very much to have you with us. You will stay at Atlanta University.

Please write me that you will come. Mrs. Walles Schutt Mrs. Alford and some others will come from Mississippi.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I will be glad to serve as a reporter for one of the groups for the Fellowship of the Concerned on November 6-7, 1961.

OK

Signed: Mrs. A. I. Botnick
Mrs. A. I. Botnick

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I will be glad to serve as a group reporter, during the Fellowship of the Concerned meeting on November 6th and 7th.

Signed: Virginia Durr
Mrs. Clifford Durr

Thank you so much for the invitation and I am so glad to come.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I will be glad to serve as reporter for a group on November 6-7, during the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Signed: Mrs. E. U. Robinson
Mrs. E. U. Robinson

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I will be glad to serve as a reporter for one of the groups for the Fellowship of the Concerned meeting, which is to be held on November 6-7, at Clark College.

Signed: Mrs. J. D. Ashley
(Mrs.) J. D. Ashley

united church women

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

rev. edwin t. dahlberg, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

mrs. william sale terrell
chairman

mrs. w. murdoch mac leod
general director

October 25, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Miss French who is in Cleveland this week has asked that I write you regarding the following who will attend the Fellowship of the Concerned meeting.

Miss Carrie E. Meares expects to arrive in Atlanta Sunday evening, Mrs. David Baker on Monday morning. Miss French will arrive in Atlanta in time for the meeting scheduled for 2:00 P.M. on Sunday afternoon, Nov. 5. Also, we assume that Mrs. Wallace will arrive on Sunday evening. Enclosed is a reservation blank for Mrs. David Baker.

Sincerely,

Aileene Schaad

Aileene Schaad, secretary
Christian Social Relations

S

christian social relations

miss margaret kuhn, philadelphia, penna., chairman • mrs. d. ellwood williams, jr., annapolis, maryland, may fellowship day
eleanor french, director

Cokesbury

72 BROAD STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
PHONE JA 5-0501

TO Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N.E.
Atlanta 6, Georgia

CHARGE TO → Same

PURCHASED BY Mrs M. E. Tilly | CHARGE [X] | CASH [ ]

DATE	SOLD BY	SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:
11/1-61	CWG	

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

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MRS M E TILLY, ROOM 201

5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA

DUE TO A HEART ATTACK AND ON THE ADVICE F MY DOCTOR, I SHALL NOT BE ABLE TO ATTEND THE WORKSHOP. MUCH SUCCESS. SINCERELY

MRS M E COLVIN.

ST. MARK METHODIST CHURCH
PEACHTREE AT FIFTH STREET, NORTHEAST
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

DOW KIRKPATRICK
MINISTER

January 24, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I'm embarrassed to discover that I've kept the manuscript of my speech so long. I didn't get to it before I went to the Board of Missions last week.

I have given a good deal of time to correcting this copy. I'm still not very sure , but there are many other corrections that need to be made.

Most of all, I would suggest that the first page and a half be omitted. As you will see, this is sort of introductory and personal and had meaning only for those who were actually present.

I believe the content of the speech itself begins where I have drawn a line on page 2.

Blessings on you,

Dow

Dow Kirkpatrick

DR. DOW KIRKPATRICK:

~~So~~ The more you go around the more you discover that your friends have ~~ix~~ talent, which you have not discovered before. I know you join me in being personally grateful to Mrs. King for ~~singing~~ her leadership in singing. I will never forget a very memorable night in my life, when ~~you remember sometime ago,~~ Dr. King was on one of the Saturday night debates on TV, with an editor from Va. named Kilpatrick, ~~and~~ in which they were discussing the question ~~on~~ which we ~~were~~ are on this morning. I witnessed that debate in the home of Dr. and Mrs. M. L. King Sr., the father and mother of Martin, with ~~the~~ his wife and the whole family around. ~~and~~ All I could do all evening was to assure them that my name was Kirkpatrick. Its good to be associated with all of you and these have come ~~Joe~~ Dr. Johnson just ask me, ~~said,~~ "How did I get on this panel, did you recommend me?" I said, "No, but I'd be glad to." Then he said, "The only reason I know I'm here is because Mrs. Tilly called me up and said, I need you. And that's the only reason I'm here. Just because of one ~~remarkable~~ remarkable lady. She doesn't have to plead with any of us." (clap, clap, clap) And I always enjoy being with ~~Jack~~ Rabbi Rothschild, and the ~~spinister~~ minister Gene Patterson saying ~~that~~ we must see eye-to-eye, I don't know if we have to discuss the theology of that, but what I am going to say this morning is of course from a ~~Christian~~ ~~viewpoint~~ distinctive Christian standpoint and is based on a passage from the New Testament. I do it with full realization that Jack Rothschild will not only go along but go further than than some of us who quote the New Testament would go. I'm fond of telling two or three stories about Jack and his Temple. I've got four wonderful soloists in my choir, but two of them are concert calibre and so Jack's got them singing for better pay on Friday night out at the Temple. The Israeli Counsel in this city, the one just before the present one, was speaking for the Methodist Ministers' ~~division~~ Association. ~~and~~ He was trying to explain the difference between Reform, Orthodox and Conservative Jews. ~~and, and~~ He said "Now, for example the Temple, where Rothschild

is a Rabbi, where I worship," he said, "all of our singers are Gentiles, but they sing the prayers and etc., in Hebrew." Then he said the Rabbi and the congregation pray and he preaches in English. "So I tell him that I know that ~~the Temple~~ the reformed Synagogue or Temple is where the Gentiles pray in Hebrew and the Jews pray in English." But I had in my congregation at St. Mark a very dear old lady who died in her 86th year recently, Jack has every now and then an institute which he ~~calls~~ has for Protestant Women ~~out there~~. Our ladies go out and spend the day learning about Judaism , and this little old lady who spent most of her life reading very conservative literature, went and spent the day and enjoyed it immensely. ~~then~~ Later she was telling me about her report of this meeting to her cook. She said, "I said to her, 'Gertrude, you know that's a strange place out there, The Temple, they haven't got any symbols, they haven't got any pictures of Jesus, they haven't got any cross, they haven't got a thing out there but the ten commandments, hanging right up there in the middle.' Said Gertrude said to me, 'yes, ~~Miss Orr~~ Mrs. Hall, I expect they don't pay much attention to them.'" (Ha, ha, ha.) It's been a good morning, and now we [redacted] come to a word of St. Paul in Romans the first chapter. [redacted] You will need to refer to the Phillips translation to get it to read like this. "I feel myself under a sort of Universal obligation, I ~~w~~ owe something to all men." We were being shepherded by that most remarkable Methodist Bishop , Newall Booth, thru immagration ~~faux~~ formalities ~~and~~ in the ~~Air Force~~ Port in Elizabethville, last May. At the table sat the Immagration Officer, behind him the ever present picture of President Tshombe Chaumbe.. Tracy Jones, one of my traveling companions and one of the top level Missions executives of the Methodist Church, said to me, "You didn't miss that sermon illustration, did you?" I said, "What sermon illustration?" admitting that I had missed it of course. "Why," he said, "look what's behind that Immagration Officer, just under Mr. Tshombe ~~Chaumbe~~'s picture." ~~and~~ There was one of these porcelain ~~tab~~ tables that belong in the de-

livery room in the hospital, a table on which mothers give birth to babies. Tracey said, "Surely you can't miss that." ~~So in Congress here in an Airport,~~ A nation is being brought to birth here, and the whole world is suffering its birth pains. Well, I hadn't been thinking much about sermon illustrations, that Sunday afternoon in May. ~~now~~ We had set out that afternoon from Salibbury, ~~and Rodesia~~ Rhodesia ~~Rodesa~~ to come to Elizabethville. It had been a wild kind of ride, the flight was a scheduled fligth but when we boarded the plane ~~however~~, we noticed that it had no markings ~~whatsoever~~ whatsoever, it was an old DC-4, I thought they were out of existence. ~~and~~ they are, they are out in the Congo, being used. In the passenger compartment was a lot of interesting looking freight, some boxes marked , (this was in May) marked "Easter Eggs made in Chezheslovokia," The crew, the kind you know, the pilot a fellow who grows a beard, and wears an ascot kerchief and carries a dog under his arm when he gets on and off the plane, so we were apprehensive and as we circled the Elizabethville airport we noticed a great mob of people straining at the fences and that didn't help any. But when we landed and saw what was really ~~happening~~ happening we let off with that nervous kind of laugh that always releases tensions for we discovered that the citizens of Elizabethville were out for a pleasant Sunday Afternoon at the Airport to watch the parade, and to hear the bagpipes, for the Irish soldiers of the UN, (these boys who have been in such bad trouble lately) were in their Kilts and with their bagpipes were out for the afternoon, and that was something for an African to behold. This is a little sample of our world, for as strange as it all seeem, it is just as surely our world, as this lounge of Clark College is our world. And when you stop to try to list what are the factors that make one, it would be easy to make a long list, and yet perhaps it would be more helpful to make a very brief list, for the one thing that is sure about our world and the one

thing that is universal about our world is that it's in revolution. It's a revolutionary world. Now it ought not to be necessary to prove that to a group like this. You know that just over four years ago, there were four independent nations in Africa, now there is something like twenty-eight. That within the last year approximately seventeen areas have become independent areas. ~~But there is still little touches in the World that remind us of the revolutionary period of this world~~. The Congo ~~always suggested South~~ is central because in a sense it is a sign and symbol of what's wrong and sad about our revolution. It's so central to the continent of Africa, it touches almost all the other areas of Africa, and the world. Five years ago, just five years ago, the officials of the Union ~~Monetary~~ in Elizabethville, that's the Belgian company, that operates the mines there, the copper mines, and the source of much, much of the trouble. One of the officials of that company told Bishop Raines, who is the president of our Methodist Board of Missions, just five years, ~~he said,~~ "Of course, these people must have independence, and we mean for them to have it in about fifty years." Five years ago! Well five years ago, we were talking like that in Georgia, you remember. ~~(Ha, ha, ha, ha.)~~ There is a revolution and its not as easily recognized as it may seem. In Rodesia for example, the trouble there is over the acceptance or rejection of certain liberal so-called concessions made in the constitution and the composition of the assembly. The Africians are saying, no, we don't want these concessions, and the white man is saying, "why not?" We are offering you fifteen seats in the assembly. But fifteen out of fifty-two, its too late in the world for that kind of thing, the revolution is already past beyond that. Or in Johannesburg, I was riding with one of our Missionaries in the afternoon, out in a section of the city, I recognized that we were in his end of the city and I said, "If you'll just put me on a bus, you won't have to take me down town, you can just go on home."

and he did, but only after explaining to me that they don't have segregated seating in Johannesburg, they have segregated bus lines! They've got two, and at every bus stop, there are two bus stops. It's too late in the world for that kind of thing, I tell you, the revolution is gone past it. Or in Angola where the worse fighting of all is taking place, where you've got millions of African people, but only 39,000 allowed to vote, and that only once in seven years in an election for the president, who has already been picked before the election. It's too late in the history of the world for that kind of thing, there's a revolution on, all over the world. You remember in Carlisle writing ~~of the French~~ Revolution, the history of the French revolution, there was the night when the Duke of Liancourt broke into the Royal Apartment of Louis the 16th, and told him of the activities of the people of France in the streets of Paris, Louis, the poor simple soul, said, "Why man, that's a revolt," Liancourt said, "Sir, it's not a revolt, its a revolution," Now there are one or two things that disturb me, about the universal nature of this revolution, that apply to us now , and of course what has been said about Africa, can be said about the rest of the world, I was there as a part of its consultation on Missionary policy of our Church, we call it a part of long-range planning, we just wonder if God and history will give us enough time to make long-range plans. We're going to Latin-America next, we hope we can get there before too many revolutions break out, and then there is all of Asia. It's the same story all over the world, but there are one or two factors that bear down on us this morning, one is that this one world that is forming is not forming along the lines you and I had expected. We had hoped and beleived that the one world would come together as a Christian World This is not happening, what is happening is that there is emerging one culture, all over the world, and that culture is scientific and materialist, Africans or Latins, or Asians may want the same culture we have, but they don't

necessarily want our Christian culture. They want our scientific culture. They want our educational opportunities, they want our materialist standard of living. So you and I have got to decide what this means to the Christian gospel all over the earth. How we deal with a revolution which is producing one world as we had hoped. [redacted]

The one world that is based on other factors in our culture, and not necessarily on our religious factor. I think this says something to all of us, of which ever race, for everyone of here this morning has already been caught in some of the subtle temptations of the scientific materialistic revolution of our time, the white church of America presents to the world a facade of materialism. The Negro race of America can easily be suspected of wanting freedom not for freedom sake, and not for the sake of the freedom of others in the world,

but for the sake of economic priviledges, and the social priviledges.

We have already confessed that neither one of us has any right to judge another. I simply say that we must face the fact that the world today is advancing in a direction we may not fully desire nor control. And it may be that we are caught in the same emerging materialism, we must be aware of it. The second place where this bears down on us is of course in our own church life as I have already indicated, and here of course I speak more perhaps to those of us who are members of white churches, but the thing that bothers me about my Methodist church is that I see it overseas as a part of and as the producer of this revolution. While in this country it is the conservative force pending to slow down or even work against revolution. Not always, but predominantly. for example, in Angola, we have had five missionaries arrested, one has been released the others have been taken to Lisbon where they are awaiting trial. It's not wonder that American Methodist Missionaries have been

arrested by the Portagese government, Angola. It came as something of a shock to read or have read to me from the Luanda paper, the Capital of Angola, stories and editorials which said that the Angola rebels are being furnished their arms from the American Methodist Mission Station. It is a shock to read that, it is not true, but I will confess to you to a little bit of pride, that our church in Angola and our missionaries have been so identified with the revolutionary desires of the African people that the government could suspect this kind of thing. You would never suspect it of the American Methodist Chruch here. There they are one thing, here we are another. Or again an illustration. We spend a week end in Victoria Falls before going on into Johannasburg, and on Sunday, I purchased a newspaper from Johannasburg, a Sunday paper, I was going to Johannasburg the next day, and read with great interest and pride headlines, which said "Prime Minister says No to Methodists" Now this was the headline of a story about a very dear friend, Dr. J. B. Webb. Joe Webb has stood tall in his pulpit for more than twenty years, in the center of Johannasburg. He is one of the few men like Allen Payton, so influential that the government dare not touch him while they are arresting others, they dare not arrest ment like this yet. These were the days just before the republic was proclaimed and there were many voices in South Africa calling for nationwide multiracial conventions to deal with these problems. Finally Joe Webb had said to the prime minister, Let the Methodists initiate such a conference, let us invite them, we will invite them to meet in our church, and it was to that proposal to which the headlines reported "Prime Minister Says No, to Methodists" This is the kind of identification with the world-wide revolution, which our churches have overseas, but not in this country. Now our problem here in a sense is the same though very

different, from the problems of the church overseas. For example we hear a lot about African tribalism. I was priveleged the in the annual conference in Rhodesia, as they were debating a very interesting question, In old Umtali in Rodesia in the city of Umtali there is a church named St. Andrews, which has been a Methodist congregation connected with our American Methodist mission for many years. It was organized to serve the European that came out from England largely. That congregation has insisted on remaining all white , and it has been a source of great irritation. These laymen are primarily of English background and they haven't been happy with the breezy manner of the young American Missionaries who have been assigned to be their pastors. And the missionaries haven't been happy being assigned, I mean you don't offer yourself to be a missionary to Africa to go to be pastor of a white congregation in Umtali. So it's been a source of irritation, and this year the proposal has been made by the laymen of the church that they be allowed to transfer out of our American Methodist Mission into the Synod of British Methodisism. I may hasten to say that this gives a picture of British Methodistism, which is not quite fair, but these are the facts locally. So the debate was taking place in the annual conference as to whether this congregation would be allowed to move from American Methodisism to British Methodisism. And there arose a brilliant young African Laymen, a head-master of our School system there, he is a man with a master's degree from the University of London, he is coming next fall to Harvard to do PHD work, he is one of the lay-delegates that Delhi, at the world council of churches assembly this month. Matthew said, "We hear often about African tribalism, let me tell you this is British tribalism." Let me ask you today, when the door of a church in your state and town and mine is closed to worship, to an African or the American Negro is this the religion of the New Testament? Or is it Tribalism? Is it the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ or is it religion based upon the family

mores and customs of our social culture? Or let me ask you again, (yes, alright, lunch is ready, eh, just a minute, eh, that's alright;) or when a patient is brought by an ambulance to a hospital door, a hospital owned and operated by a Christian church and they are sent away, is this the religion of the Good Samaritan? Or is it tribalism? ~~Now in closing let me come to pause, for right~~ What we are saying today is that our world though it can be characterized ~~universally, by many factors, is~~ characterized by the revolution which unless we can somehow re-direct it will not be Christian but will be scientific technological, materialist, ~~and we attempted to be a part of that area.~~ And in the second place it bears down upon us in our own church life. Let me remind you that we have a unique reason for bringing the whole world together, for Paul said I feel myself under a sort of universal obligation, I owe something to all men. Now Paul did not mean that he felt that he owed every man something because what every man had done for him, but he felt he owed something to every man because what God had done for him. My own experience is, I am sure as yours, when I stand in the presence of the Cross, I am struck with the over-whelming powerof the Love of God for me. I know it's for everybody, but for ~~only~~ a while, it's only for me, it's for me, this I can not escape. and when I realize that it's for me, then I am aware of how unworthy I am of it, ~~th~~ I would say to God, "No, you can't love me, not like that because you do not ~~know~~ know how little I deserve it." But from the cross comes that answer, "I do know you, and I do love you," ~~and~~ I can never forget that I owe something to all men, not because of what they have done for me, but because of what God has done for me. And so I suggest that you and I must find a way to identify ourselves with this revolution, this world and what's taking place in it. Our places will all be different, everyone of us, I've not felt called upon to to go with my friends on sit-ins, the freedom rides, but every person must find his place ~~where she~~ he can sacrifice something, where he can give something

of himself to be a part of the redemption of the whole. Coming out of Israel, this summer, I had a new interest in Exodus that I had not had earlier. If you read the book or saw the movie, you remember there is an incident that I want to close with in both. It is the story of the little girl Karen, talking to her boyfriend who has his own reasons for beingbitter against everybody. She's telling about how her own family sent her to Denmark, hoping to escape the Nazis scourage, but it moved on there too, finally, and then came the day when the decree was made, in Denmark, that all Jews would wear the Yellow armband, with the star of David. This cruel device had been used effectively in other places and now, it had come to Denmark. On a certain day every Jew must mark himself off from the rest of the human race by this outward sign, and you kno w what happened? When that morning came the King of Denmark appeared in public with a yellow band, and the star of David, and the citizens all took the cue and soon everyboyd, Jew and Dane alike were wearing the cursed sign. Now you and I have got to find some sign in our lives, that this world revolution has cut deeply, down deep where it hurts in to our hearts, and for some of us it will be the shape of a cross for that cross reminds us that He loved us that much, and because He loves us, we 're under sort of a universal obligation, we owe something to all men.

REPORT OF THE DISCUSSION GROUPS

Q. What can we do as individuals to grow in depth and vision lest we grow weary in well-doing?

A. Reporter for Group 1: - Hummell

Take advantage of any opportunity. Meet with people of other races and nationality. Construct relationship on our part. We should use empathy.

Reporter for Group 2: - Thomas

Individual action and commitment to good causes are necessary before concrete results can be achieved.

Reporter for Group 3: - Freeman

Individual contact with individuals to establish true finding friendship and concern.

XXXXXXXX

RECOMMENDATIONS: Subscribe to the Negro Magazines; read writers' work for greater dimension. Correspondence - lifting spirits through correspondence, knowing of what is happening in and around the world.

Q. How can we bring concerned individuals in Negro and white communities together in more significant communication?

Group 1:

Help in daily vacation Bible School; Communication; have prayer groups meet regularly; Use youth Y-Teen groups; using all methods we possibly can, carry on meetings.

Group - 2:

The first step should be taken an both sides in order to bring concerned individuals in the Negro and white communities closer together. The "let George do it" attitude is out in achieving better human relations.

Jackson:

Small towns and communities should be given a more true understanding of facts. Community relationships seemed better in larger towns and groups. Establish lines in communication.

Ashley:

Depend on organized groups, for communication. Person-to-Person communication.

gx

Q. How can we bring to commitment those who are uncertain but troubled in conscience.?

Group 1:

Contact bordesline persons, and through large groups , make known their need to know of complications of small groups. Study groups. Get definite feelings and positive attitudes.

Group 4:

In view of the fact that we represent such great faiths, we should depend on them, talk them up, live them up, and in this way possibly we can bring about a satisfaction to the troubled and uncertain conscience.

Group 2:

For those who are uncommitted but concerned and are tottering on the brink of indecision, we should give all the love and understanding possible, and maintain a tolerant attitude while they are making up their minds.

Q. What can we do in our parishes and Synagogues to bring them to ~~sumpmate~~ corporate witness?

Group 5:

Set up leadership. Combine groups under one responsible leader. Issue a Manifeste, this could be done by the Ministers, College leaders, Doctors, Scientists.

Group 8:

Start with the churches, extend invitations, exchange programs,etc. Workshops, personal connections, person-to-person contacts, Challenge the face-to-face contacts.

Group 2:

In our churches and synagogues, our corporate witness should begin with ourselves. Try inviting persons of another race into the fellowship of the congregation.

~~GENERAL~~ RECOMMENDATIONS:

Begin within organized groups, and invite other races to join and attend our fellowship.

Q. What significant action can we take as individuals to further employment on the basis of merit andthe unrestricted opening of housing opportunities?

Group 2:

Significant action should be taken by each of us as individuals if we would bring about a better world.

Group 3:

Job opportunities based on technical training probably greater in small areas; pressure is put on merchants and employers for the employment of youth, also certain citizens.

Housing: Urban renewal; subsidizing housing mule has been ignored; Committee should be formed; people should live where they wish, not integration but de-segregation.

Group 7:

Cuban Refugees - should be a concern for all; check with agencies and organizations, Housing and job opportunities.

It was reported that Louisville, Ky., had dropped its tag on racial property, equal opportunity in employment.

Mrs. Beezer: SRC has helped to conduct four employment surveys.

Available information through the Council.

Q. What is our role in seeing that one Supreme Court decision on the desegregation of Public Schools is implimented in spirit and the truth in our own communities?

Group 1

1. OASIS, 2. HOPE

Group 5

1. Quiet work is important; (2) Inter-group Conferencs a good way to improve the Supreme Court's decision. OASIS grew out of the schools, religious, youth, and civic groups.
Let us remember that"God is not in an earthquake, or fire, but in a small voice."

Durr-Cahn:

Beyond personal, volunteer groups, government groups, bring to attention the possibility of looking on the government groups handling housing. Write letters, write Kennedy too for the protection of freedom riders. Ask for protection from terror.

STEVENS:

Meeting has been a symbol of what we want to do when we get back home.

1. Meeting was given by one woman with upper-room experiences.

2. Meeting under the umbrella of the So-called agency. Allies, special church relations.

3. Represented here in this room three great faiths.

Comments on Employment: As a channel through which to work, government

contracts, Chambers~~xxxxxxx~~ of Commerce especially. However, we find that many organizations, etc, will accept no government contracts because of pressure that will be put on them.

COMMENTS ON RELATIONSHIPS:

Get our own children to be friendly.

Get attitudes "set in" in early life, also help the mothers in seeing the need for togetherness.

II

Agri: to [illegible] – [illegible] Vac Bible School

Com –

UCW – Span up [illegible] –

U. C – [illegible] – use Youth Y-Teens

Prayer Groups – [illegible]

Set this

Commun – [illegible]

Mrs. Jochum: Small [illegible] Com.

[illegible] com [illegible]

[illegible] – [illegible] – est lines – Communication

Thomas: [illegible]

tolerant [illegible]

[illegible]

Ashley: – depend [illegible] Communication.

Small – [illegible] Communication

3 – How Can [illegible]

communication question IX

Report of Group IV

One of the most important factors in promoting good race-relations is communication. The local person as an individual must be helped to understand the total meaning of working together as Christian women through proper communications. To accomplish this end the following suggestions were given:

Daily Vacation Bible Schools; World Day of Prayer Groups; Through the Y.W.C.A.; Ministerial Councils; Welfare Agencies; Urban Leagues; May Fellowship Day; World Community Day; Race Relations: National Brother-Hood week. Jewish Rabbi, catholic etc meet and plan for National Brother-Hood week; youth organization; 4-Teens. Last but not least Prayer groups or prayer clubs of 2 or 3 individuals

What are we planning to do with the information received here? Carry on Visitation Programs; Work Shops, Institutes, in building bridges of understanding and seeking people to walk on these bridges.

Mrs. Pauline H. Muhleman, Leader
Mr. Robert Schroder, Resource
Mrs. Augustine M. St. Cyr, Recorder.

Discussion on give of self as a Negro Woman?
Personal Stand

Our Roll on the Supreme ~~Schoo~~
Courts Decision on Integration.
Have an inter-group conference on
a

Governmental Groups:

Housing etc.
1. Called by one woman
[illegible]

2.- Meet under the umbella of an
unsectarian agency -
Churches
3. We represent 3 great faiths

Chamber of Commerce

WORKSHOPS

Questions for consideration

1. What can we do as individuals to grow in depth and vision lest we grow weary in well-doing?

2. How can we bring concerned individuals in Negro and white communities together in more significant communication?

3. How can we bring to commitment those who are uncertain but troubled in conscience ?

4. What can we do in our parishes and Synagogues to bring them t to corporate witness?

5. What significant action can we take as individuals to further employment on the basis of merit and the unrestricted opening of housing opportunities?

6. What is our role in seeing that one Supreme Court dicision on the desegregation of Public Schools is implimented in spirit and the truth in our own communities?

1. Our personal conversion -
Communication
Vocational training for negroes.

Group II

Findings

I. Individual action and commitment to good causes are necessary before concrete results can be achieved

II. The first steps should be taken on both sides in order to bring concerned individuals in the Negro and white community closer together. The "Let George do it" attitude is out in achieving better human relations.

III For those ~~[illegible]~~ uncommitted but concerned individuals who are tottering on the brink of indecision, we should give all the love and understanding possible, and maintain a tolerant attitude while they are making up their minds.

IV In our churches and synagogues, our corporate witness should begin with ourselves, by inviting persons of another race into the fellowship of the congregation.

V Significant action should be taken by each of us as individuals if we would bring about a better world.

"Let there be peace in the world and let it begin with me."

Addie M. Thomas
Recorder Grange #

793
$42,958 members

Give names of others from Ark.

The First Christian Church

836 Highland,
Fayetteville, Arkansas

September 28, 1961.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I will be most happy to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta, November 6th and 7th. Will you let me know if there are others coming from Arkansas — perhaps we could share transportation.

And is there some "homework" we should do before the conference?

Sincerely yours,

Thelma Engler (Mrs. Kyle)

accept

Christian Churches of Georgia
(Disciples of Christ)
Christian Women's Fellowship Division
1063 HIGH STREET MACON, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

October 6, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am eager to attend the sessions of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held at Clark College, Atlanta, November 6 and 7. I can be in the sessions during the day of the 6th, but must go to Augusta to be ready for meetings of our Annual Assembly which will begin the morning of the 7th.

I do hope that you will ask two of the women who serve on our Women's State Board, however. They both live in Atlanta and could possible attend. On second thought one of these women will be in Augusta, so I am suggesting only one. She is Mrs. W. L. Humphress, 3612 Keswick Dr., Chamblee, Georgia.

It is unfortunate that this conflict comes each time, but it is to be expected I suppose as both meetings seem to be set for the same time from year to year.

Sincerely yours,

Anne Beach

Mrs. James R. Beach
Executive Secretary

accept

Fwd

ADA legislative newsletter

William L. Taylor
Legislative Representative

First Session
87th Congress

Issue Number 1
January 6, 1961

(Every two weeks we summarize events in Congress as an information service to assist you in national affairs activities. We include brief analyses of legislative proposals together with factors of timing and politics as we see them. Subscription rate, $3 per year.)

* Skirmish at the New Frontier

SKIRMISH AT THE NEW FRONTIER

Winding up its first week in session, the 87th Congress moved tentatively toward modest changes designed to loosen conservative control over the policy-making machinery of both Houses.

The Senate

On the first day of the new session, Senate liberals launched their by now traditional effort to revise Rule XXII so that debate on any issue could be terminated by a vote of a majority (51) of all Senators.

The early proceedings went off without a hitch. Sen. Anderson (D-N. M.) offered a resolution which would permit cloture (termination of debate) to be invoked by three fifths of the Senators present and voting, rather than the present requirement of two thirds. Senators Humphrey and Kuchel, Democratic and Republican whips, introduced a substitute to allow cloture by a Constitutional majority.

Vice President Nixon, ironically cast in the role of the liberals' hope, cleared the way for a vote on the resolutions, by holding that the rules changes would not themselves be subject to a filibuster. He advised the Senate that it could not be bound by any previous rule which inhibited a majority from acting to change the rules. Thus old Rule XXII, requiring a two-thirds vote, will be inapplicable, and debate on the Anderson and Humphrey-Kuchel resolutions can be ended if a majority supports a motion to call the previous question.

As desultory debate on the issue continued, it appeared that the liberals, while mustering more strength than ever before on the Humphrey-Kuchel resolution, would probably fall short of victory. But prospects for Anderson's three-fifths proposal brightened as several Republicans and Western Democrats, who oppose majority rule, indicated that they look with favor on the more modest change.

With victory in sight on at least the three-fifths resolution, the role of Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.), the new majority leader, becomes more critical. If Mansfield favors the change or even remains neutral, it undoubtedly will go through. If, on the other hand, he moves to set aside the Anderson measure, many Democrats, who otherwise would vote for a change, will be reluctant to oppose his leadership.

Thus far, the President-elect has maintained a hands-off attitude. Mr. Kennedy apparently has authorized liberal Senators to say that, if a Senator, he would vote for majority rule as he has in the past. But he has been loath to make this an Administration issue before he takes office.

Nevertheless, a win on the Anderson resolution would clearly be in the interests of the new Administration. Since victory now seems realizable without Mr. Kennedy's direct and open intervention, claims that it would be unwise for him to antagonize the Southerners are inapplicable. These arguments were always illusory, since they are based on the premise, proved false at the past summer session and before, that the Deep South contingent can be conciliated into voting for medical care, education, and other social welfare legislation. The Nixon ruling also makes it clear that efforts to filibuster a rules change can be defeated by majority vote. Thus there need be no fear that the rules debate will run on after the inauguration and impede consideration of Mr. Kennedy's legislative program.

Action now might also spare the Vice President-elect the embarrassment of having to decide later as presiding officer of the Senate whether to reverse his prior position against majority rule or to oppose his own party's platform. Mr. Johnson can steer clear of the issue now, but he would find it difficult to duck, once he assumes his constitutional duties.

Finally, even a modest rules change would reduce the threat of filibuster as a weapon in the hands of those who will oppose civil rights legislation and other parts of the Kennedy program.

Action: Votes may come at any time. Wire your Senator and Sen. Mansfield, urging that they support the Nixon ruling, vote for the Humphrey-Kuchel resolution, and, in the event it is defeated, vote for the Anderson resolution.

The House

In the House, the goal of liberals was to remove the power of the conservative coalition on the Rules Committee to block legislation or dictate its terms as a condition for permitting it to come to the floor. The most effective way to accomplish this result would have been a move on the first day to change the rules of the House so that the Rules Committee could become a majority party policy committee or that alternative means, e.g. reinstatement of the 21-day rule, could be established to bring legislation to the floor.

But House liberals, reportedly fearful that they could not secure the votes for a change in the rules, decided to revert to strategy which proved futile two years ago. At that time, they avoided making the Rules Committee a public issue and sought instead the commitment of Speaker Rayburn that the Rules Committee would not become a bar to progressive legislation. Mr. Rayburn gave liberal leaders assurances that he would use his best efforts, but even when he tried he was unable to budge the Rules Committee on housing, education, or other issues.

This time, the liberals said, they would not be satisfied with assurances but would seek the Speaker's help in changing the composition of the Committee. Thus, it was reported this week that negotiations were under way for the removal from the Committee of Rep. Colmer (D-Miss.), who supported a states right slate of electors in the election, or a change in the ratio of the committee from 8 Democrats and 4 Republicans to 9-3. Mr. Rayburn was said to be working to accomplish such a plan.

The difficulty is that neither change taken alone is likely to loosen the grip of the conservative coalition over legislation. Both changes, the addition of two liberal Democrats and the removal of Mr. Colmer and a Republican slot on the Committee would be necessary to convert what has been a 7-5 conservative majority on civil rights and education issues into a 7-5 liberal majority. Both the removal of Colmer and a change in the ratio of the Committee can be secured by action of the Democratic Committee on Committees on which the liberals have an 8-7 advantage, subject only to an unlikely reversal on the floor of the House. Prospects for a combination of both changes presently seem remote. The removal of Mr. Colmer would at least have some symbolic value if his fellow Mississippi and Louisiana rebels were removed from their legislative committee positions or reduced in status. Here too, however, the Speaker is reported reluctant to be a party to a "purge."

Thus, it now appears that the liberals have maneuvered themselves into a position where they will have to accept whatever balm Mr. Rayburn is prepared to offer. As matters now stand, this will not be very much.

* * *

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ADA

legislative newsletter

William L. Taylor
Legislative Representative

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* Senate Setback
* Executive Action and Congress

AFTER THE BALL IS OVER

Washington these days is a place of suspended animation and suspended judgment.

In recent months the government has been virtually without direction or purpose. Except for the break in diplomatic relations with Cuba, the Eisenhower Administration has acted as a caretaker, avoiding major decisions. Meanwhile the new President has been preoccupied with the selection of policy-makers rather than with policy-making itself.

Last week, President Kennedy shattered the calm with his bold and idealistic inaugural speech, setting forth the broad objectives of our foreign policy. But his words were intended to inspire, not set forth a blueprint, and they provided little indication of the shape of things to come.

Senate Setback

In this respect, the evidence at hand in the outcome of efforts to change the rules in Congress is not encouraging. Weeks of negotiation have produced the promise of only a slight weakening of the control of conservatives over the policy-making machinery of the House. In the Senate, the conservative coalition actually managed to strengthen its hand.

add 2 Dem 1 Rep

The House will vote this week on Speaker Rayburn's proposal, approved by the Democratic caucus, to add two Democrats and one Republican to the Rules Committee. If, as seems indicated, the Rayburn resolution carries, liberal and "moderate" forces on the committee will enjoy a tenuous 8-7 majority on some major domestic policy issues. (The Democratic additions are likely to be Rep. Moss of California or Rep. Blatnik of Minnesota and Rep. Elliott of

Alabama. Minority Leader Halleck will probably fill the new GOP spot and two vacancies with conservatives.) But the benefit which Mr. Rayburn will receive from the change will not necessarily accrue to the Kennedy Administration. The "liberal" majority on the committee will be composed in part of men like Rep. Trimble (D.-Ark.), Rep. Thornberry (D.-Tex.), and Rep. Elliott, who are not fully committed to the Democratic platform or are subject to conservative pressures. Thus, Rules may still be the forum for compromising important measures before they reach the floor, especially in areas like aid to teachers' salaries, civil rights, and medical care, where Mr. Rayburn himself is less than enthusiastic about platform commitments.

In the opening skirmishes in the Senate, Mr. Kennedy maintained an attitude of strict neutrality while his policies received a setback and his liberal supporters an almost humiliating defeat. The battle against the filibuster terminated abruptly when Majority Leader Mansfield succeeded by a narrow margin (50-46) in referring all proposals to the Senate Rules Committee, thus killing for at least two years any opportunity to bring debate on a rules change to a close by majority vote. (see LN #1) Mr. Mansfield, in his comments during the debate, seemed not to comprehend fully the issues at stake and he apparently was surprised by the strength of the sentiment for a change that was revealed in the vote against his resolution. The closeness of the vote alone made it clear that the new President could have altered the result without becoming embroiled in a public fight. Whatever prompted his inertia, an almost certain victory (for three-fifths cloture) was converted to a defeat by default.

The assignments to key Senate committees were equally disheartening. At the opening of the session, liberals made a modest advance when it was decided that appointments by the majority leader to the Democratic Steering Committee (which makes committee assignments) and Policy Committee (which schedules legislation) would be made with due regard for geographic as well as seniority considerations and would be subject to ratification by all Democratic senators. From then on, however, the tide ran against the liberals. Sen. Clark was defeated in his effort to expand the membership of Sen. Byrd's Finance Committee and Sen. Eastland's Judiciary Committee. Instead, Sen. Fulbright was chosen over Sen. Proxmire for the Finance Committee vacancy and Sen. Blakely, a segregationist from Texas, got one of the two open spots on Judiciary. As a final blow, Sen. Dodd, an early supporter of Vice President Johnson's presidential aspirations and a sabre-rattler in foreign affairs, was chosen for a vacancy on the Foreign Relations Committee although Sen. Clark, who has greater seniority, also sought the post.

No logic or consistency (even that of seniority) was apparent in the committee selections. Rather, they reflect Mr. Johnson's continuing influence over the affairs of the Senate and an utter lack of commitment by Democratic leaders to the promises made in their platform. Notions of the separation of executive and legislative powers were also swept away in the invitation extended to the new Vice President to preside over meetings of the Democratic caucus. Northern Democrats were caught by surprise by that move, and there was more resentment than the 46-17 vote for Johnson reflects.

Executive Action and Congress

Despite the ill omens, no one yet is venturing dire predictions for the Kennedy Administration. Most observers have a healthy respect for the power of a strong President to move a recalcitrant Congress, and they believe Mr. Kennedy has both the will and the ability to alter the political climate through the exercise of determined leadership. Moreover, in many areas, particularly in foreign policy and civil rights, the President may be able to take the initiative without securing the assent of Congress.

It would be unrealistic, however, to assume that executive action will provide an easy solution. Whatever initiatives the Kennedy Administration takes in foreign policy, it still must go to Congress for approval of its economic aid program. In civil rights, President Kennedy has committed himself unreservedly to the issuance of an executive order barring discrimination in federally financed housing. Yet he faces fights in Congress to secure Cabinet status for a Department of Urban Affairs, for new legislative programs to fill unmet needs in housing, and over confirmation of his excellent appointment of Robert C. Weaver as Housing and Home Finance Administrator. Some timid souls in the Administration already are suggesting that the housing order can be sacrificed in a deal for legislation.

The test of the Kennedy Administration will come in its ability to resist these easy and familiar compromises and in its willingness to fight the battle through.

"Now the trumpet summons us again," President Kennedy said in his inaugural address. But who can say what the result will be if "the trumpet give forth an uncertain sound."

* * *

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Rules Committee makes it a little stronger added Edwards of Ala & Smith of Cal

ADA legislative newsletter

William L. Taylor
Legislative Representative

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(Every two weeks we summarize events in Congress as an information service to assist you in national affairs activities. We include brief analyses of legislative proposals together with factors of timing and politics as we see them. Subscription rate, $3 per year.)

* VICTORY ON RULES
* THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY
* OVERSEAS AID

Victory on Rules

By the narrowest of margins (217-212) the House voted last week to rid itself of the shackles which have helped to immobilize Congress in recent years.

Enlargement of the size of the Rules Committee was fundamental to the success of the Kennedy Administration. Defeat would have meant disaster for much of the President's program. Victory means that social and economic measures will reach the floor of the House for debate, where the President will be able to exercise political leadership and the full weight of public opinion can be brought to bear on Congress.

But the closeness of the vote was a forecast of difficult days ahead. Roughly, the balloting indicates the liberal-conservative division of the House on a wide range of social and economic issues, excluding civil rights and foreign aid legislation. There were a number of interesting aspects to the vote:

(1) the not so solid character of the "Solid South." The Speaker, with the significant help of the White House, was able to persuade a majority of the Democratic delegations of Texas, Tennessee and Louisiana to support him and he picked up scattered assistance in urban areas of the Deep South. This by no means indicates that these 34 Southern Democrats will vote across the board for economic and social legislation. But it does point up the fact that the interests of the border states and industrialized areas of the South are not identical with those of the Deep South and affords hope that the Administration can pick up more marginal Southern votes on some issues than has been the case in the past.

(2) the "solid GOP." Only 22 Republicans supported the Rayburn proposal and 18 of these were from urban areas of the East. It is true that the issue was made one of party loyalty and that many GOP Congressmen were vulnerable because committee assignments had not yet been distributed. Nonetheless, the vote makes it clear that the liberal GOP contingent in the House is woefully small and unorganized, and that Democrats cannot expect the same cooperation they will get from

the group headed by Sens. Javits, Case and Cooper in the Senate. There is increasing evidence that the Dirksen-Halleck leadership intends to take a militant, negative line in opposition to the Kennedy program. Absent a tide of public opinion running in favor of vigorous legislative action, the Republican leaders seem unlikely to reexamine their present obstructionist position.

After the vote, the Democrats moved quickly to fill the new slots on the Rules Committee, appointing Rep. Carl Elliott of Alabama and Rep. B. F. Sisk of California. Rep. Elliott voted for foreign aid, depressed area, housing, minimum wage and food stamp legislation in the last Congress and was the author of a reasonable labor reform bill, which the House never had an opportunity to consider. His illiberal votes came on measures involving civil rights and civil liberties. Rep. Sisk took a liberal position on all issues before the last Congress. Thus, the 8 Democrats on Rules now more nearly reflect the views of the Democratic members of the House on most issues. The most grievous exception is on civil rights, where 5 Southerners dominate the Democratic side of the Committee. It is almost certain that Mr. Halleck will refuse to assign a liberal to even one of the three GOP vacancies on the Committee. But it is hoped that one or more of the three will at least be disposed to support legislation to protect constitutional rights.

As the week ended, Congress was preparing to take a ten-day recess for Lincoln and Jefferson-Jackson day dinners. No substantial legislative business has been transacted in either House, and Sen. Dirksen is stalling depressed areas, the only hearings thus far undertaken on major legislation. To match the President's dynamism, Congress has produced only its usual early session lethargy

The Domestic Economy

If a sense of urgency in Congress is what is required, President Kennedy did his best to instill it with his forceful and sober State of the Union message and his subsequent press conference and economic message.

Mr. Kennedy has accorded first priority to legislative and executive measures designed to stimulate the economy and mitigate the distress caused by the recession. He already has moved to loosen housing credit, to bring food relief to the needy by increasing the variety of foods made available and by instituting pilot food stamp projects in 5 areas (utilizing authority which his predecessor ignored); to accelerate construction on public works and community facilities projects; and to channel defense contracts to depressed areas

The President has also asked Congress for legislation to: extend by as much as 13 weeks the duration of benefits for persons whose unemployment insurance has expired (accompanied by a recognition that this is merely a stop-gap approach and assurances that a permanent program to establish federal standards for the amount and duration of benefits would be submitted); to extend the aid to dependent children program to children of the unemployed; to provide assistance to depressed areas; and to increase minimum wages and extend the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Specific recommendations for medical care legislation and for an omnibus housing bill were promised for the near future.

The President's words about the adverse balance of payments put the problem into proper perspective and his immediate recommendations included none which would impair efforts to stimulate the economy or to weaken our aid commitments to underdeveloped countries. While tipping his hat to a balanced budget, Mr. Kennedy

made it clear that he was seeking a balance over a period of years, that a balanced budget could not be expected in the midst of recession, and that he would not sacrifice his recommendations on the altar of the budget.

Mr. Kennedy is apparently listening to the advice of his liberal economic advisors and implementing it very vigorously.

Overseas Aid

President Kennedy in his State of the Union message fired the initial round in the Congressional battle over overseas aid which will probably go on, as in past years, up to the closing days of the session.

He called for a "towering and unprecedented" response to the needs of the developing countries. While he did not spell these words out in dollars, the indications are that he will ask for nearly double the $2 billion requested by the Eisenhower Administration for the fiscal year beginning July 1. He also called for "more commitment to long-range development," thus indicating that he would renew the effort, which he initiated as a Senator in 1959, for financing overseas aid by borrowing from the Treasury, rather than subjecting the program to its annual obstacle race through Congress.

The President also asked for Senate approval of the establishment of the proposed "Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development," which will stimulate and coordinate the contributions of America's allies to the development effort. Picking up another of his 1959 Senate efforts, he asked amendment of the Battle Act to give the Administration stand-by authority to help the Communist countries of Eastern Europe with loans and grants.

During recent years, the hard core of opposition to overseas aid programs among Southern Democrats and isolationist Republicans has steadily expanded. The relatively modest Eisenhower proposals, severely slashed each year, owed their survival to the combined votes of liberal and moderate Democrats and of Republicans largely motivated by their loyalty to a Republican President.

The chief question mark overhanging the Kennedy proposals, therefore, is the attitude of the Republican minority, now going through a Goldwaterish reaction against the efforts, which both Eisenhower and Nixon pursued, each in his fashion, to give the GOP a "moderate" image. The chief hope for success is that President Kennedy may be able to mobilize public opinion more successfully than his predecessor, whose efforts in this direction were too half-hearted to have any impact.

A footnote - The White House has confirmed that President Kennedy, having noticed that there were no Negroes in the Coast Guard contingent which marched in the Inaugural Parade, and having learned that none are attending the Coast Guard Academy, directed Academy officials to make certain that qualified Negroes are given an opportunity to enroll. This was the latest of a series of incidents in which the President having witnessed or read about inequities in government, has ordered their immediate correction. Its good public relations. But its also refreshing to have a President who reacts with the right instincts to what he reads and sees.

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William L. Taylor
Legislative Representative

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* Domestic Strategy
* On the Horizon

Domestic Strategy

There is a great deal of debate these days about the wisdom of major strategy decisions made by the Kennedy Administration in placing its economic recovery and social welfare programs before Congress. Almost all the discussion centers around the knotty problems created by the absence of any sense of urgency in a closely divided Congress.

Concern is voiced, for example, over the President's decision to defer any action on a tax cut until April. It is generally agreed that a temporary cut of $100 in the liability of every taxpayer would be one of the quickest and most effective ways to stimulate economic recovery. But some Administration officials fear the public and congressional reaction to a tax cut. They argue that a reduction in taxes could be used as an effective weapon against an increase in spending for public needs. Opponents of welfare legislation, it is said, would be able to argue simply, if not truthfully, that the Administration, in reducing taxes, feels no urgency about enacting spending measures for education and health.

Thus the Administration is placing prime emphasis upon quick passage of its unemployment compensation and aid to depressed areas legislation. Federal grants to extend unemployment compensation payments to workers who have exhausted their benefits, for periods up to 13 weeks, and a companion measure permitting assistance to the families of the unemployed under the aid to dependent children program, will probably clear the House Ways and Means Committee this week. With little opposition expected, even from conservative Republicans, the bills will probably be speeded through both Houses. (An unfortunate side effect is that passage of the temporary measures will help Congress to forget the need for fundamental reform of the unemployment compensation system--despite the fact that the President has promised a bill providing permanent standards in March.) Similarly, depressed areas legislation, though stalled at present in committee, is expected to emerge shortly after the recess.

Beyond the recession program, many observers also find the Administration approach on welfare legislation disquieting. Almost every major bill submitted thus far has been trimmed in advance in an effort to meet anticipated difficulties in Congress. Although not a spending measure, the minimum wage bill stretches out an increase in the minimum from $1.00 to $1.25 over a three-year period, and extends coverage to only 4 million employees now exempt, excluding large groups such as hotel, motel, and restaurant workers. This is substantially the bill that passed the Senate last summer after it had been whittled down in committee and on the floor.

The education bill is expected to contain grants for school construction and teachers' salaries of about $15 per school-age child, or $660 million, in the first year. Although grants would ultimately rise to $1.6 billion in the fourth and fifth years of the program, they start at a level considerably below the $900 million-a-year bill passed by the Senate last year. (The education message, due last week, was deferred when liberal Senators, who had not been consulted in the drafting, rebelled against an allocation formula that permits a differential of as much as 6 to 1 in distribution of money to the states. Everyone agrees that a formula should be based on need, and should provide larger grants to the poorer states, but the wide disparity in the Administration bill is considered inequitable. These and other features of the bill will probably be changed, but total amounts are likely to remain the same.)

The Administration's medical care for the aged bill, which was submitted last week as part of a comprehensive health program, faces tough sledding in both Houses Here too, some liberal Senators are concerned about the failure to make provision for persons outside the social security system, and also about the inclusion of a deductible clause, although they are reasonably satisfied with the broadening of benefits to include diagnostic and outpatient care as well as hospital and nursing-home services.

In preparing almost all of these measures, the Administration has been guided by a penchant to keep the budget from going very far out of balance in the first two years. It is argued that the submission of more substantial programs to an unfriendly Congress would result only in delay or the ultimate rejection or emasculation of the legislation. Liberal critics reply that the Administration has left itself no room for bargaining with Congress. It will be virtually impossible to strengthen the recommendations of the Administration in Congress, and if the usual whittling-down process takes place in committee, on the floor, and in conference, the legislation may emerge as a pale shadow of the original program.

Much will now depend on the strength of the Administration's determination to keep its programs intact. Only time will tell whether its cautious, budget-minded approach will pay any dividends.

On the Horizon

Hearings on the appropriation of the House Un-American Activities Committee will be held by the House Administration Committee, probably within a week. While public concern about HUAC's activities is growing, thus far only Representives Roosevelt and Ryan (D-N. Y.) have been willing to make it an issue. More work is

necessary, even among members of the liberal bloc, before a successful campaign can be waged to abolish the Committee or restrain its excesses.... Under the chairmanship of Sen. Ervin (D-N. C.), who succeeded the late Sen. Hennings under the seniority rule, the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights is now stacked against civil rights. The Committee may even pose a threat to civil liberties in areas like wiretapping, where under Sen. Hennings it had striven to protect the rights of individuals....

The big fight on migrant labor conditions will come when P. L. 78 (the Mexican farm labor program), which is scheduled to expire in December, comes up for renewal. No meaningful improvement in the wages and working conditions of domestic workers can be achieved as long as growers are able to create a labor surplus by bringing in Mexicans. This time the powerful growers lobby will have to contend with a Secretary of Agriculture who is concerned with the plight of agricultural workers, and it may be possible at least to write some protective standards into the law. Even if P. L. 78 is amended, however, protection may be impaired by administration of the immigration laws to permit an influx of temporary Mexican labor. The Administration's inexplicable retention of Immigration Commissioner Swing may cause trouble in this area as well as in continued beknighted administration of the McCarran-Walter Act....

Officials of the major TV networks are making a strong pitch for repeal of the statutory requirement that they give equal time to political parties. Last year, faced with the possibility that Congress would require that free time be given to the Presidential candidates, the networks promised to sell time to the parties if only the equal time provision were temporarily suspended. Now, having delivered under duress, the networks want to be given a free hand entirely ...

Since twenty states will be required to reapportion their congressional districts before 1962 because they will gain or lose seats under the 1960 census, this would be an appropriate year for Congress to require that districts be compact, contiguous, and approximately equal in population. Instead, representatives of states which stand to lose seats are moving to solve their problem by enlarging the size of the House. This legislation, which might be dubbed "the Congressional Full Employment Act," reportedly won the support of Speaker Rayburn last week ....

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William L. Taylor
Legislative Representative

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* Education
* Signs of Life
* Civil Liberties

Education

The President sent to Congress last week a three-year, $2.3 million program of aid to public elementary and secondary schools. But HEW Secretary Ribicoff immediately marred prospects for passage of the legislation with some insensitive and imprudent remarks on the question of desegregation.

Although the Administration's proposal falls far short of what is necessary to eradicate the shortage of classrooms and to attract more qualified teachers through higher salaries, it at least constitutes a reasonable start. Grants during the first year would range from $15 to $30 per child in daily attendance in the public schools, under an equalization formula providing the larger sums to the poorer states, and would rise slowly during the second and third years. The states would be free to allocate the aid as they choose between classroom construction and teachers' salaries, subject only to the requirement that they set aside approximately 10% for special education needs, e.g., programs for slum areas, retarded children, etc. Matching grants would not be required, but the states would have to maintain their effort or face loss of part of their federal aid.

In sum, the Administration bill was a scaled-down version of the previous Murray-Metcalf proposals, retaining its essential substantive and administrative provisions, but reducing the amounts authorized.

The Administration also gave itself some additional leverage by tying the education bill to the impacted-area program, under which sums have been granted to school districts whose needs are increased by the presence of federal installations and employees. The impacted-area program is politically popular even with Congressmen who are indifferent to aid to education (some already have expressed displeasure at proposed cuts in the grants to their districts), and if the Administration can keep the two tied together, it may materially improve prospects for the latter.

Opposition to the bill will again come from those displeased with failure to grant aid to private and parochial schools. But the President has flatly rejected parochial school aid as unconstitutional, and Sen. Morse, a leading proponent of loans to private and parochial schools, has said that he would refrain from any attempt to amend the legislation this year.

The greatest difficulty for the bill will be engendered by Secretary Ribicoff's statement that he did not believe the executive branch had authority to withhold aid to racially segregated areas without congressional authorization and that he opposed such action by Congress or the Executive as a matter of policy. Earlier, Rep. Powell, Chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, had said that he might not offer his amendment, if there were an indication of executive action. The Ribicoff statement will make it difficult for Powell not to offer his amendment and, if he does, the bill will be in dire jeopardy.

Moreover, the Secretary's incorrect view of executive authority has serious implications for other programs. HEW has jurisdiction over the Hill-Burton hospital program and various grants to higher education, and in the latter area the Civil Rights Commission has recommended withholding of aid to public institutions which practice discrimination. While executive policy on grants for elementary and secondary schools which segregate is the most difficult to formulate because of the "all deliberate speed" criteria in the Supreme Court decision, it would be well for HEW to re-examine its position in this area while it is deciding what to do about higher education and hospitals.

Signs of Life

After almost two months of neglect, the Kennedy anti-recession program is beginning to move slowly through Congress. But caution is still the by-word of the Administration's legislative leaders.

Last week, the House passed, by an overwhelming vote (392-30), an Administration bill to extend unemployment compensation for periods up to 13 weeks for workers who had exhausted their regular benefits. The measure differed from President Eisenhower's 1958 bill in only one significant respect: the extension will be financed through federal grants rather than loans to the states, thus enabling the program to go into effect within two weeks after its adoption. Controversy was stimulated only by the Administration's original proposal to pay for the program by raising the wage base of the employers' tax from $3,000 to $4,800, thus requiring high wage industries to assume a fair share of the burden. When, however, conservative opposition threatened to slow progress in committee, the Administration decided to accept instead a raise in the employers' tax from 3.1% to 3.5%. Now the measure goes to the Senate where early action is expected.

Next on the House agenda is a raise in the minimum wage and an increase in coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act. Last week, a House Labor and Education subcommittee reported a bill increasing the minimum to $1.25 in two stages (rather than the three proposed in the Administration bill), and extending coverage to four million workers (about 300,000 less than the Administration's bill). Labor and Education has the votes to write a much better bill, but Speaker Rayburn's strategy

apparently dictates bringing a weak measure to the floor, keeping it intact, and then compromising in conference with a better bill which is expected to emerge from the Senate.

The Senate is likely to act soon on the aid-to-depressed-areas bill and here, too, controversial provisions will probably be omitted in an effort to secure early action. As it now stands, the Administration proposal would require yearly action by the House and Senate Appropriations committees rather than financing through public debt transactions, and would establish the Area Redevelopment Administration in the possibly unfriendly surroundings of the Department of Commerce, rather than as an independent agency.

Civil Liberties

Only six members of the House supported Rep. Roosevelt's courageous effort last week to trim the appropriations of the House Un-American Activities Committee and limit its jurisdiction to matters not within the purview of other legislative committees. The six were Representatives Roosevelt, Ryan (D-NY), Kastenmeier (D-Wis), Green (D-Ore), Ashley (D-Ohio), and Barratt O'Hara (D-Ill). Despite occasional brave words about the decline of McCarthyism, few congressmen are willing to go on record on the wrong side of a "communism" issue. The atmosphere was not improved by the Supreme Court's 5-4 decision two days earlier which gave broad scope to interrogations by HUAC as long as they can be related in a general way to its vague mandate to investigate un-American propaganda.

Meanwhile, the Administration apparently has adopted a wait-and-see attitude toward anti-civil-liberties legislation, as well as the activities of the Un-American Activities and Senate Internal Security committees. Although recent congressional history has not disclosed an absence of new demagogues to take the place of those departing, some Administration people apparently hope the problem will disappear when Rep. Walter retires in 1962.

Addenda: Press accounts of the recent rejection of two resolutions by the House Rules Committee went along with Chairman Smith's assertion that he had cast the Rayburn forces in the role of "obstructionists" by bringing up measures which they felt compelled to vote against. One resolution would have had the destructive effect of barring public debt transactions and requiring all government programs to go through the yearly appropriations process while the other was a salutory measure to permit the televising of committee hearings. But whatever one's view is of the merits of the proposals, Chairman Smith's claim that he had turned the tables on the liberals is erroneous. Both measures originated in the Rules Committee, not in a legislative committee. Liberals have never contested the right of the Rules Committee to refuse to report out rules proposals within its jurisdiction, but only misuse of its "traffic cop" function to block or dictate the terms of legislation reported by other legislative committees. Northern Democrats on Rules may have been wrong in rejecting the TV resolution, but they were not usurpers.

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William L. Taylor
Legislative Representative

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* Equal Employment Opportunity
* Housing
* Congress and the Economy

Equal Employment Opportunity

The President's Executive Order, combining the Committee on Government Contracts and the Committee on Government Employment into a new committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, provides the framework for a broad-scale attack upon racial and religious discrimination.

In a number of important respects, the directive represents a significant improvement on past presidential orders: (1) It specifies a number of sanctions for flexible use against noncomplying contractors, including disqualification from future contracting and enforcement suits by the Department of Justice, as well as cancellation of the contract. The obligation of contracting agencies to honor committee recommendations for cancellation is made clear (excuses for inaction in the past have been that cancellation was too harsh a remedy and that the Committee could not compel contracting agencies to cancel). (2) It equips the Committee with power to initiate affirmative action to promote equal opportunity. Instead of a case-by-case determination of complaints, the Committee is empowered to institute its own investigations of employment practices. Contractors are required to publicize their antidiscrimination policies in help-wanted ads and in requests to employment agencies. Government agencies are directed to survey their own employment practices and report within 90 days. (3) It attempts to reach recalcitrant unions by requiring contractors to seek nondiscrimination agreements with unions and suggesting interference with contract law suits against labor groups which continue to discriminate.

The new committee will be headed by Vice President Johnson and Labor Secretary Goldberg. It has been given jurisdiction and authority to affect practices in industries with employment estimated at nearly 20 million. But proof of the committee's effectiveness will come only in practice. The old Nixon Committee, even with its inadequately spelled-out authority, could have done the job if it had not lacked the will.

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Housing

Housing specialists received the President's message to Congress last week with mixed feelings. After eight years of inaction under the Eisenhower Administration, the priority and substance given by President Kennedy to programs for urban renewal and public housing were viewed as an encouraging change. But those who had hoped for innovation in programs to fulfill unmet housing needs found little in the message to stir the imagination.

Mr. Kennedy asked for an authorization of $2.5 billion for urban renewal over a four-year period, and for reactivation of the public housing program authorized in the 1949 Act, which would permit the construction of 100,000 low-cost units. Other substantial recommendations included federal loans from urban renewal funds for the advance acquisition of lands needed for community development, establishment of a Department of Urban Affairs, an increase of $50 million for direct loans to provide housing for the elderly, and $250 million for each of five years to continue the college housing program.

There was dismay, however, at the proposal that half of the new public housing units be earmarked for the elderly, leaving only 50,000 units for families with young children, families displaced by urban renewal and highway construction, and others. The action was disappointing also in promoting the tendency to segregate elderly families and individuals into separate projects or developments.

Perhaps the most critical remarks have been directed at the narrowness of proposals designed to provide suitable homes for middle-income families ineligible for public housing but unable to pay the costs of other housing. Here, the President made a twofold recommendation: (1) extension of the FHA's no-down-payment, 40-year mortgage program for lower priced housing, currently available only to families displaced by government action, to any family, for a temporary, experimental period; and (2) the establishment of a new program of long-term, low-interest loans to co-operatives, nonprofit associations, limited-dividend corporations, and local housing authorities for the construction of low-rent and co-operative housing units for families whose income excludes them from the private market. Loans would be made available from the special assistance fund of FNMA, which the President would ask Congress to increase by $500 million.

The first proposal tends to raise interest payments without bringing homes within the reach of many families who now cannot afford them. The second, federally subsidized interest rates, comes closer to the mark, but is limited to rental and co-operative housing, limits specific projects to narrow-income groups, and would require the eviction of families whose incomes increase beyond eligibility limits.

An inventive alternative to this approach, one which would bring good homes as well as rental units within the reach of moderate-income families, has been proposed by housing expert Warren Vinton and was adopted last week by the National Housing Conference. Under the NHC program, the federal government would subsidize the cost of new homes built by private developers according to specified standards, if the builder agreed to set aside some units in his development for low- and moderate-income families. Direct loans at low interest rates would be made to developers,

and rents or monthly mortgage payments would be set in accordance with the ability to pay of individual occupants, with adjustments made from time to time as incomes increased. The developer's interest payments would be subsidized to the extent necessary to cover the cost of providing units to occupants paying less than the full economic amount. Under the plan, it would be possible to increase the housing supply by building attractive, noninstitutional new homes in the suburbs as well as in the cities that would be available to families of moderate income (as well as others) without any necessity for eviction when their circumstances improve.

Congress and the Economy

After a long and occasionally rancorous debate, the Senate passed the Douglas Area Redevelopment bill, providing $394 million in grants and loans to bring new industry to areas of high and chronic unemployment. To save a key section permitting direct Treasury financing, Senator Douglas was compelled to yield on his desire to have the program administered independently, rather than in the Commerce Department. He was hampered in his fight by the fact that the Administration conceded both points in the legislation it submitted to the House. The key vote came on the Treasury financing section, which was narrowly preserved (49-45) with the help of only two Republicans (Senators Javits and Cooper).

Any hope that Sen. Byrd (D-Va) would succumb to the blandishments of the Kennedy Administration was dispelled last week by his handling of the unemployment compensation bill. By a vote of 11-2, his Finance Committee rejected a provision to finance extended benefits through a uniform raise in the employers' tax from 3.1% to 3.5%. Instead, the Committee, with the help of such Democrats as Senators Kerr, Anderson and Hartke, would require each state to repay the costs of the benefits it receives. This, like the Eisenhower loan program in 1958, penalizes high-unemployment states rather than spreading the risk over the whole nation. Late in the week, however, the Senate rejected the Byrd provision by a narrow (44-42) vote.

A vote is scheduled in the House this week on the Administration's minimum wage bill (HR 3935). Republican and Dixiecrat forces will attempt to substitute a measure that would limit a raise in the minimum to $1.15 per hour instead of the $1.25 proposed by the Administration. Protection would be extended to only 1.4 million employees, primarily those working in multi-state chain store operations, rather than the 4.3 million covered by the Administration bill. This is substantially the same substitute that carried by a narrow margin last year and wrecked hopes for enactment of a good law. The outcome this year is very much in doubt.

WRITE or WIRE your Congressman urging him to oppose the substitute and vote for HR 3935.

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William L. Taylor
Legislative Representative

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87th Congress

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* Congress at Recess
* Overseas Aid

CONGRESS AT RECESS

After 80 days of its first session, the 87th Congress stands in recess this week with a record which hardly inspires confidence for the future. A qualified victory on rules, long periods of lull, close calls for the Administration on two important but subsidiary issues, and a major setback on minimum wage, add up to a piddling performance in the face of a recession and compelling national needs.

In recent weeks, the Administration has succeeded only in warding off crippling amendments to the temporary unemployment compensation and depressed areas bills. Defeat of the Byrd amendment to the unemployment compensation bill (see LN #5) means that more states will avail themselves of the opportunity to provide temporary relief for their jobless, but the tough question of a more permanent solution is still to be faced. Senate rejection of an attempt to require yearly appropriations for area redevelopment projects means that this important issue will have to be resolved in conference. The Administration facilitated passage of the depressed areas bill in the House by not insisting on direct Treasury financing there and by including incentives in the form of rural development loans for the South.

Overshadowing these victories was the narrow defeat sustained by the Administration's minimum wage bill in the House. The crucial issue there was the formula to be used for extending coverage to employees in the retail and services industries who now are unprotected. Aware of the strength of the Dixiecrat-GOP coalition, the Administration made substantial concessions to special interests by backing a last-minute substitute introduced by Rep. Albert (D-Okla), in the hope of retaining the provision extending coverage to employees in enterprises affecting commerce which gross $1 million a year. But the conservative coalition defeated the Albert substitute by one vote (186-185) and went on to pass its own bill by a recorded vote of 216-203, limiting an increase to $1.15 ($1 for newly covered workers), restricting new coverage to 1.2 million workers while exempting some of the biggest retail chains in the nation, and denying overtime protection to newly covered workers.

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Short of outright repeal of the Fair Labor Standards Act, or no legislation at all, conservative forces could not have enjoyed a more complete triumph.

After the fight was over, the Administration could ascribe its loss to discipline within the Republican ranks and the ineptness of its own leadership in the House. Only 17 Republicans opposed the Ayres-Kitchin bill, and of these not more than 3 or 4 were in evidence in support of the Albert substitute on the non-record vote. Speaker Rayburn, who had won the backing of many of his Texas colleagues on the Rules Committee issue, had only a handful with him on this one, and several Democrats who had been counted on failed to put in an appearance at all on the key 186-185 vote.

It is true that the Administration's setback may not be irremediable. The Senate is likely to pass a bill closer to what the Administration seeks, and the conference committee appointed to resolve differences will be considerably better than the one which buried the Kennedy minimum wage bill last year. But the Administration has been forced to give ground--last week Sen. McNamara submitted a modified version of his original bill, covering only 4 million employees--and the coalition, having scored once, is not likely to give up easily.

Once the Senate completes work on minimum wage, it will begin debate on an aid-to-education bill, now seriously jeopardized by the injection of the church-state issue. Last week, Sen. Morse and Clark, advocates of loans to private and parochial schools, introduced separate legislation to accomplish this purpose, with provisions designed to allow for a test of constitutionality. They hope to hold quick hearings on their measure and report it to the floor before the public school bill is debated. But nothing short of unequivocal assurances that the Administration will seek passage and defend the constitutionality of a private school bill is likely to deter its chief advocates from opposing aid to public schools. Adherents of Sen. Goldwater are also playing the church-state issue for all it is worth, in an attempt to sabotage aid to public schools. If education legislation is to survive intact, especially in the House, a determined fight will have to be made along the lines originally indicated by the President, even at the risk of putting Northern urban congressmen on a difficult spot.

The Administration also is in for a tough battle on the public housing and urban renewal features of its housing program. The scheduling of hearings on medical care legislation has been delayed while the Administration seeks enough support in the Ways and Means Committee to assure a favorable report. Proposals for tax reform and for permanent standards for the amount and duration of unemployment compensation have not yet been submitted to Congress. And a bill to carry out the Democratic platform promise of first-step desegregation in every public school district in the South by 1963, drafted by Sen. Clark at the President's request, is being handled by Administration aides like a hot potato.

Administration Strategy

Thus far, then, Administration tactics of caution and conciliation have not paid off. The conservative coalition has treated the modesty of Administration proposals as evidence of weakness, inviting attack rather than reasonableness. And if Sen. Byrd and his confreres have been impressed by the absence of any civil rights recommendations, they have not expressed their gratitude through co-operation on other issues.

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While Congress takes a breather, Administration tacticians may well begin to re-evaluate their approach. Some weeks ago, a proposed series of fireside chats to mobilize public support for the Kennedy program was put aside as too risky. But some risk-taking obviously will be necessary to salvage much of the New Frontier program in Congress. It will be difficult for the President to devote full energy to domestic legislation at a time when he is preoccupied with finding solutions to world crises. But it may not be amiss to suggest that his top lieutenants can speak more clearly and firmly on the issues than they have to date.

Action: Much will depend, too, upon what congressmen hear, or fail to hear, when they commune with their constituencies during this recess. The propaganda mills of the AMA, the NAM, and the Chamber of Commerce have co-operated to flood congressional offices with mail on the education and medical bills. But visits during the recess which indicate to congressmen that there is a body of community opinion informed and aroused about congressional failures can do much to counter the prevailing apathy.

OVERSEAS AID--PLANNING FOR PROGRESS

Pres. Kennedy's message to Congress on overseas aid laid special stress on the need to co-ordinate U.S. assistance with the development efforts of other industrialized countries and to give it on the basis of long-range, comprehensive plans by the recipient countries. This "country plan" approach is designed to bring about in the developing nations a maximum self-help effort, including land reform, tax reform, improved education, and social justice.

To facilitate long-range planning of economic growth, the President suggested major revisions in U.S. loan policy. He asked for development loan capital of $7.3 billion for the next five years, to be secured by borrowing from the Treasury rather than by annual appropriation by Congress. It was also proposed that all loans be made repayable in dollars, but on easy terms--with low interest or none at all, and in periods ranging up to 50 years. Other recommendations by the President were: separation of economic from military assistance, long advocated by ADA; the unification of the various aid programs in one agency; and special consideration for those nations most willing to mobilize their own resources and make the necessary efforts to attain self-sustaining growth.

Mr. Kennedy recommended the same total--$4 billion--for overseas aid in fiscal 1962 as Pres. Eisenhower had requested. However, he shifted $200 million from military to economic aid, so that the former will be $1.6 billion and the latter $2.4 billion. This is exclusive of the request for $590 million for special aid to Latin America, previously submitted to Congress, which will be a part of the fiscal 1961 budget.

Great controversy in Congress is expected over the Administration's proposal for authority to borrow development loan funds from the Treasury--a measure which Kennedy pressed unsuccessfully as Senator in 1959. Congress is traditionally opposed to this as "back-door" financing and is also reluctant to give up its opportunity to act on the whole aid program each year. There will also, of course, be the usual drive to slash the program as a whole.

The Kennedy message is the opening gun in a battle which will continue well into the summer months. Pres. Eisenhower's springtime zeal for adequate overseas aid seemed usually to wilt in the summer heat; there is good reason to hope that Pres. Kennedy's will not.

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* Congress and the Economy
* Civil Rights
* Progress Restrained

Congress and the Economy

For Congressmen lacking a sense of urgency, Walter Heller's testimony on behalf of the Council of Economic Advisers should be made required reading.

Answering reassuring statements that this has been a shallow recession, the Council pointed out to a congressional committee that this was so only because the decline had begun from low levels, the previous recovery having been abortive. Mr. Heller was even more concerned with problems that will remain even after recovery begins. He documented the increasingly short duration of upswings after each recession, the higher levels of unemployment which are beginning to be considered "normal," and the present gap of some $50 billion between actual and potential production.

While Mr. Heller did not offer projections, he probably would not disagree substantially with Leon Keyserling's sobering estimate that, given the unfavorable trends, unemployment could approach 9 million by 1965, and our national production deficit could reach $120 billion in that year.

The Council ran the gamut of proposed remedies, including proposals for tax incentives for investment, but it placed greatest stress on measures designed to increase consumer demand.

Measured against the dimensions of the job outlined by the Council, the Administration's program seems wanting in many respects and the current debate in Congress almost entirely irrelevant. The Council, for example, found the housing picture much less encouraging now than in 1958 when it played an important part in recovery. Yet Housing Chief Weaver had to admit to Sen. Douglas that the Administration's 40-year, no-down-payment "moderate income" housing program meant $14,768 in interest charges (at 5.5%) on a $10,000 house.

tive recommendation this year will be an extension of the life of the Civil Rights Commission.

3. Legal action to accelerate public-school desegregation. Many civil rights advocates believe that, even lacking specific congressional authorization, the Attorney General may initiate actions in federal court seeking school desegregation. At a Press conference last week, however, Attorney General Kennedy indicated that his prime concern right now was protecting the right to vote.

4. Co-ordination and enforcement. Since civil rights problems are involved in almost every aspect of government operations, it was recommended that top-level direction and co-ordination be provided through the establishment of an Office of Civil Rights in the White House. Although there is considerably more preoccupation with civil rights questions among Presidential assistants than was true in the last Administration, the proposal that this be made a continuing responsibility has been rejected.

5. Presidential leadership. The President has been sensitive to inequity and discrimination in government policies and, as in the cases of the Civil War Centennial, has taken speedy and effective remedial action. But he is clearly unwilling at this time to commit the full prestige and resources of his office to a campaign to break down resistance to desegregation. The Kennedy Administration still enjoys a reservoir of good will built up during the Democratic Convention and the campaign. Few civil rights advocates have cast doublt upon its sincerity or ultimate determination to carry out its promises. But expectations are high and will not be satisfied easily by a few good appointments or the improvement of existing programs. There are signs everywhere that years of government indifference to racial injustice have bred increasing frustration and impatience. The imperatives of events may well compel the Kennedy Administration to accelerate its deliberate time-table.

Progress Restrained

Off to an early start in its annual campaign to gut mutual security legislation, the House Appropriations Committee seems determined to slash the $500 million requested by President Kennedy as the first instalment of his "Alliance for Progress" program for Latin America. Leaving untouched the $394 million for the Inter-American Development Bank and the $6 million for the Organization of American States, the Committee proposes to eliminate completely the $100 million to the ICA for grants for education, public health, and administrative training. The effect will be to get this new program off in the same narrow orbit to which much US effort in Latin America has hitherto been confined--that of the application of banking standards to human needs. Further, it will put the US in the invidious position of reneging on promises of action made in the name of the Eisenhower Administration at the Bogota Conference last year.

ACTION: Write your congressman, urging him to help restore an appropriation vital in itself and necessary also to give early assurance of US good faith in its professed dedication to Latin American progress.

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* Education
* Migrant Labor
* Pending Business

Education

May will be Education Month in the Senate, but the future of the Administration's program (S. 1021) for aid to public school construction and teachers' salaries is at present very much in doubt.

A Senate Education Subcommittee under the chairmanship of Sen. Morse began the process of marking up a bill last Thursday and, if it works quickly, the measure may reach the floor of the Senate late this week. In the House, the Education and Labor Committee probably will begin work as soon as the Senate finishes voting.

The largest imponderable continues to be the effect that the drive for aid to religious schools will have on the content and prospects for passage of a public school bill. Sen. Goldwater, who voted last year against aid to private and parochial schools, is expected to offer such an amendment this time as part of a larger effort to defeat the bill. Goldwater's attempt undoubtedly will be beaten in the Senate. But a more serious question is raised by the current efforts of Senators Clark and Morse to find a compromise that will satisfy the advocates of private and parochial school assistance. The Senators have dropped their idea of moving separate legislation and apparently are seeking to expand the National Defense Education Act, which now authorizes federal loans for the purchase of equipment for teaching science, mathematics, and foreign languages in private as well as public elementary and secondary schools, to include loans for the construction of classrooms for that purpose. It is conceivable that the advocates of religious school aid would accept such a compromise, and there may be enough votes in the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee to bring it to the floor as part of the general education bill. But those who believe that any assistance to non-public schools should be limited to genuine health and welfare measures would then have a difficult time supporting the legislation.

If the Senate passes a bill without private school aid, an effort will be made to add it in the House. That amendment may be rejected as nongermane to the bill, in which case many of its proponents would fall back on an attempt to limit the legislation to support for school construction. Despite recent reports of increased Southern support for the Administration's education program, a substitute limited to school construction would pose a powerful threat.

Even without the private school issue, aid to education would face a rocky road. The Administration has improved its chances by skilfully tying aid to public education to the impacted-areas program (see LN#5). Now congressmen whose districts benefit the most from impacted-area aid are threatening to try to separate it from the Administration's bill and restore the full amount of past appropriations (the Administration had recommended a cut of 50%). The Administration undoubtedly can accept a restoration of the cut as the price of agreement on its own program, but it must make clear to wavering congressmen its determination to take impacted-area aid only as part of a bigger package, if the public school bill is to have a fighting chance.

ACTION: Write to your Senator and Congressman, urging both to support the Administration's program of support for public schools, unencumbered by private school assistance or by limitation of appropriations to school construction alone.

Migrant Labor

Last week the House Agriculture Committee reported a bill (HR 2010) to extend the Mexican farm labor program for two years without providing any protection for domestic workers. When the measure reaches the floor, probably in May, Rep. Coad (D-Iowa) will lead a battle to assure that continued importation of braceros will not be allowed to depress the wages and working conditions of U. S. migrants.

Rep. Coad's bill (HR 6032) would accomplish this aim by (1) requiring employers who use Mexican nationals to offer American workers at least as much as the average hourly rate for farm workers in the state or nation; (2) vesting the Secretary of Labor with authority to limit the number of foreign workers who may be employed by any one employer; (3) requiring employers who seek foreign workers to offer domestic workers terms and conditions of employment comparable to those offered braceros; and (4) requiring employers to pay domestic workers already in his employ comparable benefits to those given Mexican workers.

The strength of the Farm Bureau and its cohorts on this issue should not be underestimated, as witness the recent embarrassment of USIA Chief Murrow, who bowed to farm pressure in seeking to withdraw "Harvest of Shame" from circulation abroad. At the last session an effort by Rep. McGovern to write similar protections into the law and to phase out the entire Mexican program was defeated resoundingly in the House. This year, however, reform of the farm labor program has the full support of the new Administration. The Coad bill was drafted in the Dept. of Labor, and Secy. Goldberg has spoken out forcefully to urge its passage. As long as the Administration stands firm on its position that the Mexican program should not be continued without protecting domestic workers, the prospects for reform will be brighter than in the past

Last week also, a subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee ordered reported a series of bills (S. 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, 1130, and 1132) sponsored by Sen. Williams (D-N. J.) which would: tighten restrictions on the employment of

children in agriculture outside of school hours; provide educational assistance for migrant children and adults; require the registration of contractors for migrant labor; provide grants for health services for migrants; and establish a National Citizens Council on Migratory Labor.

ACTION: Write your Congressman, urging him to support the Coad bill and to vote against extension of P. L. 78 unless protection for domestic workers is included. Call on your Senator to support the Williams program, designed to assist the health, education, and welfare of migrants.

Pending Business

Some time this week the conference report on minimum wage legislation will come to the floor of the House for approval. The conference committee undoubtedly will agree on a measure very close to the Senate-passed bill, which raises the minimum to $1.25 over a 28-month period, and extends coverage to 4 million workers now unprotected. The fight on the conference report will be every bit as close and difficult as the earlier debate which resulted in adoption of the Kitchin-Ayres substitute.

ACTION: Write your Congressman, urging him to be sure to be present to vote for a conference report embodying the provisions of the Senate bill.

Proponents of legislation that would violate civil liberties have become active on a number of fronts. The Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights will hold hearings next week on wiretapping measures. Sen. Keating is pushing a bill (S. 1086) which would exempt tapping done by state officers under court order from existing prohibitions of federal law. Sen. Dodd would authorize federal officials to secure court orders for wiretapping to obtain evidence that any one of a broad range of federal crimes is about to be committed. The House Judiciary Committee has reported a bill (HR 3247) which would redefine the term "organize" in the Smith Act so as to counteract the Supreme Court's decision in the Yates case and permit new prosecutions to be maintained. The Judiciary report claims the support of the Department of Justice although no hearings were held and the Department has made no public statement. Only one Smith Act defendant is still in prison, and some Administration lawyers have been urging that the cruel and useless prosecutions be dropped. The House already has passed a bill sponsored by Rep. Walter which would reinstate the dormant port security program with a vengeance. Under the Walter measure, the House Un-American Activities Committee or other government agencies could require the automatic dismissal of any merchant seaman or port worker who refuses to answer any question about his alleged subversive activities or affiliations or the activities or affiliations of others. There is not even a pretense of due process; each employee would be compelled to go to court to regain his job. Despite the fact that the bill is flagrantly unconstitutional, only two congressmen--Lindsay (R-N. Y.) and Ryan (D-N. Y.)--opposed it. The bill now rests in the Senate Judiciary Committee, and the Department of Justice, which was not asked its opinion in the House, is studying it.

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* Civil Rights
* Education
* The Economy

Civil Rights

The long-awaited Clark-Celler civil rights package went into the hopper this week. But the White House immediately put a damper on any hopes for action with a statement that the President does not think it necessary at this time to enact legislation.

Sen. Clark and Rep. Celler were acting pursuant to instructions issued by Mr. Kennedy during the campaign to draft measures which would carry out the promises in the Democratic platform. Accordingly, the 6-point program introduced includes bills to authorize the Attorney General to initiate injunction suits to protect equal rights (Part 3); to require every school district to adopt a desegregation plan for first-step compliance no later than 1963; to establish a fair employment practices commission; to give the Civil Rights Commission permanent status; and constitutional amendments to abolish poll taxes, and eliminate literacy tests as a requirement for voting.

The major innovation in the program is the requirement that school boards file plans for desegregation with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. Plans would have to specify "first step compliance"--meaning desegregation of a substantial number of students in every public school--by 1963, and full desegregation "with all deliberate speed" thereafter. Pupil placement schemes would not satisfy the requirements of the bill, and the Attorney General would be authorized to take court action against school boards which failed to file or filed insufficient plans.

The importance of the measure lies in the fact that it would stimulate action without a law suit in hundreds of districts in the South which have made no move to comply with the Supreme Court's decision. The danger lies in the absence of

a deadline date for complete desegregation, giving rise to the possibility that plans involving long delays might be filed and accepted in places where desegregation could be accomplished quickly. On balance, however, passage of the bill would do much to combat state resistance and accelerate the faltering pace of desegregation.

Sen. Clark and others were taken by surprise by the apparent White House rebuff. While there is no great likelihood of major civil rights legislation this session, it was expected that the President at the least would support the substance of the bills and ask that legislative committees go to work on them. Majority Leader Mansfield still has a pledge to redeem this session in his promised consideration of a modification of the Senate filibuster rule. And the Civil Rights Commission will go out of business this year unless Congress acts to renew its life.

There have been some hopeful indications recently, particularly in the action to reopen Prince Edward County public schools, that the Administration will not be intimidated in its civil rights actions by Dixiecrat threats of legislative sabotage. It is not too late for the President to set matters right on the Clark-Celler bills.

Education

The President's education program moved slowly toward floor debate this week as Committees in both Houses took action.

Final approval in the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee was held up pending the outcome of a dispute about how funds should be allocated among the states. That question probably will be resolved this week in favor of more money to the poorer Southern states, and the bill, otherwise intact, may reach the Senate floor on Tuesday for debate. In the House Education Subcommittee, the allocation issue went the other way. Northern congressmen succeeded in a move to base distribution on the entire school-age population, rather than merely children in attendance in public schools. This will increase the share of Northern states with large numbers of children in private and parochial schools (although non-public schools will not benefit from the Act). Presumably, the issue can be compromised in conference at approximately the ratio (2 to 1 in favor of the poorer states) suggested by the Administration. While insisting on a greater share for their states, Chairman Powell and some of his Northern colleagues sought to appease their Southern brothers by eliminating a provision which would have required states to set aside 10 per cent of their allotments for experimental projects to help disadvantaged children, in-migrants, gifted pupils, and those with language problems. This was one of the most valuable provisions of the bill.

One of the biggest problems continues to be the apparent absence of any determined Administration strategy for guiding the bill through Congress. Last week, the Administration dropped its plan to expand the National Defense Education Act to include loans to non-public schools for the construction of classrooms for math, science, and foreign languages, and to consolidate this measure with the general education bill. Stung by the reaction of public-school advocates that this would be thinly disguised general aid to parochial schools, the Administration stuck to its proposal to expand the NDEA but withdrew the idea of merger. Even this decision, however, appears to be subject to change. Neither is it clear that the Administration is demanding passage of the general education bill as the price for approval of

the traditional impacted-area aid, which is so close to the hearts of many conservative congressmen.

At this point it may be fair to conclude that the education bill has a reasonable chance, if the Administration will only make up its mind.

The Economy

With passage of the depressed-areas bill and the salvaging of a good part of the minimum wage bill from the ruins of an earlier defeat, prospects for success of the Administration's first-session domestic program have improved perceptibly. But White House strategists are now faced squarely with the question whether their recommendations will do nearly enough to spur the economy and increase employment.

The final minimum-wage package increased the minimum in stages to $1.25, and extended coverage to 3.6 million previously exempt workers, mostly in the retail trades. To pick up House votes, the Administration exempted 140,000 laundry workers, many of them among the most disadvantaged wage-earners in the nation, and made various other concessions to special interests. Many are convinced that the concession on laundry workers was not necessary to put the bill through, but that the Administration made it to retain the good will of the venerable Carl Vinson (D-Ga.), spokesman for the laundries, and his followers.

Nonetheless, the victory was an important one and approval also appears forthcoming on the Administration's modest housing program that will leave the education bill, involving a rough fight but a foreseeable victory; tax reform; and the medical-care bill, which almost certainly will go over to the next session.

All of this was not enough to convince the Joint Economic Committee that our economy is on the road to full recovery. Last week the Democratic majority on the committee recommended a host of additional measures, including a public works program, a large-scale re-training program for displaced workers, permanent liberalization of the unemployment system, and a reduction in taxes, all designed to stimulate consumer demand and increase employment. At the same time, the Administration was said to be readying a public works program for congressional action during this session. There is a growing realization that prompt and more vigorous measures will be needed.

Migrant Workers: At this writing, efforts to amend the Mexican farm labor program (P. L. 79) to provide protection for domestic workers appear doomed to failure in the House (See LN #9).

ACTION: Write your Senator, urging him to oppose extension of the program unless Administration amendments to protect U. S. migrant workers are included.

ADA legislative newsletter

William L. Taylor
Legislative Representative

First Session
87th Congress

Issue Number 11
May 29, 1961

(Every two weeks we summarize events in Congress as an information service to assist you in national affairs activities. We include brief analyses of legislative proposals together with factors of timing and politics as we see them. Subscription rate, $3 per year.)

* Housing
* Department of Urban Affairs
* Aid to Education
* Redistricting
* Immigration
* Civil Liberties

Housing

The Senate has scheduled the Housing Act of 1961, the Administration's slum clearance urban renewal and housing bill, for consideration immediately after Memorial Day. The bill as it goes to the Senate floor is essentially as proposed by President Kennedy and HHFA Administrator Robert C. Weaver. However, the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency did add to the measure the provisions of two bills sponsored by Sen. Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (D-N. J.), one on mass transit and the other on acquisition of open spaces to assure future green areas and as a tool in shaping community development.

The mass transit proposal, making available Federal assistance to local communities in their efforts to encourage improved commuter services, was written into the bill over behind-the-scene Administration opposition. This opposition developed out of a dispute between the Housing and Home Finance Administration and the Department of Commerce. President Kennedy had previously accepted the Williams proposal but the White House staff, the Bureau of the Budget, the HHFA and Commerce Department have persisted in opposition. It was this opposition which led to the refusal of the House Committee on Banking and Currency to include a mass transit provision in the bill it reported last week.

The open space provisions put forward by Senator Williams had strong backing by President Kennedy and his staff and therefore will probably be a part of the final law.

The House Committee on Banking and Currency has completed action on the Administration Bill and the full House will take action soon after the Senate has passed the measure. Present indications are that the real test on the legislation will come in the House on the vote on an expected amendment to require that public housing be handled on a year-to-year appropriation basis. This method of financing would effectively stop Federal participation in public housing.

ACTION: Wire your Senators urging their vote in support of the Housing Bill of 1961, S.1922. The vote is imminent so act fast.

Department of Urban Affairs

Hearings opened in the House May 24 on President Kennedy's proposal to establish a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing to be headed by a member of the Cabinet. Big city Mayors opened the hearings with a strong endorsement of the proposal. Budget Director David Bell appeared to give details as to the President's purpose in proposing the new Department. Hearings continue before the House Committee on June 6 and the Senate Committee plans hearings opening June 22.

Aid to Education

The Senate last week, after 8 days of debate, passed the Administration's $2 1/2 billion aid to education bill. The measure was passed with only one major change in the Senate Committee's proposal. This was an amendment proposed by Sen. Prouty (R., Vermont) to permit the use of funds for operating and maintenance costs as well as construction and teachers' salaries.

The House Education and Labor Committee voted to report two bills, HR 7300, which is federal aid to elementary and secondary schools, and HR 7215, federal aid to higher education. The Committee deferred consideration of the question of aid to parochial and private schools, but will take the matter up in considering HR 6774, the National Defense Education Act, hearings on which will start Jun 1.

The order of consideration on the House floor of the two bills which the Committee has sent to the floor has yet to be determined by the leadership. One of the bills will probably be on the floor June 5, with the other bill being considered the following week. There was very little difference between the bill the House Committee reported and the bill passed by the Senate, except that the House bill does not include the Prouty amendment.

The fight on the House floor seems to be closer than it was in the Senate.

ACTION: Write your Congressman urging him to support HR 7300 as it was reported by the Committee.

Redistricting

Redistricting of congressional seats by state legislatures points out the strong rural domination of the legislatures around the country. Sixteen states lose and nine states gain House members on the basis of the 1960 census. Largest gainer is California with 8. In many of the states which have gained, the new members will probably be elected at large. This is true of Michigan, Ohio, Texas, and Hawaii. The critical problem is developing in states like Illinois, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Alabama, where, because the legislature and the governor cannot agree on a redistricting bill, all the state representatives may well be elected at-large. All this points to the need for immediate congressional consideration of the Celler bill which

would require that congressional districts be compact, contiguous, and nearly equal in population. At this writing, there appears to be no action contemplated in the House to secure passage of the bill.

Immigration

Rep. Walter's (D., Pa.) Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House Judiciary Committee has under consideration a revision of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, HR 6300, introduced by Rep. Walter. The bill, as introduced, would redistribute the unused quotas allocated under the original act. However, in addition it contains several very bad features. It changes the judicial basis for denaturalization and limits judicial review in other immigration cases. The bill does nothing to change the origins quota system and in fact reinforces the second class status of naturalized citizens.

> ACTION: Write your Congressman urging that the House Subcommittee hold hearings on HR 6300 and opposing any immigration legislation which does not change the origins quota system and which reduces the civil liberties of naturalized citizens.

Civil Liberties

The Senate has on its calendar a bill which proposes to create a commission on noxious and obscene matters and materials, S. 162. This is the same bill as last year's S. 3736. In effect this bill creates a national censorship board which is to explore "methods of combating traffic in such books and publications, develop a plan coordinating federal, state and local efforts to suppress such traffic, and to secure the active cooperation of the mass media in accomplishing this objective." However, the bill does not specifically define what materials are to be suppressed nor does it define "noxious" materials.

> ACTION: Write urging your Senators to oppose S. 162 as presently drafted.

ADA legislative newsletter

William L. Taylor
Legislative Representative

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87th Congress

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(Every two weeks we summarize events in Congress as an information service to assist you in national affairs activities. We include brief analyses of legislation proposals together with factors of timing and politics as we see them. Subscription rate, $3 per year.)

* Housing * Foreign Aid * Aid to Education
*Migrant Labor *Federal Power Commission

Housing

As we go to press the Senate is voting on S.1922, the Administration's housing bill. Vote on the final passage is scheduled for Monday, June 12th. So far the bill has survived--but narrowly--most major attacks on it, particularly amendments by Senator Capehart and Senator Gore to eliminate the 40-year low interest loans, no-down-payment feature of the middle-income title. Senator Capehart's amendment was defeated with a 9-vote plurality for the Administration; Senator Gore's amendment--identical to that of Senator Capehart's--was later accepted by the Senate. Subsequently a compromise offered by Senator Sparkman that would retain the 40-year feature but eliminate the no-down-payment for middle-income housing was substituted for the Gore amendment. The Administration's proposal to provide grants to localities for purchase of permanent open-space land was defeated by four votes. Proposals to assist communities in mass transportation planning carried by two votes. Opponents of the housing bill plan to offer additional amendments, but chances are the Administration bill will emerge largely intact. The narrowness of the victory in the Senate presages very rough going in the House.

Foreign Aid Bill Goes to Congress

After months of work by State Department, White House, and special task-force personnel, the foreign aid bill was put before Congress on May 26, beginning a painful pilgrimage through both Houses which is likely to go on into the closing days of the session.

The President had declared his intention on March 22 to separate military from economic aid, as long advocated by ADA. However, the congressional leaders were reluctant to consider two separate bills, particularly so late in the session,

and the bill therefore includes both categories of aid. The total tab for the coming fiscal year is $4.8 billion--$1.9 billion for military aid and $2.9 billion for technical and economic aid.

The administration of foreign aid is to be consolidated considerably by abolishing the International Cooperation Administration and the Development Loan Fund and combining their functions into a single agency--the Agency for International Development (AID). However, the drive to unity did not get as far as the President had suggested in March. After fierce bureaucratic infighting, both the Peace Corps and the Food for Peace program avoided engulfment by AID.

Under the Ellender-Cooley farm bill, the President will make decisions as to the countries in which the Food for Peace program will be operating. The Food for Peace director, Mr. George McGovern, who reports to the President, will co-ordinate the program with the Department of Agriculture and with the Department of State.

The Peace Corps will be in the State Department, with the requirement that its activities shall be consistent with the development plans of each host country. A bill to establish the Peace Corps was introduced on June 1 by Senator Humphrey and others.

Borrowing Authority Heart of Aid Bill

The Administration's request to Congress for authority to borrow $7.3 billion from the Treasury over the next five years is the heart of the new Kennedy approach to overseas aid. The reasons why the Administration considers such authority as vital to the success of the program are:

1. It will stimulate recipients of foreign aid to undertake the difficult task of long-range planning and to effect internal social and economic reforms. They can hardly be expected to do this on the basis of a commitment by Congress one year which may be revoked the next.

2. It will improve the management of the foreign aid program. In the past, Government administrators facing fiscal year deadlines for spending have had a tendency, in order to spend money before the deadline, to approve short-term rather than long-term projects.

3. It will reassure our allies among the well-developed nations that the United States is in the aid field to stay, and thus encourage them to make appropriate contributions.

The financing of Government programs by borrowing from the Treasury is a well-established practice. At present, over 20 different government organizations are financing programs in this way--ranging from the Federal Farm Mortgage Authority to the St. Lawrence Seaway Administration. Some of the programs thus financed have a direct relation to foreign aid--sale of surplus foods under Public Law 480, and a number of Export-Import and World Bank operations.

When such borrowing authority for the overseas aid program was last proposed (by then Senator Kennedy, in 1959), some senators objected that loans repayable in local currency would never result in dollars, so that what was being proposed was a grant of dollars from the Treasury, rather than a loan. The provision in the new aid program that development loans must be repaid in dollars (although on easy terms) should remove this objection.

Aid to Education (See LN #s 11, 10, and 9)

All signs point to an extremely tough fight to secure House passage of HR 7300, the Administration's general education bill. Having successfully weathered all major attacks in the Senate, the education program faces strong opposition from within both parties in the House. The problems are compounded by the interrelation between the general education bill and the revision of the National Defense Education Act, HR 6774.

Under the arrangement in the House, NDEA will be the bill which carries provision for aid to private schools. Some members of the House who are not particularly in support of the general education bill are strongly in favor of aid to private schools because of constituent pressure. The schedule which is now beginning to be evident is that the general education bill will be called up during the week of June 19. This will probably occur after the House Education and Labor Committee reports out the NDEA.

The college classroom construction and scholarship bill (HR 7215) will probably not be brought to the floor until after the House has considered NDEA

The chances for passage of HR 7300 as drafted by the Committee greatly depend on the amount of support for the bill that congressmen see in their mail and in other evidences from their districts. Organized Republican opposition can be anticipated, especially to aid to teachers' salaries and to direct grants without matching State funds.

> ACTION: Write your Congressman and get others to write, indicating your support for HR 7300 as reported by the Education and Labor Committee.

Migrant Labor (See LN #9)

Hearings on legislation to extend the Mexican Farm Labor Program have been scheduled for June 12 and 13 before a subcommittee of the Senate Agriculture Committee. On May 11, the House accepted, by a vote of 231-157, a simple extension of the present law governing use of Mexican farm workers, and by voice vote rejected Administration-sponsored form amendments In the Senate, Senator Eugene McCarthy has introduced the Administration bill, S. 1945, making extension of Public Law 78 contingent upon reforms to protect employment opportunities of U. S. agricultural workers. This bill, as well as the House-passed Gathings bill, will be before the Senate subcommittee.

Migrant Labor (continued)

ACTION: Prospects for approval of the McCarthy bill are greater in the Senate than the Administration reforms faced in the House, but public support is needed. Write your Senators, as well as the Chairman of the Subcommittee (Senator R. Everett Jordan of North Carolina), urging support of the McCarthy bill and opposition to the Gathings bill.

Federal Power Commission

Senate Majority Leader Mansfield has scheduled Senate action for next week on confirmation of two Federal Power Commissioners, Joseph C. Swidler of Tennessee, and Howard Morgan of Oregon. Both nominations have been pending before the Senate for several months. The long delay in Senate action apparently stems from the vigorous opposition of the oil and gas interests to these two consumer-oriented men. There is little doubt they will be confirmed, but there is some suspicion that the Administration may have agreed to appoint a commissioner friendly to the producing elements of the industry when Commissioner Arthur Kline's term expires on June 22. If this were to happen, Swidler and Morgan--and the interest of the consumer--would be just as much in a minority as under the Eisenhower FPC. As constituted at present (even with Swidler and Morgan), there is not a single member on the Commission from above the Mason-Dixon Line and east of the Mississippi--the area of greatest gas consumption.

ACTION: Consumer interest demands representation from the large midwestern and northeastern gas-consuming states. Write the President, urging the appointment of a commissioner representative of the consumer interest from this area.

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ADA

legislative newsletter

[redacted]

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87th Congress

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June 23, 1961

(Every two weeks we summarize events in Congress as an information service to assist you in national affairs activities. We include brief analyses of legislation proposals together with factors of timing and politics as we see them. Subscription rate, $3 per year.)

* Overseas Aid
* Chickens Home to Roost
* Housing
* Department of Urban Affairs

Overseas Aid

Hearings on the Act for International Development (AID) are drawing to a close before the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committee. David C. Williams, ADA Director of Research and Education, testified before both Committees this week.

He expressed strong support for the bill, which embodies many features which ADA has been recommending for years--particularly placing development loans on a long-term basis by authorizing the borrowing of $7.3 billion from the Treasury over the next five years. He also strongly endorsed the emphasis on long-term planning by recipient nations and on social and economic reforms.

Quoting the special resolution on Latin America adopted by the ADA National Convention, he expressed doubt that the $500 million appropriated for Latin America under the Act of Bogota would be anything like sufficient to do the job, and also questioned the allocation of so large a proportion ($394 million) to the Inter-American Development Bank. While recognizing that banks and bankers have an important role in development, he felt that their influence on the Latin American economies has been too great in the past.

Williams also expressed regret that the traditional 40% limitation on U.S. contributions to the U.N. Special Fund and the U.N. Technical Assistance Program had been continued in the bill. While stressing the importance of wide and generous support of these programs from other nations, he felt that this was a matter for negotiation rather than the application of an arbitrary percentage ceiling.

The bill will go before branches of Congress early next month. Its opponents are concentrating their attack on the proposal of Treasury borrowing, which they have labeled "back door financing" and treated as if it were a new and radical departure from past practice. Actually, it began in the Administration of President Hoover, is used by over 20 government agencies, and is incorporated in the current omnibus housing bill.

> ACTION: Little mail is being received for or against the aid bill this year. Mail for it would be welcomed, even by Senators and Congressmen who are committed to its support, and should stress the need for long-term financing by Treasury borrowing.

Chickens Home to Roost

The session-opening failure of the liberals in Congress to put through a change in the Rules of the House (See LN #s 1, 2, 3) so as to limit the power of the Rules Committee now has come back to haunt them--and to threaten the passage of any aid-to-education bill this year. Using the time-dishonored device of bottling-up legislation in the Rules Committee, a combination of anti-any-federal-aid congressmen, led by Rules Chairman Howard Smith of Virginia, and Northern Democratic Catholics are insisting that the National Defense Education bill, which contains aid for parochial schools, also be before them before they will permit action on the general school-aid bill. The two Catholic members of the Rules Committee are James J. Delaney (D-NY) and Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (D-Mass.). They have the active support and complicity of Democratic Leader John McCormack in this maneuver. It should be pointed out, however, that the very great majority of Catholic members of the House support the public-school bill and are not involved in this McCormack strategy.

The pressures and counter-pressures on the touchy religious issue play right into the hands of the all-too-well organized opponents of federal aid to education--public or private. The long absence in Europe of the Chairman of the House Education Committee, Adam Clayton Powell, during these important weeks of maneuvering did nothing to improve the situation.

One of the reasons for the delay in action on the NDEA in both the House and Senate is the White House insistence on including President Kennedy's fitness program in the bill. Neither the House nor the Senate committee members consider this appropriate legislation in which to include the fitness program.

The three subcommittees of the House Education and Labor Committee considering the NDEA have sent up to the full committee for consideration their recommendations on this legislation. Because of the pressure to bring the bill before the Rules Committee, no recommendation was made on the President's proposal to eliminate the loyalty oath for students eligible for NDEA funds. The full House Committee on Education and Labor is now considering this legislation. Their first session on it lasted an unusual length of time--four hours. Looks like trouble.

ACTION: Write (even better--wire or phone) your Congressman in support of H.R. 7300. If your House Member is on the Rules Committee, urge immediate Rules Committee referral of H.R. 7300 to the floor for debate and vote.

Housing

The Administration's housing bill is in a fight for its life on the floor of the House. Republican opponents of the bill have offered substitute legislation which would do little more than extend for one year the present federal housing programs. The Administration's bill, as reported out of the House Banking and Currency Committee, is essentially the same as the bill passed by the Senate on June 12. The feature of the Administration's proposals most bitterly fought by opponents is the plan to have the FHA guarantee 40-year, no-down-payment mortgages for homes costing up to $15,000. The Senate had already modified that provision (See LN #12), and Rep. Rains (D-Ala.), Floor Manager for the House version, acceded to the Senate change in opening the debate.

The housing bill has presented a major challenge to the Administration's strength on the Hill, and at this writing, while it is not at all certain that it will survive the test as well in the House as it did in the Senate, the likelihood is that the Administration will have beaten down most major assaults on this important segment of its domestic legislative program. Whether or not it could have retained all of the imaginative new features of its original proposal with early aggressiveness on the Hill is a question.

ADA Urges Creation of Department of Urban Affairs

American cities are decaying much more rapidly than they are being built up, Leon M. Despres, member of the Chicago City Council, told the House Subcommittee on Executive and Legislative Reorganization of the Government Operations Committee. The Chicago Alderman and ADA National Board Member testified on June 13 for ADA in support of the bill which would create a Department of Urban Affairs.

Despres said that we must now make the same national effort in behalf of our cities which we began for farming in 1862 with the establishment of the Office of Agriculture. "City problems also require a national approach. They are now too serious to be solved by a fragmented municipal approach. The danger signals are apparent, and we must act now in order to forestall a serious urban crisis."

Specific programs described by Mr. Despres as requiring maximum national effort through a Department of Urban Affairs "if we are to save our cities and make them effective instruments of national strength" dealt with

housing and urban renewal, local planning and local standards, mass transportation and highways, metropolitan government, community facilities, research and standards, and defense.

"A national department could evolve a harmonious housing and urban renewal program which could stimulate the growth of balanced city communities for all residents, including high, middle and low income groups, and avoid the stratification which past fragmented federal policies have encouraged and intensified," the Alderman told the Congressmen.

Despres urged that the highway program come under the Department of Urban Affairs. He pointed out that more than half the federal highway appropriation already goes to urban areas. "Mass transit and highway programs have to be geared to each other," he told the Committee. "Both have to be geared to housing, urban renewal and recreation area programs."

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ADA legislative newsletter

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July 7, 1961

(Every two weeks we summarize events in Congress as an information service to assist you in national affairs activities. We include brief analyses of legislation proposals together with factors of timing and politics as we see them. Subscription rate, $3 per year.)

* Overseas Aid
* Peace Corps
* Peace Agency Proposed
* Wiretapping
* Education
* Housing
* Civil Rights Commission
* Senate Rules

OVERSEAS AID

The foreign aid bill continues its long and difficult congressional pilgrimage. Hearings ended this week before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee on the Act for International Development (AID). The Senate Committee has already begun to mark up the bill; the House Committee will start its executive session work next week. Proponents of the bill are running scared, but are privately hopeful of obtaining Senate approval of the key provision of the bill--that authorizing long-term financing of development loans by borrowing $7.3 billion from the Treasury over the next five years--when the bill goes before the Senate at the middle of this month. They are seeking to build up a good majority to give the bill momentum when it faces the later, and more difficult, test on this issue in the House.

ACTION: Write your Senator urging a vote for the AID bill, and a vote and active support on the floor for the key provision authorizing borrowing from the Treasury.

PEACE CORPS

Hearings on the Peace Corps have closed before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, but it has not yet begun to mark up the bill. The House Foreign Affairs Committee has not yet scheduled hearings.

PEACE AGENCY PROPOSED

The establishment of a national peace agency, long advocated by ADA, was recommended by President Kennedy on June 29, under the name of "United States Disarmament Agency for World Peace and Security." Bills to establish the Agency have been introduced by Sen. Humphrey and Rep. Kastenmeier, who have led the drive for it over the past year in their respective branches of Congress.

The new Agency will have primary responsibility within the government for drafting disarmament proposals and conducting broad research on arms control. Under the proposal, as drafted by John J. McCloy, the President's special adviser for disarmament, the Agency would have these three principal functions: (1) to conduct technical, economic, and political research on methods for limiting arms and keeping peace in a disarmed world; (2) to formulate disarmament policy recommendations and plans for the President, the State Department, and Congress; and (3) to conduct disarmament negotiations.

The broad scope of the new Agency represents a distinct liberal victory in the tug-of-war which has been going on behind the scenes within the Administration. It is indicated in a paragraph from Mr. McCloy's letter to the President:

> "The Agency would also be responsible for studies of the structure and operation of international organizations and the methods of maintaining peace and security during different stages of disarmament. It would analyze the political and economic consequences of disarmament and would be responsible for assessing the implications of foreign and military policies of the United States as they relate to possible disarmament measures."

This language brings within the scope of the Agency studies of methods to reduce or eliminate international tensions and of the economic impact of disarmament, including measures to ease the adjustments required in the U. S. economy.

The Agency will differ in other important respects from the Disarmament Administration established by President Eisenhower within the State Department in October. Unlike the present group, it will have special legislative authority and its own budget. It will have status semi-independent of the State Department, being under the joint direction of the President and the Secretary of State. Thus, its Director would report to the Secretary, but would also be a special adviser to the President and could go directly to him on disarmament issues.

WIRETAPPING

The Administration has put itself in the position of being to the right of Sen. Dodd (D-Conn.)--never identified as a civil liberties advocate. The Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights now has before it a revised version of the wiretapping bill (S.1495) sponsored by Sen. Dodd. The Justice Department's version, submitted in a letter by Asst. Attorney General Byron White, would amend federal law, which now prohibits

wiretapping, so that both federal and state officers would be permitted to tap wires. While the original Dodd bill did set minimum federal standards and would not have opened the door to unlimited wiretapping by state officials, it was a uselessly dangerous invasion of constitutional rights. The Justice Department's version is an inexplicably foolish political concession to "States' Rights" advocates, as well as an affront to civil liberties.

ACTION: Wire your Senator, opposing S. 1495.

EDUCATION

The education bills are still trapped in the legislative snarl growing out of the fight over aid to parochial schools (see LN #13). The House Education and Labor Committee, under pressure from Majority Leader McCormack and two Catholic members of the Rules Committee, on June 27 reported out a bill extending the National Defense Education Act, which contains provisions for loans to private and parochial schools. This bill is now before the House Rules Committee, as is the general education bill. The Rules Committee had refused to report out the general bill unless it had also before it the NDEA. Unless very strong leadership is exerted from the White House there is a good chance that both bills could be defeated on the floor. Whatever the schedule of the Rules Committee reporting on them, there is very strong Republican and Southern opposition to the general aid bill; and the opposition of Northern Protestants to aid to parochial schools has been exacerbated by the maneuvering on the part of the Majority Leader and House Rules members Delaney (D-NY) and O'Neill (D-Mass.).

ACTION: Write or wire your Congressman in support of HR 7300, the general aid-to-education bill. Make it known that this legislation should be passed without reference to the action on the National Defense Education bill.

HOUSING

With President Kennedy's signature on the Housing Bill of 1961, the Administration has achieved a notable legislative victory. The conference report on the bill, which contained most of the Administration's requests, narrowly squeaked through the Senate when a motion by Sen. Prescott Bush (R-Conn.) to send it back to conference was defeated by a 42-47 roll-call vote. On this motion, which might very well have meant no housing legislation this year, only two Republicans voted against it. Twelve Democrats joined the Republican majority in this effort to kill housing legislation. (A detailed analysis of the contents of the new housing legislation is available upon request.)

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

President Kennedy's nominations to the Civil Rights Commission of Erwin Griswold, Dean of Harvard Law School, and Spottswood W. Robinson III, Dean of Howard Law School, which were sent to the Senate on April 19, have finally been reported to the full Judiciary Committee by the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, chaired by Sen. Ervin (D-NC). At the same time, the nomination of Berl Bernhard as Staff Director was reported to the Committee. The failure of the Senate to act promptly on these nominations will severely hamper the work of the Commission. Apparently two or three weeks will be required before the nominations can be forced out of the Judiciary Committee to the floor.

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION (continued)

Sen. Eastland's Judiciary Committee is also sitting on the Administration's proposal to make the Civil Rights Commission a permanent body. The Commission is now due to expire on November 8. As yet the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee has not scheduled hearings on the proposal. Chances for action on permanent status for the Commission this session are dim. The most likely possibility is an end-of-session temporary extension.

> ACTION: Write your Senator, urging action on the Administration's proposal to make the Civil Rights Commission permanent, and urging immediate consideration of the nominations to the Commission.

SENATE RULES

Indications are that the Senate Rules Committee, chaired by Majority Leader Mansfield, will report a change in Rule 22 at the end of the month (see LN #s 1 & 2). Mansfield has predicted that the inevitable filibuster on this proposal will delay adjournment of the Senate until well after Labor Day. The real danger of the filibuster is that it may force a compromise whereby cloture could be invoked by three fifths of the total membership of the Senate. This would represent a miniscule improvement over the present requirement of two thirds of the entire membership to close debate.

* * *

CANADA:

Business Is Business

Angrily, a Member of Parliament declared that the Canadian prairies are becoming "the breadbasket of the Communist world." The occasion for his wrath: Last week's announcement by Agriculture Minister Alvin Hamilton that he had just sold $362 million worth of Canadian grain to the Chinese Reds.

Except for a few militarily critical items, Canada works by the simple rule that it will sell anything to anyone who wants to buy it. It has already sold substantial quantities of wheat to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Russia, and Red China. But this deal is the biggest yet. It reduces by more than a third the unsold wheat surplus of 535 million bushels left at the end of the last Canadian crop year, July 31.

The transaction is a credit deal (24 per cent down and the balance in nine months) and it led Lester B. Pearson, the Liberal leader, to quip: "We sell wheat to our friends for cash. We sell it now to a government which we do not recognize diplomatically, for credit."

The trade agreement makes China second only to Britain as Canada's most important grain customer. It also gives a great lift to Vancouver, which may become the biggest grain port in the world. Hundreds of ships will be needed to deliver the grain to China, and Vancouver citizens who are used to the sight of stocky Russian sailors wandering about their town will see a lot more.

Vancouverites are jubilant at the news of prolonged prosperity on the waterfront, and the general reaction is that the obvious solution to surplus wheat has been found by Canada.

Will this deal have any political effects? Canadians have never been too happy about the American diplomatic boycott of Red China. External Affairs Minister Howard Green said only: "All questions are interrelated. We're looking at the whole picture."

CUBA:

Quarantine

Slowly, gingerly, the Kennedy Administration is groping its way toward a new Cuban policy. Instead of being transfixed by Communism's penetration of Cuba, the U.S. is now placing the island in the context of the whole Latin American problem. As a result, the indications last week were that this new policy would be economic rather than military. The goal: To "quarantine" Castro.

The United States will train no more invasion forces like the one that met such a miserable fate last month, President Kennedy told his press conference. Moreover, said Secretary of State Dean Rusk the day before, the battle against poverty—closing the gap between the rich and the poor in Latin America—is the "real issue" that faces the Western Hemisphere today.

Change of Mind: The Kennedy Administration is holding "very intensive" consultations with the Latin Americans, Rusk added. These show a noticeable change of sentiment about Cuba. Hitherto, the Latin American countries have tended to regard the quarrel with Castro as exclusively a dispute between Cuba and the United States. Now they recognize that it is broader than that, that the whole continent is in danger. And they are willing to talk about it. "Fidel Castro burned his bridges on the first of May," said the Rio de Janeiro newspaper Jornal do Brasil. "He took a stand against the inter-American system and not just against the United States . . . Democratic governments of the continent must take necessary precautions that the Cuban revolution does not spread and that the Andes . . . should not become the Sierra Maestra of the Americas."

What chiefly disturbed the Latin Americans was Fidel's May Day message. He proclaimed this the first May Day "under the glorious banners of socialism" (i.e., Communism) and sent a "fraternal embrace" to his "loved and respected" leader, Nikita Khrushchev. Never before had Castro admitted too openly that he was setting up a Communist state.

May Day in Havana was celebrated with flags, parades, and speeches. One feature was the burning in effigy of President Kennedy, decorated with a vulture and a swastika.

During his speech in the Civic Plaza, Castro asked the crowd: "Do you want elections?" "No, no," they screamed back. Such tumultuous meetings as the one he was addressing, he said, would take the place of elections.

Anti-Catholic: The Cuban Premier also reopened fire on the Catholic Church. Within the next few days, he announced, all foreign priests would be expelled from Cuba and church schools would be nationalized. Some 500 of the 800 priests in Cuba are Spaniards; less than 200 are native Cubans. Foreign priests and nuns who have been teaching in Santiago are already on their way to their homelands. Sixteen Canadian nuns have been called back to Quebec.

The day before Castro spoke, Ernesto (Ché) Guevara, Minister of Industry, called Cuba "the first socialist republic in America," and outlined an ambitious industrial program that would speed the country on the way to socialism through strict government control and development, with a good deal of Red aid. This is the time to start, he urged, "while the blood of all the martyrs . . . is still fresh on Cuban soil."

Associated Press

Profile

One portrait of Marx borne through the streets of Havana last week does not make a Communist state. But the brutal changes that Castro has imposed on Cuba do.

▶**Nationalization:** Virtually all land and industrial projects have been expropriated. Most of the land has not been given to the peasants, but set up as government-owned communes on which they are merely salaried employes.

▶**Political Action:** All political parties have been dissolved, except the Communist (Popular Socialists).

▶**Ballot:** Elections have been called off indefinitely. The will of the people will be manipulated by government-controlled mass meetings.

▶**Fourth Estate:** All newspapers and radio stations are controlled by the government, independent ones have been expropriated or destroyed.

▶**Unions:** The labor unions have been taken over by the government.

▶**Education:** Public schools have been made instruments of government propaganda. Private schools, including church schools, are soon to be expropriated by the state.

▶**Class Struggle:** The upper and middle classes have been practically destroyed or driven from the country as exiles.

▶**Foreign Affairs:** The Cuban Government is working hand in hand with the Soviet bloc.

CUBA

Outward Bound

The voices were Cuban but the sentiments were those of any East European Communist satellite. "Kennedy is the pirate President of the 20th century," cried the Havana radio, complaining hysterically that U.S. aircraft had "fired shots" while flying past the south Cuban coastline. In a familiar Berlin-style reprisal, the Castro regime halted all vehicular traffic into the U.S. Navy's Guantánamo Base, forcing the Navy to pick up Cuban base employees at the gate and transport them to their jobs; next, Castro might try cutting off the base water supply from the Yateras River, 20 miles away. More and more, Cuban propaganda stressed what good friends the Communists were; Economic Czar Che Guevara announced grandly that Cuba has received $245 million in loans from "our socialist friends," and other speakers proclaimed that those same rocket-armed friends could destroy any Western Hemisphere nation with ease.

Allan Gould

REFUGEES ARRIVING IN KEY WEST
Fleeing from a terror-ridden land, where stool pigeons are a national industry.

By Ship & by Plane. The great exodus from the unhappy island, momentarily halted by invasion, resumed. In the past two years, some 200,000 frightened, disillusioned or dismayed people have fled into exile. They were Cubans of every class save the clergy, who remained to fight Castro in their own way. Now it was the Roman Catholic Church's turn to go, and Castro and the Communists felt strong enough to take on the church. Denounced as "Falangists," insulted and jailed, forced to obtain "work permits" to say Mass, Cuba's foreign-born clergy —500 priests and 2,000 nuns—started pulling up stakes. One group of 300 nuns sailed away on the Spanish liner *Covadonga*; another 28 found space on the ferry to West Palm Beach; others scrambled for seats on the airliners shuttling back and forth between Havana and Miami.

So great is the exodus that the twice-weekly ferry has been sold out for six weeks ahead. In Havana, the Dutch KLM airline, with an average of 60 seats a week out of Cuba, finally had to lock the doors of its ticket office. Pan American was booked solid into August. As each plane landed in Miami, it was greeted by crowds of anxious exiles, beseeching the new arrivals for word of a brother, a husband, a parent remaining in Cuba.

Only a few Americans remained in Cuba, and the U.S. State Department warned them to leave as soon as possible. Some 300 U.S. citizens waited nervously to see if the regime would grant them the exit permits to depart. Another 30 to 40 Americans languished in jail. Among them were two Villenueva Catholic University professors, the manager of Havana's Berlitz language school and A.P. Correspondent Robert Berrellez.

Into the Bin. One of the luckier Americans was TIME Havana Correspondent Jay Mallin, who got out last week. The Cuban G-2 arrested him the day after invasion, questioned him, and then inexplicably released him. At 10:30 that night he heard car doors slam in the street outside his apartment house, looked out and saw his janitor leading a squad of G-2 men into the building. Mallin ran up a flight of stairs and hid in a hallway storage bin. The G-2 men waited in the apartment; Mallin waited in the bin. At 5 a.m. Mallin crept down the stairs, shoes in hand, and made it past his apartment to the street. He rode a city bus downtown, found a Jamaican cabby he knew who drove him to the former U.S. embassy residence, now occupied by the Swiss. Bluffing his way past Castro's militia guards, he was admitted as a "guest," and there he stayed until he was able to make his way out of Cuba.

As other visitors with experiences to tell sought safety in the embassy, Mallin was able to put together the story of Castro's police-state terror during the invasion crisis. Under Dictator Batista, the *chivato*, or informer, was the object of universal hatred; Castro, in the fashion of Communist and fascist dictators, has turned the government stool pigeon into a national industry. Every block has one. In the great invasion roundup of 250,000 Cubans, the informer was apt to be the untipped janitor, the office wasp, the neighborhood malcontent—all of whom now had their chance for revenge. In the city of Matanzas, thousands of Cubans were penned up in the baseball stadium, and when they sent up a chant of protest, guards fired submachine-gun bursts over their heads. Sanitation was so bad in Havana's overcrowded Morro Castle that several prisoners fell sick. Doctors among the prisoners set up a makeshift dispensary in a dungeon once used by Spaniards for garrote executions; other prisoners held in a dry moat outside dug holes in the ground with shovels for makeshift toilets. In Havana's huge Blanquita Theater, the militia used dogs to guard 5,000 men and women. The dogs panicked the prisoners, and the militia fired into the crowd, wounding two. After the initial wave of 30 executions in the invasion's first 48 hours, the regime stopped issuing bulletins—but did not stop killing. The reports are that it still goes on, and travelers from Pinar del Río province say that for a time after the invasion, executions were quietly carried out there almost every night.

THE AMERICAS

One Step Forward, One Back

In letter No. 719 to the Organization of American States last week, U.S. Ambassador Philip W. Bonsal formally announced to Latin America that the Alliance for Progress was now in business. With assurance of a $600 million starter from Congress, the U.S. has called a meeting of the OAS Inter-American Economic and Social Council to start concrete work "in all key areas of economic and social betterment." The meeting, to begin July 15, will probably be held at the exclusive Cantegril Country Club at Punta del Este, a Uruguayan beach resort 60 miles east of Montevideo, and President Kennedy may fly down for the opening.

No Complaints. The reaction from the hemisphere spokesmen has been immediate, strong and favorable. For the first time since the Cuban invasion, the Mexican government let it be known that it was "100% in accord with Kennedy." Chile's conservative President Jorge Alessandri was openly enthusiastic about the promised "thoroughgoing social reform," and Argentina's Arturo Frondizi said that "there can be no social devel-

opment without economic development."

All these were promising signs for Latin America's long-term good, but if the U.S. expected any immediate dividends from its diplomatic attempts to retrieve the Cuban disaster, it got a sharp setback. For weeks Washington has been working feverishly to line up hemisphere support for an emergency meeting of the OAS Foreign Ministers to deal with Castro. But last week Ecuador's Foreign Minister José Chiriboga, a strong proponent of collective OAS punitive action, was forced to resign under pressure from President José María Velasco Ibarra, who is busily courting Castro these days.

No Posse. Worse yet was Brazil, now run by the mercurial Jânio Quadros, who is four months older than Kennedy. Over the past fortnight, Foreign Minister Afonso Arinos has taken an increasingly hard line on Cuba, announced that Brazil would support in principle an OAS meeting and would be forced to break with Cuba if it proved to be overtly Communist.

Last week Quadros proclaimed his own Cuban policy, and though it was as Delphian as many of his remarks, it obviously suggested that he was not joining any hunt-Castro posse. Said Quadros: "Brazil is opposed to any foreign intervention, direct or indirect, to impose on Cuba any given form of government. The principle of nonintervention applies even with respect to adoption of a system of representative government, a system that Brazil prefers, recommends and practices as the best for the Americas." By intervention, said Quadros, he meant diplomatic, economic, military, or even ideological. "Brazil will defend the Cuban people's right to self-determination."

HONDURAS

Blue & White v. Red

On a flag-draped platform in the main square of La Ceiba, a banana port that has seen better days, President Ramón Villeda Morales of Honduras put democratic principles to personal test. A Communist speaker had just told a labor rally that Honduras had betrayed Latin America by breaking relations with Castro's Cuba.* Answered Villeda Morales: "The speaker who preceded me was exercising his right of free speech. But I ask you to choose between Communism and democracy, between the blue and white flag of Honduras and the red flag of Russia." So saying, he stepped down and strode away. All but a handful of the banana-worker crowd followed him, cheering.

If the constitution of Honduras permitted, Villeda Morales, 52, could probably keep the workers with him for the rest of his natural life. Once the nation's leading pediatrician, Villeda in his 3½ years as President has forged an independent democracy that neither bows to nor automatically defies the U.S. He is a popular, intuitive democrat who mixes freely with his 1,950,000 people. Right-wingers rumble but are no threat. The

* The ninth Latin American nation to do so.

Pictorial Parade

MAUGHAM
Long live the gossip.

parchment scrolls, handed out by Home Secretary R. A. Butler, president of the Royal Society of Literature. Said Maugham, as he turned up the volume on his hearing aid: "I want to hear all the gossip."

• • •

Forty-five years after she opened her first birth control clinic in Brooklyn, **Margaret Sanger,** dauntless, red-haired crusader for planned parenthood, was honored by leaders of a world population crisis conference for her "prophetic vision" that foresaw the perils of a runaway population. At 77, said she, "I'm not traveling as much as I did. I like to encourage others to get going, to teach, to get different circles moving. And the circles are

Associated Press

SANGER
Long live the cause.

C. S. Monitor

MAY 24, 1961

Amity Lauded

West Indies Near Federation Goal

By A. L. Hendriks
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Kingston, Jamaica

Another significant chapter in the history of the West Indies has been written in Port of Spain, Trinidad, capital of this emergent federation.

After two weeks of patient negotiation, the leaders of the 10 island territories of the British Caribbean have concluded the last major intergovermental conference before they meet on May 31 in London to settle with Great Britain the terms of West Indian independence and full nationhood within the Commonwealth.

The most important single factor uncovered at the recent conference in Trinidad is that the leaders of the West Indies today are statesmen of the caliber needed for stability in the Caribbean.

There still are considerable differences of opinion among such figures as the West Indies Prime Minister, Sir Grantley Adams; the Premier of Trinidad, Dr. Eric Williams; and the Premier of Jamaica, Norman Manley, as well as a fair degree of anxiety and petty jealousy among many of the lesser politicians from other islands.

Jamaicans Hold Back

But the conference produced general agreement and the Governor General of the West Indies, Lord Hailes, sent a congratulatory message to the political leaders making special mention of the "statesmanlike spirit of compromise" so necessary to meetings of this kind.

Nevertheless, there are mixed feelings throughout the 3,000,000 population of the scattered archipelago on the subject of federation. Very strong anti-federamaica's incompatibility with the people of the other territories.

On the other hand, Mr. Manley asserts that economic development in the future of Jamaica may be more difficult alone as a single independent island with the sole burden of the responsibilities and cost of its own independence. He points out that it is the natural role of Jamaica to work together with and unify with the less-developed territories.

In answer to the argument of incompatibility Mr. Manley invites attention to the University of the West Indies, the West Indies cricket team, and certain West Indian agricultural trade associations, all of which indicate that West Indian unity is a practical possibility.

But the division of opinion as to the future of the West Indies is not confined to Jamaica. Although Mr. Manley returned home confident and pleased, it is reported that Sir Grantley, the West Indies Prime Minister, a Barbadian who has severely criticized Jamaica, is not as happy as Mr. Manley about the outcome of the recent conference.

Loosely Knit Group?

It appears that Mr. Manley has skillfully negotiated, to suit Jamaica, a type of loosely knit federation with a weak center and many insignificant powers still left in the hands of the individual island territories, especially in the area of taxation.

Sir Grantley and others feel that the way has been left open for the eventual domination of the federation by Jamaica which provides just over one-half of the population of the federation

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Nevertheless, there are mixed feelings throughout the 3,000,000 population of the scattered archipelago on the subject of federation. Very strong anti-federation feelings exist in Jamaica, and when Premier Manley arrived from Trinidad, recently, he was greeted not only by cheering crowds but by leaders of the opposition party and their followers carrying banners proclaiming "Away With Federation."

Jamaica is committed to a referendum on the question of federation and it will be no easy victory for Mr. Manley and the profederalists in their struggle to keep Jamaica from seceding.

Rebuttal Offered

Main opposition to federation for Jamaica comes from Mr. Manley's colorful opponent Sir Alexander Bustamante whose arguments against the federal ideal stem from economic motives. Mr. Bustamante argues that Jamaica's forward moving economic industrial development will be hampered by the drag of the other less-developed islands.

Other antifederal arguments are based on the belief of Jamaica's own independence. He points out that it is the natural role of Jamaica to work together with and unify with the less-developed territories.

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Sir Grantley and others feel that the way has been left open for the eventual domination of the federation by Jamaica which provides just over one-half of the population of the federation and will hold 31 places in the 64-seat Legislature.

There can be little doubt that the real architects of this type of federation are Dr. Eric Williams of Trinidad and Mr. Manley, both of whom feel that a gradual unification is necessary. They want to allow the people of the scattered islands to grow together slowly instead of being thrown together hastily. Also because such a policy would more readily permit the lukewarm in Jamaica to agree to a moderate type of federation at first.

Of course, the antifederalists argue that this is a dangerous path as Jamaica may be entering an arrangement that may later become something quite different.

'. . . Room to Grow'

However, Mr. Manley stated recently that the federation "will be as strong as it needs to be now, and will be capable of carrying out all the obligations of nationhood. What we have done is to leave it room to grow instead of attempting the impossible task of starting it full grown."

Whatever the outcome of this exciting period of the history of the West Indies may be, it is certain that more important chapters are about to be written.

In Jamaica particularly, the Bustamante opposition is getting into high gear for a full-scale challenge to the Manley government when the referendum is taken later this year. Present dock strikes and protests by shop clerks against recent changes in the closing hours instituted by the government are, to many observers, only the preludes to a spirited exchange between the two major political parties.

But before the referendum examines by democratic methods the true wishes of all the people of Jamaica in regard to federation, there will be the important and historic conference in London early next month at which the leaders of the West Indian islands will negotiate with Her Majesty's Government the final instrument of West Indian dominionhood.

Peru Starts Vast Development

By Reuters

Lima, Peru

The Peruvian Government has announced the start of operations in connection with its large-scale development programs for housing and slum clearance, road building, colonization, and land resettlement.

Projects to be undertaken during the current year entail the expenditure of over $63,000,000 with funds provided from the $53,200,000 loan granted in July, 1960, by the United States Export-Import Bank and the Development Loan Fund, and $15,300,000 allocated from the budget surplus for 1960.

This is the first time in many years that budget surplus has been reported.

The allocation of the above funds is in addition to various projects financed through other channels such as the $4,000,000 extension of the Cuzco-Quillabamba Railroad for a distance of 26 miles down the Urubamba River Valley which has a total length of 108 miles, financed by a Japanese private loan; the $10,000,000 World Bank-Loan Development Fund loan granted last December for the conversion of the eastern extension of the central trans-Andine highway into an all-weather route; and the $20,000,000 loan granted last March primarily for the extension of the northern trans-Andine highway and as a backlog for various other road-building projects.

Programs Set

The housing - construction, slum-clearance, and resettlement programs now to be started will be carried out in a score of Peruvian towns and cities in all parts of the republic, including Lima, Arequipa, and Cuzco. They will directly affect the lives of more than half a million people, mainly from the Andean highlands, who, during the last decade, have been driven by drought, congestion in certain farming districts, or merely ambition to seek a livelihood and wider opportunities in the cities.

In the towns, they have congregated in the so-called "barriadas" (squatter settlements or shanty towns), where conditions as regards sanitation, housing, and essential services often are appalling.

This underprivileged section of the population now are to be given a new lease on life.

They will be given titles to their present holdings, if they so desire, paying for them by means of long-term, low-interest loans.

Assistance Seen

They will be assisted in the construction or reconstruction of their homes by the provision of building materials and technical help.

The barriadas will be rehabilitated, and given paved roads, lighting, water and sewage systems, schools, hospital services, churches, and community centers.

People who may wish to leave the cities will have the chance to move to new resettlement areas made available by irrigation and roads along the coast or in the Andes, or to the vast virgin regions now being opened up in what is known as the "selva alta" (the high forest country), on the eastern slopes of the Andes.

The road-building program is designed to open up for resettlement and colonization of the valley of the Huallaga River.

C. S. Monitor. May 26 '60

What Next for Cuban Exiles?

The withdrawal of Manolo Ray's People's Revolutionary Movement from the alliance of Cuban exile groups is sober testimony to the hidden damage caused by the Bay of Pigs beachhead fiasco.

Injuries suffered by the United States were well advertised but proportionately less damaging than injury to the rebel coalition.

A major reason for this is that Señor Ray's underground group—probably the most essential participant in any revolutionary plan, and also the group most in touch with popular aims—was kept out of the abortive uprising scheme but has nevertheless suffered the full brunt of the consequences.

The MRP, a liberal reform group, had its top superstructure outside Cuba but the bulk of its leadership and membership lay in the factories and fields of the island itself. Many of its personnel reportedly have been detained in Premier Castro's massive roundups following the attack. But the network is still largely intact. Its problem—and this is symbolic of the problem facing all the Cuban reformers in exile—is that although thousands of people still believe in its aims they now despair of its chances.

For the moment, it looks as if Señor Castro, like Señor Trujillo, is making his dictatorship stick despite growing cold shoulders from the neighbors.

But there is one major factor that may make a considerable difference should the Cuban economy begin to falter as the Dominican Republic's has. This is that Cuba's reform tradition is by now much better established. Most of the leaders of the reform alliance that swept to power when Castro toppled Batista are now represented among the exiles. Men like Manolo Ray are still dedicated to establishing the democratic revolution that the "maximum leader" deserted.

Their support inside Cuba may be wisely quiescent at the moment. But it has not vanished. We trust American agencies have learned better than to jeopardize it further by trying to force shotgun marriages with zealous Batista men.

THE AMERICAS

The Orphan Policy

Who runs U.S. policy on Latin America, and who in particular is responsible for Cuba? For three weeks the Senate Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Latin America, headed by Oregon's Wayne Morse, has been working on the answer to that question. One after another, the Kennedy Administration's top officials—Secretary of State Rusk, CIA Director Allen Dulles, Latin America Task Force Chief Adolf A. Berle—have marched up Capitol Hill to give their answers. The hearings are closed, but enough testimony has leaked out to prove President Kennedy's wry comment, "Victory has 100 fathers, and defeat is an orphan." Everyone, it seems, blames everyone else.

Ask the Pentagon. Much of the testimony blamed the Cuban rebels. Rusk admitted that the U.S. trained, financed and equipped the invaders. But he insisted—despite statements to the contrary by Cuban leaders—that the decision to attack was made not by either the CIA or the Pentagon, but by the Cubans themselves. He also denied the exiles' claim that the U.S. provided "weak counsel." The CIA's Dulles found fault with misleading reports that anti-Castro forces inside Cuba would rise as soon as the invaders hit the beach.

General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, spoke for the Pentagon. Before Lemnitzer went on the Senate grill, it was widely reported that the Joint Chiefs presented President Kennedy with a written, signed approval of the Bay of Pigs operation. The rebuttal prepared for delivery by Lemnitzer blamed the subsequent failure on the withholding of key information by civilians. After hearing Lemnitzer, Tennessee's Albert Gore stalked out with an angry demand that all the Chiefs of Staff "be replaced by new, wiser and abler men."

The civilian at whom most fingers point is Task Force Chief Berle, onetime Columbia University law professor and F.D.R.'s chief Latin American braintruster from 1938 to 1944. Berle passes the buck right back to the Pentagon. Yet it is well known that when he stepped in with his task force immediately after Kennedy's inaugural, one of his first steps was to relieve State Department men from liaison work with the CIA, the Pentagon and the Cubans. Before the committee, Berle referred many questions to the Pentagon. Then, says Morse: "He was asked who really set policy, and he said that it was his task force." When asked how long the task force would be setting policy, Berle was noncommittal. He agreed that it was high time the Administration found itself an Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, hinting that he himself might "soon be back writing books."

Associated Press

CAPTURED CUBAN NEGOTIATORS IN MIAMI
Will they be traded for bulldozers?

Shattered Authority. Even before the Cuban disaster, the main difficulty in finding a topflight man for the Latin American job was the fact that all real authority was tightly held by Berle and his task force. Since then, so many men have had a hand in policy that no one really has responsibility. Not counting the investigating teams looking into the Cuba failure itself, and Kennedy's proposal to send U.N. Ambassador Stevenson on a fence-mending swing around South America, at least four top-level men are handling various facets of inter-American affairs:

¶ Arthur Schlesinger Jr., 43, Harvard historian turned White House aide, slipped into Latin American affairs first by traveling south with President Kennedy's Food-for-Peace mission, then by writing the famed State Department "White Paper" on Cuba. His influence touches all aspects of policy.

¶ Lincoln Gordon, 47, a Harvard economist working part-time with Berle's task force, has become Kennedy's leading expert on Latin American economics. Gordon drew up the U.S. agenda for the July inter-American economic meeting approved last week by the Organization of American States.

¶ Theodore Achilles, 55, U.S. Ambassador to Peru during the Eisenhower Administration, worked on economics with Gordon during the first Berle task force days. After the Cuban invasion he worked with Paul Nitze, Assistant Secretary of Defense chosen by Kennedy to coordinate all Cuban operations. Achilles is now a director of a special State Department crisis section.

Author of the Alliance. Closest to being a top man in Latin American affairs these days is White House Aide Richard Goodwin, 29, who has just taken over control of Cuban operations from Nitze at Kennedy's orders. A former TV quiz-scandal investigator who proved a valuable campaign speechwriter for Kennedy last fall, Goodwin wrote Kennedy's highly successful speech introducing his hemispheric "Alliance for Progress." Later, Goodwin was sent to size up Brazil's U.S.-shy President Jânio Quadros shortly before the abortive Cuban venture. So sweeping is Goodwin's new authority that the State Department has been instructed to consult him on all matters dealing with Cuba.

Last week Goodwin was busy trying to rebuild on the wreckage of the exile Revolutionary Council. At best, the council was a shaky coalition of the leftist People's Revolutionary Movement (M.R.P.) of Engineer Manolo Ray and the more conservative groups behind the Democratic Revolutionary Front (the *Frente*) of Manuel Antonio Varona. The *Frente* faction talks wishfully of organizing an anti-Communist crusade of 20,000 Latin Americans to storm Castroland.

The Kennedy Administration is urgently anxious to repair the damage of the Cuban disaster. But it is not likely that U.S. money and equipment will be going to any invaders from now on (U.S. troops have also been ruled out, unless Castro provokes their use). This means that the effort will probably be directed toward men already inside Cuba, mainly Manolo Ray's M.R.P. underground, most of whose agents, Ray insists, are still in business.

Cold War Currency. Writing his own postscript to the invasion, Fidel Castro last week turned the 1,000 prisoners he took at the Bay of Pigs into cold war currency. Recalling Spain's exchange of Napoleon's soldiers for pigs,* Castro told a crowd of whooping peasants: "We are a little more refined. We will exchange them for bulldozers." The price would be 500 bulldozers. "Otherwise they must pay by hard work, very hard work, digging

* And carefully not citing Adolf Eichmann's more recent World War II offer of 1,000,000 Jews for 10,000 winterized trucks.

trenches and building fortifications."

After a weekend celebration of his newly awarded Lenin Peace Prize, Castro sent a committee of ten prisoners to the U.S. to discuss the deal. In a grotesque side offer, Castro said he would trade invasion Commander Manuel Artime, 28, for his own man Francisco ("The Hook") Molina, 29, awaiting sentencing in Manhattan for the murder of a nine-year-old Venezuelan girl in a restaurant brawl last September.

On humanitarian grounds, Milton Eisenhower, Eleanor Roosevelt and Walter Reuther sent Castro a telegram offering to raise funds for his 1,000-prisoner deal "as proof that free men will not desert those who risked all for what they thought was right." The U.S. State Department, which must grant export licenses for any bulldozer ransom payment, said it would give the matter its "most sympathetic consideration."

VENEZUELA

Control

There was an ominous clarity to the handbills that littered Caracas' Central University. "The people threw out Nixon in 1958," they said. "They can do the same in 1961." The signature: "Young Communists." In 1958, appeals by Communists and their friends produced such mob frenzy that the car carrying the touring U.S. Vice President was stopped and stoned; Nixon was unharmed, but his visit was ruined. Last week Venezuela's Communists were out to get new U.S. Ambassador Teodoro Moscoso when he arrived to take up his post. But their best efforts were unable to mobilize a single rock-throwing rioter.

Venezuelan President Rómulo Betancourt took grim care to ensure the safety of Puerto Rico-born Moscoso. No arrival time was published in the press; inflammatory wall scribblings were quickly erased. The complement of 80 national guardsmen stationed along the superhighway from the airport to the capital was reinforced by 1,200 troops. Sirens screaming, 20 police cars escorted Moscoso to the embassy residence.

In the days just after Betancourt won Venezuela's presidency (but lost Caracas, 5 to 1), even so determined a display of security could not have kept rioters off the streets. Since then, Betancourt has repeatedly demonstrated that he will use whatever force is necessary to save his country from mob rule. Lately, militant groups of the President's Democratic Action Party have taken to coping with violent street opposition with strong-arm squads of their own. As it also becomes obvious that riot organizers are nearly always of the extreme left or the extreme right, the students and unemployed slum dwellers, who made up the mobs, have grown more and more reluctant to fight.

For Moscoso, the result was a peaceful ride up the hill to his new job. And for Betancourt, it was another indication that he may at last be getting his faction-torn country under democratic control.

Financial Crisis In Colombia Traced

By Flavio Correa R.

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Medellín, Colombia

Behind the near panic that occurred in Colombia's free-dollar market in March, when the price of the dollar rose from 7.70 to 8.35 pesos, lie several factors.

Among these are:

1. The almost total closing of border trade to and from Venezuela which used to pour up to 50,000,000 pesos a year into Colombia. Venezuela's Government imposed severe restrictions on imports of Colombian goods—ready-made wool suits, aluminum ware, cotton fabrics and cloth—in an attempt to reduce its balance deficit on foreign payments.

2. Smuggling Colombian coffee into Venezuela has been drastically reduced through effective action taken by customs authorities on both sides of the border, and also reduced income from this source.

3. The troubled political situation in Venezuela is compelling wealthy people toward conversion of bolivares into dollars to be deposited in foreign banks, especially those of the United States. Since Venezuela's National Bank has its dollar reserves under tight control, speculators gravitate to the Colombian border where they sell their bolivares to "merchandisers" (the smugglers still in operation) and then buy dollars in Bogotá, Cucutta, and other cities.

4. An increase in traveling abroad, mainly to San Andrés Island and Miami. San Andrés is a free-port island 600 miles out in the Caribbean Sea, belonging to Colombia. Travelers (real or alleged tourists) must use free dollars for expenses as well as for buying "baggage" on their way back. These facts and others of lesser importance have brought up the following consequences:

Dollar Supply Cut

Reduced the dollar supply from Venezuela, decreased the usual surplus, and started an upward chain reaction of prices. Pressure exerted on the market by Venezuelan buyers has pushed it higher and higher every day.

Restrictions imposed by the Colombian Government on bank credits for industries and commerce during the last two years and the announcement made also by the government of several loans from foreign agencies—the International Reconstruction and Finance Bank, the Inter-American Bank, and Export-Import Bank — amounting to more than $150,000,000 have developed the view that, while pesos would be harder to get there would be a substantial supply of dollars. Many industrialists and traders borrowed dollars on the free market to finance their imports. When loans became overdue, no dollar supply, but shortage, was in sight. Debtors rushed to the market in search of dollars to pay their debts, thus upping the prices.

There is no question as to the existence of another negative factor, flight of capital. Political troubles and social unrest (banditry, arson, collective assassination) are increasing lately in several areas of the country. They have caused more than 300 fatalities in the last two months.

The new tax law effective since last December, and the announced labor law under consideration by the Senate's Labor Committee, have reduced incentives for investments; as a result, many investors prefer to send their money abroad and thus avoid payment of higher taxes on capital and earnings.

The clamor of public opinion has bee requiring the government to take effective steps toward controlling the situation. Minister of Treasury Hernando Agudelo was summoned by Congress and asked to explain the governmen.'s economic policy.

Cost Increases

Cost of consumer goods is steadily increasing, thus taking the problem down to the low-income classes.

President Lleras Camargo finally decided to voice the government's position. In a radio and TV address he said:

The government has no intention of changing (i.e., raising) the price of the "official dollar" (6.70 pesos) since it is used for the import of prime and raw materials, industrial equipment, and agricultural machinery. Any change would seriously unbalance the nation's economy.

There will be no "action" to stop the trend of the free dollar, for it is used only "for traveling, tourism, and for buying non-essential goods in San Andrés' free port."

New economic measures aimed toward easing credit for industries, agriculture, and farm-housing projects are under study.

The President disclosed, however, that a $70,000,000 credit granted to Colombia by the International Bank was rejected, due to some provisions in the contract which the government considered "inconvenient" for the national economy. He did not say what those provisions were. The loan would have been used for farm-housing and road-building programs.

There is, on the other side, a positive trend in the construction industry. Indexes show a substantial increase in building activities in Bogotá, Medellín, Cali, and other cities, with Medellín on the lead, proportionally to population. Investments in building, and earnings from them, pay a lesser income tax as compared with other business activities.

BUSINESS FINANCE

New Zealand Blazes Economic Trail

By Albert E. Norman

Australia-New Zealand Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Wellington, New Zealand

The New Zealand national government's recent establishment of a permanent Economic and Monetary Council, with complete independence from political control and with freedom to publish its reports, was regarded as unique in the British Commonwealth and possibly in the world.

In addition, the new council's permanent secretariat was completely independent of political control.

Prime Minister Keith J. Holyoake announced the council's terms of reference as follows:

1. It shall be the main function of the council to report periodically to the Minister of Finance on the extent to which price stability, economic growth, full employment, and higher living standards are being achieved.

The council shall recommend both short-term and long-term measures which should be taken to promote economic growth and raise living standards while maintaining full employment and maximum stability in the internal price level.

2. In addition to its main function the council shall as and when it deems appropriate report on the following: (a) The main economic and financial problems which affect costs and internal price stability; (b) The provisions of finance for expanding primary and manufacturing industries and services; (c) Ensuring that the creation and issue of money is kept in balanced relationship to the production of goods and services; (d) Any reforms in the monetary system it deems desirable; (e) The council may publish its reports.

Mr. Holyoake said the council was not representative of any sectional interests, and the government was "most grateful" to the private citizens who comprised its membership. These were experts in economics, finance, and public administration. Mr. Holyoake added that provision would be made for rotation of membership though the members would be eligible for reappointment.

Favorable Reception

The appointment of the new council had been most favorably received by New Zealand business leaders and by such eminent economists as visiting Australian scholar and diplomat Prof. Sir Douglas Copland.

Sir Douglas, who was recently appointed Secretary-General of the International Institute for Labor Studies established by the International Labor Office, was in New Zealand for talks with Prime Minister Holyoake.

The Australian economist said that through the objectivity and soundness of its reports, the new economic council could make a big contribution to educate public opinion on the basic problems of economic growth in a modern democracy.

The council might be the beginning of what Sir Douglas termed a fourth estate in government. The fourth estate would be charged, he said, with the responsibility of surveying the state of the economy periodically in reports to the government which would be published as submitted.

"Here again it is important to emphasize that (economic) growth must be sustained at a high level if the Western economy is to meet the challenge of the Communist world and the hopes and aspirations of the underdeveloped world," he said.

The establishment of the New Zealand economic council, with complete independence to publish its reports on the national economy, represented formal recognition by the national government that the nation had reached a major economic crossroads, perhaps the most important in its history.

In recent months, New Zealand experts inside and outside the government have been alerting the government to the need for reassessment of the country's entire economic structure and direction. This had been considerably hastened by the moves toward economic combinations in Western Europe, New Zealand's traditional market, and the rise there of subsidized competition.

Direct Responsibility

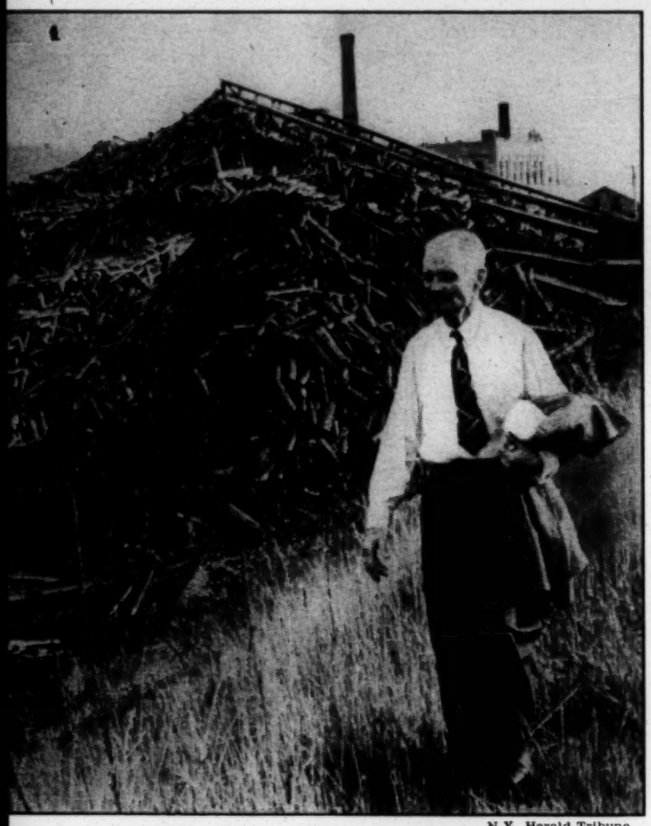
In giving the new economic council freedom to publish its findings and recommendations, the government was in effect giving New Zealanders direct responsibility in weighing and judging the ideas raised by the council regarding future economic action.

Through this freedom to publish, the people would know equally with the government what the council had proposed. If the government of the day failed to act on or rejected these ideas, it would do so knowing the people themselves were in possession of all relevant information. Thus the people would be in position to pass judgment on the government of the day on such questions through the ballot box. In this way, the national government had placed the ultimate responsibility for economic decision squarely on the voters.

For this reason the new council's charter was welcomed publicly by New Zealanders as a significant step toward not only better economic planning and management but also as a step toward a more enlightened democracy.

In this context, it would be extremely hazardous politically for any future government to abolish the council once the voters had become accustomed to receiving its unabridged reports on recommended economic action.

That was why, as had been pointed out, the new council had a very great responsibility in establishing a reputation for objectivity. Council members were no doubt fully aware of that vital responsibility and would act accordingly, knowing they were laying the foundation for an institution of vast potential value to the New Zealand democracy.



N.Y. Herald Tribune

Adams: Down by the old lumber-mill stream

Yankee Gone Home: Former White House aide SHERMAN ADAMS went into near-impenetrable seclusion after resigning under fire in 1958. But with his lengthy memoirs about to be published in a book called "First Hand Report"—and with excerpts already running in Life magazine—Adams was emerging from his shell. Last week he gave his first interview since leaving public life. The interviewer: An old friend of Adams (and author of "Eisenhower: The Inside Story"), chief Washington correspondent Robert J. Donovan of The New York Herald Tribune. His trip from Washington to New England delayed by canceled plane flights, Donovan unexpectedly found himself working against a deadline. Result: He wound up composing his story aloud, and dictating it over the telephone in an upstairs room of the Adams home in Lincoln, N.H. Sounding content with the life he and his wife lead amid New Hampshire's hills and mills, Adams told Donovan: "This is where we had always looked forward to re-establishing our home. For us, the dislocation came when we moved to Washington."

▶Industrialist BERNARD GOLDFINE—whose penchant for gift-giving got Adams into hot water—pleaded guilty in Boston's Federal court to evasion of $791,745 in income taxes; but Goldfine's mental competence has been under question in recent months, and a psychiatric examination was ordered to determine whether he was fit to make the plea.

Sober Reflection: Touring Cleveland's Museum of Natural History, British biologist—and birth-control proponent Sir JULIAN HUXLEY laughed appreciatively at an exhibit captioned: "The most numerous large mammal on earth, a dangerous animal whose misuse of world resources and uncontrolled population growth is a threat to all living things." The exhibit: A large mirror.

Tropic Heat: Published in France in 1934, and barred ever since by U.S. Customs agents, "Tropic of Cancer" is American author HENRY MILLER's gutter-language diary of his own wenching career in post-World War I Paris. Now an American publisher—Grove Press, emboldened by its successful fight to publish "Lady Chatterley's Lover"—is bringing out an unexpurgated edition of "Tropic of Cancer." Copies are in the mail and on sale in some bookstores. Will Postmaster General J. EDWARD DAY fight Miller's work (as Day's predecessor, ARTHUR E. SUMMERFIELD, fought D.H. Lawrence's far tamer novel)? A post office spokesman would say only that "Tropic of Cancer" will be studied and, if judged obscene, removed from the mails. That would bring on a court fight for which Miller—now 69 and traveling in Europe—admittedly has no appetite. He told Grove Press president Barney Rosset: "For you the battle can represent high adventure. As for me, I had my adventure first in living the books, second in writing them."

French Dressing: As First Lady of the U.S., JACQUELINE KENNEDY is more or less expected to wear American clothes. What, then, of the report in Women's Wear Daily that Mrs. Kennedy was secretly ordering Paris creations? Distaff White House aide PAMELA TURNURE declined comment on the cloak-and-needle story except to note that Mrs. Kennedy will pack one French gown on her forthcoming trip to Paris. New York fashion designer OLEG CASSINI, who has Mrs. Kennedy's account, jabbed the needle right back at Women's Wear Daily by saying of the trade paper: "Its attitude toward the First Lady is impertinent."

Who's Counting? Before the speech-making began at a Wisconsin Manufacturers Association dinner in Milwaukee, the banquet-hall electrician made sure the microphone was in working order: "Testing—one, two, three." When the evening's guest speaker, missile scientist WERNHER VON BRAUN, got up, he pulled a space-age switch that drew the night's biggest laugh. Von Braun chanted: "Testing—five, four, three, two, one."

Advise and Relent: Tennessee's Democratic Sen. ALBERT GORE frankly wanted a full chamber for the speech he was about to make opposing a summit meeting, and when Republican leader EVERETT DIRKSEN of Illinois began inquiring about the Senate program for the rest of the day, Gore didn't like it; he foresaw a finish-of-business announcement that might have emptied the floor. Gore made a crack about Dirksen's "pompous verbosity"—and Dirksen took such umbrage that Gore delivered a tongue-in-cheek apology next day, alluding sweetly to Dirksen's "ariose, mellifluous, and dulcifluent"* oratory. Gore also withdrew the phrase "pompous verbosity" and substituted "priverbosity" for it in the Congressional Record. Priverbosity, according to Gore, means a flow of unnecessary words. Where had he found the word? Ex-schoolteacher Gore said he made it up.

Hold, Enough! Television showered no fewer than five of its annual Emmy awards on a single show—and a high-toned one, at that. Rated outstanding TV drama of 1960 and program of the year, a filmed NBC "Hallmark Hall of Fame" production of "Macbeth" also netted Emmys for its stars—MAURICE EVANS and Dame JUDITH ANDERSON—and for producer-director George Schaefer. One after another the "Macbeth" winners paraded onto New York and Hollywood stages to accept their statuettes, ultimately bringing from Evans an aside right out of his own role: "What, will the line stretch out to th' crack of doom?"

▶Beaten out for an Emmy by fellow comedian JACK BENNY, patriotic trouper BOB HOPE may land a medal from the U.S. Government for his twenty-year stint as a volunteer entertainer of troops. Introduced in the Senate, the bill calling for a $2,500 gold medal must still be approved by the House and the President.

District Attorney: With his lawyer ill, syndicated columnist DREW PEARSON set out to argue his own case in a District of Columbia court. Suing Washington's Mayflower Hotel for damages incurred when a hotel parking attendant allegedly drove another car into his yellow Buick convertible, Pearson was quick to point out that defense attorney Leo Schlosberg represented an insurance company as well as the hotel. Just as quickly, Schlosberg protested that mention of insurance companies in such cases is taboo,

*Ariose—characterized by melody; mellifluous—flowing sweetly or smoothly; dulcifluent (obsolete)—denoting organ-like tones.

as being prejudicial to the jury. The judge declared a mistrial. Resignedly, Pearson settled his $6,000 claim for $950 —and noted afterward that he now gets around chiefly on foot or by taxi. He added pointedly: "It isn't economical to drive a car in Washington any more."

Two One-Worlders: Visiting the U.S. to advocate world federalism, Britain's ex-Prime Minister CLEMENT ATTLEE met briefly with President JOHN F. KENNEDY and former President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER—neither of whom offered any public comment on Lord Attlee's cause. Of both meetings, terse-talking Attlee said undauntedly: "Quite pleasant." Perhaps he would wax more enthusiastic over the remarks of a kindred spirit—British philosopher BERTRAND RUSSELL—who said on the eve of his 89th birthday: "If there were in the world today any large number of people who desired their own happiness more than they desired the unhappiness of others, we could have a paradise in a few years." Attlee's only comment: "Quite sound."

Tails, You Lose: In Stockholm this week, Sweden's sports-loving Princess BIRGITTA—skilled fencer, skier, swimmer, gymnast, and auto driver—treats her countrymen to one of Europe's pet spectacles: A royal wedding. Second of the late Prince Gustav Adolf's four daughters —and the first to wed—24-year-old Birgitta is marrying Germany's fair-haired Prince JOHANN GEORG of Hohenzollern. In a sudden break with tradition —undoubtedly a welcome departure for casual-minded Birgitta—male guests will not be required to don tail coats; palace officials yielded to a sartorial rebellion led by Socialist Finance Minister Gunnar Sträng, who said he would refuse to wear "such snobbish apparel."

London Daily Express

Princess Birgitta and bridegroom

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CUBA:

What Is a Man Worth?

Into Miami's International Airport late last week flew two strangely different groups of passengers. Arriving on Friday was the first contingent of Americans to be let out of Cuba since the abortive invasion of April 17. Some were bitter, some were simply glad to be home safe; but all brought back stories of the fear and terror which has seized the island since Premier Fidel Castro found the opportunity to completely impose his will on the Cuban people.

A day later a more dramatic cargo set down in Miami. Stepping off a Pan American plane came ten Cubans, Castro's prisoners, dressed in the mottled camouflage uniforms they had worn as members of the rebel force which unsuccessfully tried to invade Cuba. Elected by their fellow prisoners in Havana, they had come to negotiate one of the strangest barter deals in recent history: Castro's proposal that 1,200 prisoners be exchanged for 500 tractors. He wants large metal-tread machines, not rubber-tired vehicles.

Castro had made the bid in a speech last Wednesday. Within hours it was taken up by a committee composed of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, labor leader Walter Reuther, and Johns Hopkins' president Dr. Milton Eisenhower. They announced that they would try to raise the funds "as proof that free men will not desert those who risked all for what they thought was right." The State Department, insisting that it is "fully aware of the cynicism of the barter proposal equating bulldozers with human lives," said that it would go along with the move on "humanitarian" grounds.

The ten prisoners have been given five days for their negotiations and then 72 hours more in which to return to Cuba. Their first move, after filling out immigration papers was to go to the Fontainebleau Hotel, where they met for three hours with the Cuban Revolutionary Council, headed by ailing Dr. José Miró Cardona—whose son remains a prisoner in Havana.

Crucial Condition: Though the exact shape of the fund-raising campaign is still unclear, there were some encouraging moves over the weekend. In Detroit, Reuther said that the money (estimated at some $3 million) would be raised by "calling upon the workers who build tractors, the companies in the tractor industry, and the American people generally . . ." In Florida, Miró Cardona announced that he will open a ransom account in a local bank. Already, William Pawley, the former ambassador to Brazil, has contributed $25,000 while the Miami National Bank has advanced the same sum as a loan.

Less encouraging is a report that Castro instructed his emissaries to insert a thorny proviso in any proposed deal. He insists that the United States supply parts and maintenance for the tractors for five years.

If the negotiations between the prisoners and the United States citizens fail, the prospects for all the prisoners are dim indeed. Reflecting his confidence that his reign will be a long one, Castro has said that his captives will get jail sentences of 25 to 30 years.

Associated Press

Modest proposal: Cuban prisoners arrive to barter men for machines

West Indies: Financial Plaint

By A. L. Hendricks

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

London

The keynote of the opening speeches by the 10 island premiers at the West Indian independence conference at Lancaster House was the need for substantial economic assistance to alleviate acute social problems.

Eric Williams, Trinidad's competent Premier, in a brief but powerful speech reminded the conference chairman, British Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod, that royal commissions had reported about The West Indies that Britain has placed the laboring population of The West Indies where it is and cannot divest itself of responsibility for its future.

Aid Need Underlined

Other premiers notably W. H. Bramble of Montserrat and le Blanc of Dominica laid strong emphasis on the need for financial assistance and a massive development program to prevent continued mass migration from The West Indies. Plain-spoken Premier V. C. Bird of Antigua argued strongly for economic aid immediately and objected to having to wait until after another conference in October as suggested by Mr. Macleod Wednesday.

Premier Norman Manley of Jamaica in typical scholarly manner referred to the danger to West Indies trade if Britain joins the European Common Market. With an eye to his home oppositions' threat of secession after the Jamaican referendum in September, Mr. Manley insisted that not one island territory could bear the burden of nationhood alone.

All speeches made loud protestations of a desire for unity and independence as dominions in the Commonwealth and toward federation in 1962. But there were undertones here and there — especially from Barbados' Premier H. G. H. Cummins—indicating that all will not be smooth sailing as the conference proceeds. The Barbados reiterated the request of West Indies Prime Minister Sir Grantley Adams at Wednesday's session that matters not fully agreed upon at the intergovernmental conference in Trinidad last month must be fully discussed and settled here.

The Barbados Premier stated that individual insular points of view must be subordinated to the whole ideal of a strong federation.

Possibility Cited

An issue likely to cause much argument is Jamaica's insistence that income tax and industrial development shall not become a federal affair without a vote of two-thirds of the population.

Such a procedure would give Jamaica with 50 per cent of the Federation's population full control on this matter. Failure of other territories to agree to this provision in the new constitution would probably cause the referendum in Jamaica to produce a decision to secede.

June 1, 1961

C. S. Monitor

THE AMERICAS

A New Political Force

The doors of the rundown mansion in Caracas were open wide, and the crowd spilled out to the street. From a flag-draped speaker's dais inside, a red-faced orator roared into a microphone. "We are proud that the bankers don't like us," said Dr. Gonzalo García Bustillos, 35. "The oligarchic classes hate us, and we are proud of it. Our strength is with the working class and with the youth." In front of him, a student claque chanted, "Less rich, less poor, less rich, less poor," and from outside came shouts of *"Rusia no! Yanquis no! Latinoamérica sí!"*

The meeting was the first Caribbean conference of Christian Democracy, Latin America's newest and possibly its fastest-growing political force, though it has yet to win power in any of the hemisphere's 22 nations. Described by García Bustillos, the Venezuelan Congressman who opened the meeting, as "international but not an International," the Christian Democrats declare themselves dedicated enemies of colonialism, capitalism and Communism. They preach a social revolution that must use orderly and just means. They advocate immediate agrarian reform, demand careful state regulation of corporate profits, and complete labor union freedom. Says Leônidas Xausa, 28, city councilman in Pôrto Alegre, Brazil: "The future of Latin America will be decided between Christian Democracy and Communism."

Magna Carta. Latin America's Christian Democrats share a common heritage with the powerful European Christian Democratic parties, led by Germany's Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and Italy's late Premier Alcide de Gasperi. Like the Europeans, they base their philosophy on the famed *Rerum Novarum* encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, issued 70 years ago and known as "the Magna Carta of Labor" because it advocated labor unions and insisted that the state guarantee to the worker a fair share of the fruits of his labors.

The movement gained its first Latin American foothold in Argentina during World War I, spread to neighboring Uruguay and Chile in the late 1920s. But only in recent years, as the possibilities of progress and the perils of Communism have become increasingly clear to many Latin Americans, has Christian Democracy begun to show vitality. Chile, where the party has been operating for 25 uninterrupted years, is still its strongest bastion. Led by dynamic Senator Eduardo Frei, 50, the Christian Democrats won 20% of the vote in the 1958 presidential elections, believe that "within a few years" they will be the strongest of Chile's five major parties.

Campus Victory. In Venezuela, operating as the Copei party, Christian Democrats won a surprising 16% of the votes in the 1958 presidential elections, now cooperate in Winner Rómulo Betancourt's coalition government, and won last month's hotly contested Student Federation elections at the University of Caracas, whose student leadership was once almost completely Marxist.

The party is weak and comparatively right-wing in Ecuador and Mexico, represented only in exile in the island dictatorships of Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Haiti. But in Peru, after only five years of existence, the Christian Democrats are in booming opposition to Conservative Prime Minister Pedro Beltrán, have elected 13 Deputies and four Senators. Another success: Brazil, where President Jânio Quadros, though styling himself an independent, remains a staunch supporter of the movement even though he was kicked out in 1954 for refusing to support a personally distasteful party candidate.

Charles Tasnadi

POLITICIAN GARCÍA BUSTILLOS
Must liberty be sacrificed?

Christian Democratic politicos stress that they are not a secular arm of the Vatican, point out that they are often opposed by the church's conservative hierarchy. Some argue that their movement is guided more by Christian ethics than by specific religious dogma.

In Caracas last week, the 500 delegates from 17 nations put their Christian principles into resolutions. They "totally condemned all American dictatorships, traditional or Fidel Castro style," voted to back a Latin American common market, strive for "liberty without sacrificing justice and justice without sacrificing liberty." The Christian Democrats argue that they are in a life-and-death race with the Communists for the control of Latin America's revolution. They recognize that in some ways they are handicapped. Says Venezuelan Labor Leader Ramón Yllarramendy: "The Christian Democrats are bound by a sense of responsibility to promise only that which they know to be possible. The Communist revolutionaries can get fast results with empty but high-sounding slogans."

CUBA

Propaganda Backfire

The gains and losses of the Cuban tractor deal were hotly debated in the U.S. (*see* THE NATION), but in Latin American eyes, the proposal represents a monumental propaganda setback for Castro. Throughout the hemisphere, which Castro hopes to lure into sympathy with his Marxist revolution, the response to his ransom demand was one of disgust. Wrote Rio's moderately liberal *O Globo*, whose circulation is the biggest in Brazil: "Hitler wanted to trade Jews for trucks; Fidel Castro wants to trade Cubans for tractors. It may be that this shows progress or superiority of Communism over Naziism, but we cannot see any."

The more Castro gloated over the cleverness of his game, the more he lost. His cat-and-mouse demand for "indemnification" rather than the "exchange" he originally proposed revolted Latin Americans, who believe strongly in human dignity. His loud threats of "revolutionary tribunals" for the prisoners if his demands were not met only increased the horror. Cooler minds, one of them most likely Moscow's supervisor Che Guevara, apparently got through to Castro, for Castro piped down after a few days. By then great damage had been done.

Around Latin America, where opinion is sometimes concerted but action rarely is, a great desire to do something arose. In Caracas wellborn ladies, of the kind who usually do not venture out by themselves, were hailing passing cars with collection cans and bold demands to "stop to help a dying man." Argentine President Arturo Frondizi told a press conference: "I don't believe people can be traded for things. I want all the prisoners freed." In Montevideo, the publishers of Uruguay's biggest papers called Castro a "slave runner" and put a tractor on a downtown platform to dramatize a fund-raising drive. Brazil's staid, respected *O Estado de São Paulo* promised to buy one tractor itself, and was immediately flooded with offers of help from readers; some 2,000 students paraded through the city to raise funds. A man who said he was too poor to send money sent a set of tractor gears. In nearly every country of the Americas, fund-raising committees began collecting pesos, lempiras, quetzals, balboas, cruzeiros, cordobas, bolivars, colons and sols to pay for bulldozers.

Radio Peking and Radio Moscow, usually so ready to side with Castro in any quarrel with the U.S., were oddly silent about his proposal. U.S. diplomats throughout Latin America reported a sharp shift in the attitude toward Adlai

Stevenson's impending hemisphere tour. There had been warnings that he might provoke riots if he ventured south of the border in the wake of the Cuban fiasco; the climate for his visit has improved noticeably, and his trip has been confirmed by the U.S. Stevenson's mission: to sound out prospects for joint inter-American action to cope with Castro.

BRAZIL

Sharpening Definitions

The confusing, sometimes contradictory personality of Brazil's Jânio Quadros becomes more sharply defined with each new series of explosions echoing from Planalto Palace. In a burst of executive action last week, Quadros showed himself to be a determined, conservative-minded economic reformer. He also proved himself impulsive, thin-skinned, autocratic.

¶ To hasten the end of the old coffee system that piled up surpluses and lowered quality by guaranteeing government purchase of every bean grown in Brazil, Quadros promised coffeemen more exchange dollars for higher quality coffee, less for poorer grades. He also ended government purchase and storage of the bottom 10% of the crop (classified "refuse"), began burning the 7,000,000 bags of refuse currently on hand.

¶ To restore reality to the meaningless fiction of overstated income and understated outgo that passed for a national budget under ex-President Juscelino Kubitschek, Quadros issued his own flinty figures for next year. Adding up the funds needed to support the immense bureaucracy and public works program inherited from Kubitschek, Quadros predicted a deficit of $513 million—so great, said Quadros, that "a potential deficit of this size has never before been confessed by a chief of state."

¶ To separate himself from his own Vice President, João ("Jango") Goulart, a political opponent elected by means of an electoral quirk that permits ballot splitting, Quadros refused to call off corruption investigators, who have implicated Goulart in several scandals, or to blunt their reports. On a protesting letter from the Veep, Quadros scribbled: "Return, for not being written in adequate terms and not representing the truth."

Yet, with such reforms, many of them long overdue, came a much less defensible Quadros order to the Justice Minister calling for "investigation of the conduct of foreign news agencies functioning in our country, in view of the dissemination by these agencies of baseless stories of sensationalist or alarming character." The order called for "energetic steps for definitive repression" if the charges were true. Fidel Castro's news agency, Prensa Latina, cheered the order. But the independent *Jornal do Brasil* saw it as a clear threat to a free press: "If the President thinks he is going to take the press by the throat, order investigations right and left, silence newspapers without resistance, he is very much mistaken."

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PARAGUAY:

Clubs and Sabers

The students of Asunción, capital of Paraguay, decided to celebrate the 150th anniversary of their nation's independence with a giant parade. President Alfredo Stroessner decided otherwise. Last week, when the marchers set out, Stroessner's police fired warning shots from machine guns. The students walked stolidly on. Then the police piled into them, clubs and sabers flailing. Girls and boys fell in heaps and when some of the marchers fled into a nearby church, the police went after them with pistols.

The brutality of the police shocked Paraguayans—but they could make little protest about it. For the tiny, landlocked republic of Paraguay, squeezed between its giant neighbors, Argentina and Brazil, is Latin America's most complete and efficient dictatorship—the last one left south of the Caribbean.

During seven years of absolute power, dictator Stroessner has exiled, jailed, beaten up, or tortured most opposition leaders. Freedom of thought and assembly simply did not exist. Paraguay is also bankrupt. There are less than 100 miles of paved roads in the California-size republic, and 60 per cent of its people are illiterate; the standard of living is primitive and 40 per cent of the Paraguayans still live in a "tribal" society, speaking no word of Spanish.

Five months ago there were some signs of change. An opposition newspaper—four pages crudely printed on a 91-year-old press—was permitted to list the names of Stroessner's political prisoners. Paraguayans began to hope that even dictator Stroessner realized the world was changing, and that new ideas were sweeping in on the wings of the jets that are beginning to make Asunción a major air center.

The suppression of last week's celebration showed their hopes were premature.

UPI

Stroessner: Absolute power

CHILE:

Chaos Ahead

President Jorge Alessandri, escorted by clip-clopping lancers, drove through the streets of Santiago to open the Chilean Congress last week. "His Excellency, the President of the Republic, has the floor," boomed the Senate President. Bowing from the waist, the silver-haired Alessandri rose to deliver his state-of-the-union address.

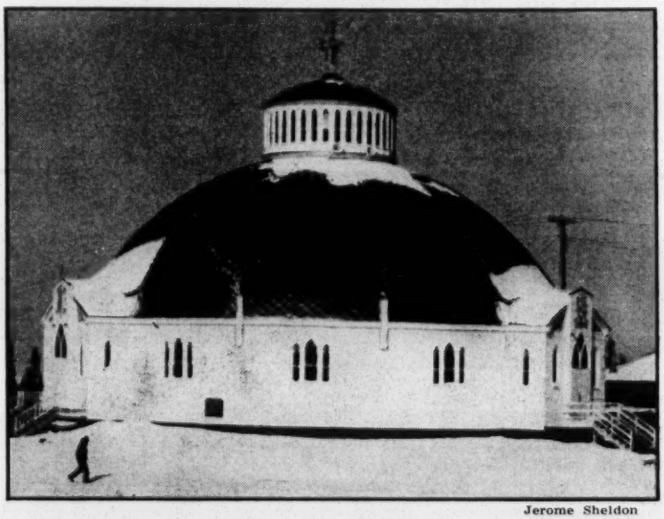
At that point the schedule collapsed. Two opposition senators shot up their right hands and demanded the floor, although this session is constitutionally reserved for the President. In the pandemonium which followed all 81 members of the opposition parties walked out.

Alessandri went on with his speech, but the rude incident was an ominous sign. Tensions in normally peaceful Chile are growing acute, as the President finds himself losing his battle against economic disintegration.

The basic problem is inflation. Abroad, Chile's exports (mainly copper, nitrates, and other minerals) are not earning enough foreign exchange; at home, persistent shortages (of food, housing, and all kinds of consumer goods) have sent prices shooting upward. Since Alessandri took office, the price of bread has risen 69 per cent; living costs in general have risen nearly 50 per cent. There are not enough houses (many families in Santiago live eight to a room), not enough schools (400,000 out of Chile's 2.3 million children are left untaught), not enough reservoirs to supply drinking water for the cities.

The result is unhappiness, unrest, and a rash of strikes. All twelve of Chile's ports were tied up for five days last week by a longshoreman's strike. A wildcat strike of 6,000 workers shut down the U.S.-owned Braden Copper Co., which normally produces 500 tons of copper a day—more than 40 per cent of Chile's total output. Thousands of students, too, were demonstrating riotously against the shortage of schools.

The only way out of Chile's economic jam, President Alessandri has said, is increased aid from the United States (which since 1958 has contributed $152 million to the Chilean economy). Unless President Kennedy's $600 million *Alianza para Progreso* program can be put into action quickly, he warned, all Latin America faces "deplorable, even catastrophic, results."



Jerome Sheldon

TO ADMINISTER its vast West Arctic region, Canada's newest city is under construction at Inuvik, the most northerly "capital" in America, only 1,500 miles from the North Pole. To make the Eskimos feel at home, the Roman Catholic Oblate fathers have just finished Inuvik's first church—in the shape of an igloo.

CANADA:

Box Score

As President Kennedy prepared to leave for his second round of personal diplomacy in Paris and Vienna, Canadians added up the results of the first—his state visit to Ottawa. The box score as extracted from Prime Minister John Diefenbaker's speeches last week:

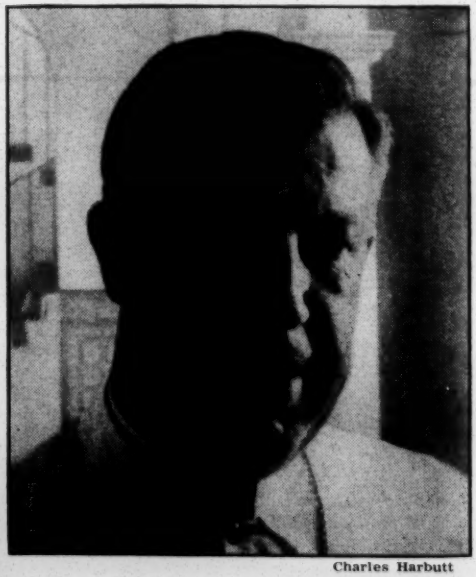
▶**Red China:** A "hit" for President Kennedy. Canada had been moving toward recognition of the Communist regime, which is now one of Canada's biggest grain customers; President Kennedy urged Ottawa not to forget the Communists' aggressiveness. Canada will make no move toward recognition, said Diefenbaker, because it means "sacrificing the Formosans."

▶**Cuba:** A "miss" for Mr. Kennedy. Despite the President's efforts to win Canadian support for tough measures against Castro, Diefenbaker announced that Canadian trade with the island would continue. "We believe in trade with those with whom we are not in agreement philosophically," he said, "so long as the other party does not gain militarily."

▶**Organization of American States:** Ottawa asked for time out. Canada hadn't yet decided whether to join.

The Church in Politics

In last November's election in Puerto Rico, where the church-state issue burned at least as fiercely as in the U.S., the Roman Catholic Church-backed Christian Action Party (PAC) managed to place two of its members in the legislature. These two—Sen. Mario Dávila and Rep. José L. Feliu Pesquera—were ousted last week after a four-month investigation by legislative committee. The charges: "Fraud and the [coercion] of the Puerto Rican electorate by the hierarchy of the Catholic Church."



Charles Harbutt

Bishop McManus: Stronger in '64?

The decision was a clear victory for Gov. Luis Muñoz Marín in his feud with the Most Rev. James E. McManus, Bishop of Ponce and most outspoken of the Puerto Rican hierarchy. Their conflict reached its peak in two controversial pastoral letters circulated last October by the island's bishops (NEWSWEEK, Dec. 6, 1960), in which they warned their flocks that it would be a sin to vote for Governor Muñoz's Popular Democratic Party because it tolerated such "anti-Christian" activities as common-law marriage and birth control. PAC's campaign, during which party leader Feliu Pesquera flew over crowds of church-going women in a helicopter, broadcasting the Lord's Prayer, further enraged the Popular Democrats. Never, said the investigating committee report, has Puerto Rico seen "such a bold manipulation of the sacred for temporal ends."

Accident: The charge of fraud grew out of allegations that PAC's qualifying petition contained more than 3,000 forged signatures. Among other evidence, the investigators produced witnesses whose names were on the list, but who swore they had never signed —e.g., a Puerto Rican workman under whose name appeared, supposedly, his thumbprints—but who had lost one of his thumbs in an accident 45 years ago.

In spite of the probe, and the fact that Governor Muñoz swept the election, the PAC is confident that it has an important future in Puerto Rico, along the lines of the powerful Christian Democratic parties in Italy and Germany. Already the party is busily getting ready for 1964. "We will be stronger next election," said Bishop McManus last week. "My mission is to glorify God," he added. "There are men who . . . want to glorify themselves. They cannot guarantee us eternal salvation."

Newsweek, June 5, 1961

JUNE 5, 1961

the new Leader

SECTION TWO

CUBA and U.S. POLICY

By Theodore Draper

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DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

End of the Dictator

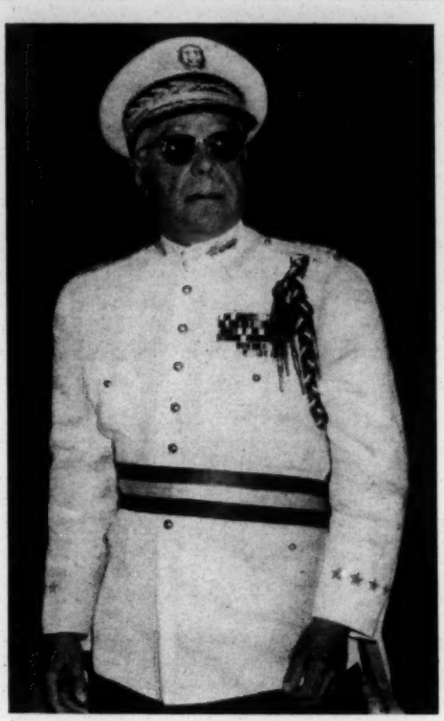
"I heard machine-gun fire right behind us," said Dominican Republic Army Captain Zacarías de la Cruz from a hospital bed last week. "The rear window was shattered. The bullets had wounded Generalissimo Trujillo. We carried three machine guns in the car at all times, but the generalissimo had no chance to use any of them because he was too badly wounded. As soon as I stopped the car, the generalissimo jumped out, firing his revolver. Blood was spurting from his back. Seven men with machine guns and pistols piled out of the other car. There was a burst of gunfire, and the generalissimo fell face down on the pavement."

Model Strongman. In the 31st year of the Era of Trujillo, Generalissimo Doctor Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, 69, Benefactor of the Fatherland, Rebuilder of the Financial Independence of the Republic, Father of the New Fatherland, Chief Protector of the Dominican Working Class, Genius of Peace, was gone, his body, grotesquely disfigured by 27 bullet wounds, stuffed in the trunk of the soon-to-be-abandoned car belonging to a disgruntled general named Juan Tomás Díaz. Outlived among the world's strongmen by Portugal's milder António de Oliveira Salazar, Trujillo had been the model for every tin-pot, medal-jingling dictator that ever rifled a Latin American treasury. Even as he died, he was on a typical Trujillo mission—a midnight meeting with one of his many mistresses, Moni Sánchez, at his San Cristóbal farm, 15 miles from Ciudad Trujillo.

The only thing out of keeping about Trujillo's death was the aftermath. Instead of serving as a signal for revolution to sweep down the hills into the capital, the assassination was followed by stupefied silence among his 2,900,000 subjects. General Díaz, the assassin, may have hoped in some vague way that without the strongman, the Trujillo regime would crumble. But Díaz' main motive was apparently revenge, not revolution. A favorite of Trujillo's brother Héctor, he had fallen into disgrace when some of his relatives were implicated last year in a plot against Trujillo. Díaz joined a group of three civilians and four other former Trujillo tigers who were ready to turn against the man with the whip.

Marquis or Postal Clerk? They had no elaborate plans, but simply awaited the opportunity. Last week, tipped off that The Benefactor was on his way to see his mistress, they caught up with him on the road to San Cristóbal, the town where it all began 69 years ago.

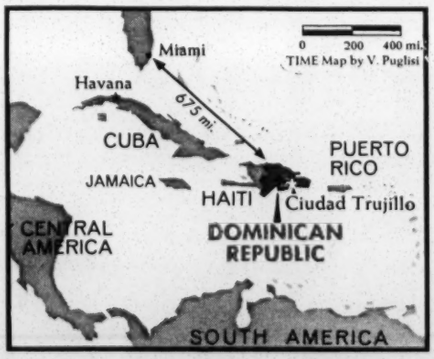
Though official eulogists proclaimed that "one of his ancestors was a distinguished Spanish army officer, and another was a French marquis," Rafael Leonidas Trujillo actually was one of eleven children of an aimless, part-Negro postal clerk named José Trujillo Valdez.



TRUJILLO
On the road to where it began.

He grew up in grinding poverty, a wiry, vicious brawler in his sugar-cane town of San Cristóbal. Opportunity arrived with the U.S. Marines, who landed in 1916 to watch over customs collections and bond payments, and who used Trujillo as an informer and procurer of obliging ladies. Trujillo's idol was a trigger-happy captain named C. F. Merkle, whose idea of order was shooting "troublemakers." Merkle was finally arrested, and committed suicide before he could be tried. But Trujillo went on to become boss of the Dominican armed forces, a position he used to make himself President in 1930.

"God & Trujillo." No absolute ruler—not even France's Sun King—was more foppishly vain. Applying his own version of *droit du seigneur,* Trujillo took three wives, countless mistresses. Scattered about his peanut-sized fief were twelve palaces and ranches at which a full staff of servants faithfully prepared every meal every day just in case the master dropped in. At each mansion, Trujillo kept a full wardrobe of uniforms complete with white-plumed fore-and-aft hats.



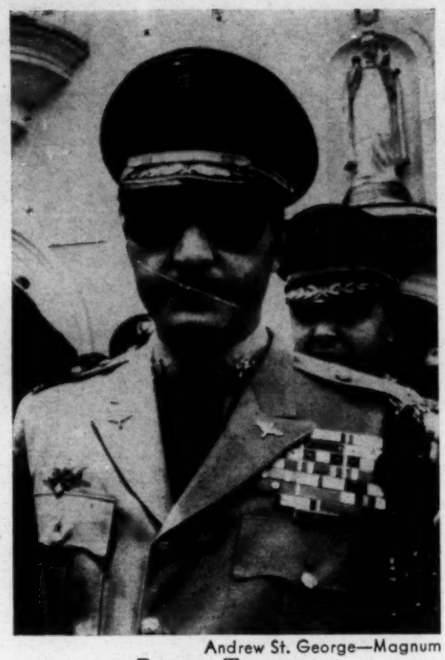
Busts of Trujillo adorned every park; plaques proclaiming that "in this house, Trujillo is boss" dangled from the wall of every shop. Along the roadside, signs proclaimed "Thank You, Trujillo," and neon beacons flashed the message "God and Trujillo." No Dominican dared oppose, or even snicker.

Object Lesson. For Trujillo understood the power of terror. Thousands of opponents perished quietly in SIM secret-police dungeons, in spectacular "auto accidents" and incredible "suicides." Trujillo's avenging arm reached even to the U.S. in the famed 1956 kidnap-murder of Columbia University Lecturer Jesús de Galíndez, a bitter Trujillo critic and one-time tutor of the dictator's children. The peak of his terror was reached one October night in 1937, when Trujillo issued instructions to eliminate Haitian squatters along the northwest border. Working nonstop for 36 hours, Trujillo's highly efficient army butchered a reported 15,000 men, women and children.

Looking the Other Way. Trujillo horrified many people in the U.S. and Latin America. But he did not rule by terror alone. He had a natural talent for autocratic management. Starting with the 1930 hurricane that destroyed 70% of the capital, Trujillo imposed a rigidly controlled economy that rebuilt the city in short order. When he took power, the republic was burdened by a $20 million unpaid—and unpayable—debt. Trujillo decreed such heavy taxes that the debt was paid off in 17 years.

As the treasury began to fill, Trujillo built schools and boasted that he had raised the literacy rate from 30% to 96% during his regime. Efficient hospitals were built; good roads (with military check points every few miles) crisscrossed the island to carry a rich sugar and coffee harvest to market. Trujillo spent millions on self-glorifying publicity (hiring such U.S. agents as F.D.R.'s Attorney General Homer Cummings and F.D.R. Jr. himself), and won such influential champions as U.S. Democratic Senators James O. Eastland and Allen Ellender, who once said, "I wish there were a Trujillo in every country of South and Central America." Other apologists, ignoring Trujillo's terror, pointed to the Dominican Republic's sharply improved per-capita yearly income ($225, about average for Latin America). But the average did not reflect the disproportionate share of the wealth acquired by the ubiquitous Trujillo family through The Benefactor's standard 10% cut on all public-works contracts, his heavy interests in sugar, textiles, cattle, insurance, and his monopolies of salt, cigarettes, lumber, matches, milk and peanut oil. When the coffin lid shut on Trujillo's business career last week, he was worth an estimated $800 million.

Feeding the Chaos. The man who will reap the whirlwind, rushing home from Paris in an Air France jet chartered for $28,000, was Rafael Leonidas ("Ramfis")



Andrew St. George—Magnum
RAMFIS TRUJILLO
Kim, Zsa Zsa, and now the whirlwind.

Trujillo Jr., 32, one of Trujillo's four acknowledged offspring. A polo-loving playboy, his main claim to fame until now was flunking out of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth while AWOL in pursuit (despite a wife and six children) of Kim Novak and Zsa Zsa Gabor (to whom he gave a $5,500 Mercedes-Benz, a $17,000 chinchilla coat). Commissioned by Daddy as an army colonel at the age of three and promoted to brigadier general at nine, Ramfis has little in his record to suggest the tenacity and talent needed to cope with the chaos he has inherited.

Beneath the façade of order, the Dominican Republic left by Trujillo is a political vacuum, and its economy is near collapse. As he grew older, Trujillo embarked on grandiose projects of no merit, lost $35 million on an international fair that flopped in 1956, drained away another $50 million for arms in the space of two years. Trujillo compounded his growing troubles by a foolish and abortive plot to assassinate Venezuelan President Rómulo Betancourt in Caracas last June. As a result, Trujillo was ostracized by all the other nations of the hemisphere.

Increasingly, his raw nerves lay close to the surface. In fits of blind rage, he slapped his puppet President Joaquín Balaguer, kicked palace functionaries in the groin, spat on his assistants. But he still had an instinct for survival. Aware that the main threat of internal revolution lay within the literate middle class, he kept up the pressure of arrest and harassment to prevent organized opposition. He even took on the Roman Catholic Church, which at last went into open opposition.

As the pressure of the U.S. and Latin American nations hardened against him, Trujillo last year mischievously began a defiant courtship with Moscow. He let leftists take over a radio station and a newspaper, sent emissaries behind the Iron Curtain, negotiated a nonaggression pact with Fidel Castro. He promised to let a Fidelista political party organize and sent flunkies around the country making leftist speeches. Son Ramfis faces the certainty that of all Dominican opposition factions, the Communists and the Castroites are best organized to fill the power vacuum left by his father's death.

And vacuum there will be. After years of autocracy, the Dominican Republic was a stunned place. Thousands of Dominicans, many of them wailing hysterically, tried to jam into the tiny crypt of the church in San Cristóbal, where Trujillo's closed coffin was laid to rest. Ramfis ordered them out, then, with eyes blazing, vowed at his father's tomb to kill every one of the opposition. After the funeral, 1,000 suspected opponents of the regime were rounded up. Díaz' son was reported killed, and his wife held for torture; the government announced the death of one assassin, the capture of three others.

Into the Vacuum. In one sense, Trujillo's death had cleared the air. Many Latin American nations had been unwilling to move against Castro so long as Trujillo's longer-lasting dictatorship continued unchecked and uncondemned. But in the chaotic aftermath, there was danger of a bloodbath instituted by Trujillo's unproved heirs, or the counterdanger of a revolt in which a Castro might emerge triumphant. Washington sounded out members of the Organization of American States on the possibility of joint action to maintain order inside the Dominican Republic, got firm assent from key nations. As the threat of Ramfis Trujillo's reprisals grew stronger at week's end, the U.S. served notice that it wanted the era of terror ended. State Department Press Officer Lincoln White reported that "unwarranted repression" was being employed in Ciudad Trujillo "against anyone who is felt to be not loyal to the regime." Pointedly, he opened the possibility that U.S. forces, already gathering in the Caribbean, might move in to protect U.S. lives "should this situation erupt."

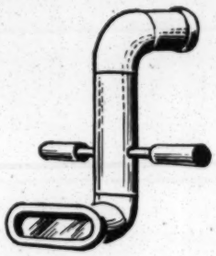
CUBA

The Underground Surfaces

All week long, torrential rains pounded down on Cuba, endangering the vital sugar harvest already delayed by invasion and subsequent repression. Out went the orders from Castro's puppet President Osvaldo Dorticós: "Mill workers must voluntarily increase their workday to twelve hours." And with the crop crisis came the first rumbles of a reviving anti-Castro underground. A $300,000 sugar mill was burned, a bomb wounded a hated Castro military prosecutor, a phosphorous bomb fired a cinema. Havana radio blamed Exile Manolo Ray, who replied that his leftist, but bitterly anti-Communist M.R.P. underground is ready with more of the same. But there is also a brand-new anti-Castro movement operating inside Cuba. It is a union of six organizations that tired of the constant bickering of their exiled leadership in the U.S. Travelers from Cuba reported thousands of new arrests.

For shipping ropes

or soaps



or periscopes

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Santa Fe

JUNE 12, 1961 25 CENTS

the new Leader

38TH YEAR OF WEEKLY PUBLICATION

AFTER TRUJILLO WHAT?

Robert J. Alexander

SATELLITE SURVEY

Daniel Schorr – K. A. Jelenski

MM
MFT
Nothing
to
clip

BETWEEN ISSUES

HAPPILY FOR the New York *Times*, the back pages of both its first and second sections have become the slippery battleground of the slick magazines. This is especially true where the women's magazines are concerned, and the hairpulling matches one can witness these mornings are indeed something to behold. On a Monday morning the *Ladies' Home Journal* ("When the *Journal* speaks—women listen") taunts that it will guarantee advertisers 7 million readers by October. Wednesday *McCall's* ("First Magazine for Women, First in Advertising, First in Circulation") yaks back that it, too, will be dishing up 7 million readers in October. Friday the *Journal* gets in the final tug by declaring that what it promises for October it has already delivered in March.

Situated on a somewhat less lofty peak with 5.4 million circulation, *Good Housekeeping* seeks to turn this dubious distinction to its advantage by arguing that it offers more impressions (printing impressions, that is) per dollar to advertisers than the front-running rivals. *Good Housekeeping* has also raised its cover price from 35 to 50 cents, not only because its devotees are willing to pay extra for it but to distribute rising production costs more equally between reader and advertiser. And *Redbook* ("The Magazine for Young Adults") with a mere 3.5 million circulation, is striking out for new frontiers with a huge diaper pin and a cover photo of Caroline Kennedy riding high while her proud father looks on.

Perhaps the most interesting advertisement in the current magazine war, however, came a few weeks ago when *Life* publisher C. D. Jackson announced that his publication would undergo changes with its June 2 issue "to quicken and sharpen communications between printed page and reader's eye . . . [and] to give more clarity to the pattern of the magazine. . . ."

Robert Alden, the *Times'* Madison Avenue columnist, reported after the issue appeared:

"The project to revise the *Life* format started at the beginning of this year. . . . Hundreds of dummies were drawn up and discarded by the project team. . . . A spokesman for *Life* said that while *Life's* experimental project had now taken on graphic form and was being exposed to the public, the format was not frozen."

Alden went on to say that "media experts" were watching these developments closely, and concluded: "Another interested observer will be the *Saturday Evening Post*, which is also in the process of seeking a new format that will hold on to its old readers and bring in new ones."

Still another interested observer, as you no doubt can tell from our preoccupation with all these goings on (and, we hope, from the experiments in these pages in recent months), is THE NEW LEADER. Of course, our circulation goals are more in the area of 70,000 than 7 million, and we are hardly in a position to advertise mere experiments on the back page of the *Times*. But the time has come, we think, at least to tell our loyal readers that plans for a major improvement in our appearance have been on the drawing boards for some months, too—and we expect to be able to say more about this before the fall.

OUR COVER this week, an impression of a church in Poland, is by Gloria Bressler.

the new Leader

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VOLUME XLIV, NUMBER 24

Assassination of Dominican Republic's long-time dictator ends unique period of personal rule and leaves Caribbean nation's political future very much in doubt

After Trujillo What?

By Robert J. Alexander

THE ASSASSINATION on May 30 of Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina ended 31 years of rigid personal control over what was probably the most absolute tyranny in the world. Whether his demise also means the end of dictatorship in the Dominican Republic remains to be seen.

Some peculiar aspects of Trujillo's sensational death are worth noting before analyzing the prospects for democratic government in the tiny Caribbean nation. The official announcement was made on May 31 by President Joaquin Balaguer, who said the dictator's car was ambushed by seven men in three autos while he was traveling from the capital city of Ciudad Trujillo to his ailing mother's bedside 20 miles away. Observers familiar with the careful workings of the regime were struck by the fact that the Generalissimo was allegedly traveling without his customary armed escort and was accompanied only by his chauffeur, an Army captain.

The Government announcement also mentioned that Trujillo had been beaten so brutally his face was virtually unrecognizable. Although many Dominicans undoubtedly hated the dictator enough to mistreat his corpse, the stress laid on this curious detail raises some interesting questions—particularly when considered together with the absence of his usual armed guard.

Indeed, some observers have gone so far as to suggest that Trujillo's assassination was in fact a complete hoax, engineered by the Generalissimo himself and designed to smoke out political dissidents and latent oppositionists who might be expected to come into the open once the dictator was gone. Trujillo was certainly capable of arranging such a scheme, and there is much evidence that in recent months he was worried by growing opposition.

The Government's actions in the days immediately following the announcement of Trujillo's death, however, make it highly unlikely that the dictator is still alive. The beneficiaries of the regime moved quickly to perpetuate dictatorial rule. Trujillo's elder son and namesake, Rafael Jr., was named commander-in-chief of all the armed forces, and the announcement of his appointment was made at a press conference attended by several of his uncles and other relatives who were prominent figures in his father's regime.

But it is doubtful that those who have taken over the Dominican Republic can keep the old regime intact. In part, this depends on their ability to maintain unity among themselves; in part, it is contingent on how well they can get along without the master.

The Trujillo dictatorship was a very personal one. The Generalissimo was an extraordinary man and an atypical Dominican. He had a special genius for organization and often worked 18 hours a day. After 30 years in power, too, he knew everyone of any importance whatever in his nation.

What is more, Trujillo never allowed anyone except himself to achieve any personal popularity or power. He developed elaborate techniques for keeping potential rivals out of the limelight: a system of rapid rotation of office holders both in the military and civilian branches of government, and a deliberate policy of humiliating and stultifying most of the principal figures in public life.

One of the "Benefactor's" favorite methods of degrading public figures was to write "anonymous" letters to the editor of the country's two major newspapers denouncing ministers, army officers and others for all sorts of vile crimes—always including the accusation that the person in question was "disloyal to the Generalissimo." Any important figure attacked in this manner was expected to reply with demeaning protestations of innocence and proclamations of undying loyalty to the dictator.

Another common Trujillo procedure was to have a minister, senator, deputy or general suddenly arrested, tried and sent to jail for a long term on some trumped up charge. After serving a few chastising months, the prisoner would be freed and reappointed to a high post. Putting aside whatever resentment he might have felt against the dictator for his mistreatment, the humbled man had to accept reinstatement. Re-

fusal to do so meant dire punishment.

These quaint methods were supplemented by one of the most effective terror apparatuses in the modern world. Trujillo never trusted any single police agency; he maintained several of them, each spying on the others as well as on all important figures in the Government. The chiefs of the various police services reported directly to him daily. Any person suspected of disloyalty to the regime or who was known to be critical was in real danger. True, there were few official executions, but "doubtful" persons were likely to perish in mysterious auto "accidents" in remote parts of the county.

TRUJILLO'S meticulous and ruthless control of the nation decimated the potential opposition. His 30-year-long successful tyranny raises serious questions about the possibility of establishing democracy in the Dominican Republic in the near future. Even if the dictator's present heirs were to allow the exiles to return and permit normal political organization and controversy, it would certainly take some time before elections could be held and a democratic government installed.

The present leaders certainly evince no desire to permit the development of a legal opposition—although internal rivalries may bring this about whether they wish it or not. Young Rafael Trujillo seems to be attempting to fill his father's shoes, but his avaricious and influential relatives are not likely to stand by and see him installed with the full powers possessed by the Generalissimo. Quarrels within the ruling group are bound to weaken the successor regime in coming months.

Perhaps some part of the Army and associated civilian elements will try to get rid of the Trujillo clan altogether. There have been reports of considerable dislike for Rafael Jr. among leading military officers. There is also known to exist a sizable civilian underground, consisting of professional people and others, who attempted a coup in January 1960. And some observers believe that Brigadier General Juan Tomas Diaz, the retired officer who engineered Trujillo's assassination and was killed by the police last week, was himself associated with this movement.

The underground is reportedly anti-Fidel Castro and pro-United States, although there also exists an important pro-Castro element in the opposition. In 1959, the latter group attempted an invasion of the Dominican Republic which was thwarted by Trujillo. It will undoubtedly seek to make its weight felt in the present situation.

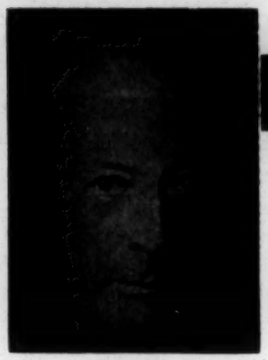
Young Rafael Trujillo's feelings toward the U.S. and Castro may also prove to be important. He has been violently anti-Yankee since 1958, when the U.S. Army refused to give him a graduation certificate after he registered for but seldom attended a course at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Rafael Jr. was probably influential in getting his father to end his public enmity for Castro's regime and make unsuccessful overtures to the Soviet Union late in 1960. It is conceivable that he will try to form an alliance with the *Fidelistas* inside the Dominican Republic and in Cuba, particularly if there is a falling out among the present ruling group.

IF SOME relaxation of dictatorial rule does take place in the Dominican Republic, many divergent elements among the exiled oppositionists are sure to come forth. Some of these political groups are extremely conservative, others are "democratic revolutionaries," still others are sympathetic to Castro. There is also the Dominican Communist party, known locally as the *Partido Socialista Popular.*

From a democratic point of view, the most hopeful elements are centered in the *Partido Revolucionario Dominicano* and the *Vanguardia Revolucionaria Dominicana.* The first, headed by the nation's foremost literary figure, Juan Bosch, and by former trade-union leader Angel Miolan, has organized groups among Dominican exiles in the United States, Venezuela, Mexico and elsewhere. The second is a newer group, founded half a dozen years ago, with its main strength among exiled professionals in Puerto Rico, Mexico and the U.S. Both parties advocate the confiscation of the Trujillo family holdings (which would bring a large percentage of the country's productive capacity into the hands of the state), the setting up of a strong labor movement, an extensive program of nation-wide economic development and the establishment of political democracy.

At the other end of the Dominican political spectrum is a persistent *Trujillista* movement with some popular support. During three decades of absolute control, the late dictator certainly convinced a considerable number of the country's humbler citizens that he was indeed their "Benefactor." There are many who will remain loyal to his memory, and they constitute an anti-democratic force of real importance. Trujillo's followers probably would work with the *Fidelistas* and Communists to thwart any attempt to establish political democracy on the ruins of their dead leader's regime.

The future of the Dominican Republic will also depend in some measure on the actions of the U.S. and other American countries in the weeks and months to come. If the U.S. maintains its present stand—voiced in the first few days after Trujillo's death—of favoring democratic evolution in the island republic, it can exert important influence on local military officers, high-ranking bureaucrats and others who hold the immediate future of the country in their hands. A strong U.S. position in this regard may, in some measure, help to make up for the tremendous damage to democratic prospects in the Dominican Republic caused by our support of the Generalissimo for 30 long years.



BOHN

THE HOME FRONT

By William E. Bohn

Riding Herd on The Wasteland

IT IS SAID that the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), Newton N. Minow, made his recent sparkling speech to broadcasting executives in order to rouse public discussion. If that was his purpose, he has certainly succeeded. There is so much animated argument going on about television that I cannot resist the temptation to return to a subject which I long ago deserted in disappointment and disgust.

The new FCC Chairman has breathed new life into the whole field of public affairs. With that kind of man on top, we may gradually make some of the improvements that we have been dreaming of since radio began back in 1920.

The FCC consists of seven members, with a chairman who has power enough to make himself strong and conspicuous if he wants to. The broadcasting companies operate by authority of licenses which are renewed by the Commission every three years. To secure a license, each company must promise to use its monopolistic public utility in such a way as to serve "public interest, convenience or necessity." At the end of each three-year period, every licensee must offer an outline of a typical week's program to prove to the Commission that it has kept its promises.

Through the years the radio-TV industry has developed enormously. TV is now said to deliver its performances to 50 million American outlets. There are very few things going on in this country which are more important than its television programs. For some years the FCC members have been sitting in their offices in Washington going through whatever motions they have to in order to draw their salaries. The TV programs were whatever they were. The people of the country were unhappy, but nothing seemed to happen. Then came the payola scandals, the old FCC Chairman resigned and, finally, President Kennedy appointed a new chairman.

There has been a good deal of grousing of late about our political system. But there is one tremendously good thing about the old system: It allows new men—even new kinds of men—to come to the top in typical American success-story style.

In 1948, Minow was a student at Northwestern University, excited about a Chicago lawyer named Adlai E. Stevenson who was then running for governor of Illinois. By the time Stevenson ran for President in 1952, he and the young law student had become fast friends. After the 1960 election, when President Kennedy needed a new chairman of the FCC, Stevenson suggested the lively young Minow for the job. This vital chap came into the leisurely and lethargic office like a fresh wind from the West.

As an old battler for improvement of the television programs, I hail Minow's appearance and offer what little support I can muster. I and all of my friends wish him success. Although Minow is said to be getting thousands of letters, most people will not write to him. In a sense, every letter which our champion receives represents at least a hundred supporters. Practically everyone I know is discontented with what is being ladled out to us.

We do not expect any spectacular improvements. But when the broadcasters come up for their accounting we expect the new Chairman to go over their programs with a sharp eye. Minow was completely right in emphasizing the good things which the program-builders have given us. The best, I believe, is the sportscasting. I suppose it could be improved, but I don't see how. News programs, for the most part are all right, as are the political shows.

Minow went right to the point, however, when he asked the broadcasters to spend an entire day watching television. "You will observe," he said, "a vast wasteland. You will see a procession of game shows, violence, audience participation shows, formula comedies about totally unbelievable families, blood and thunder, mayhem, violence, sadism, murder, western bad men, western good men, private eyes, gangsters, more violence. . . . I am not convinced that the people's taste is as low as some of you assume."

The new Chairman is perfectly right about the commercials. The public has long complained about them and our humorists have done their best to pinpoint their ridiculousness. Still, they get worse instead of better. During one recent afternoon show I counted five commercials displayed tandem. This happens repeatedly; the whole intent is reversed: The sales talks have become the basic show. A very few great companies through the years have given us magnificent programs with dignified advertisements, but these are merely conspicuous exceptions which demonstrate what can be done.

Minow's address was followed by cries of "dictatorship." The broadcasters compare their freedom with that of the press. They do not yet seem to realize that they are using the air—which belongs to all of us. But their indiscretion may, in fact, lead to "dictatorship"—by the public.

COFFIN

WASHINGTON—U.S.A.

By Tristram Coffin

Military Colossus Fights President

A FEW DAYS AGO, a deeply smoldering American crisis flared suddenly and briefly—and then died from view. To an audience of touring school children resting in the Senate gallery after climbing the Washington Monument, and before a handful of his colleagues, Senator Stuart Symington, a former Air Force Secretary, gravely warned of a rebellion of military officers against civilian control.

The tall Missouri Democrat graphically described "a condition . . . which is tragic and dangerous to the future security of our country. It has become clear that some members of the military do not intend to give up to civilian authority any of the prerogatives of excess power they have been allowed to build up over the years at the expense of civilian control. In fact, there now appears to be an organized effort on the part of some of the military to attack their civilian superiors under the vicious cloak of anonymity. This not only includes the Secretary of Defense and some of his civilian assistants, but in some cases the President himself. . . . The point to note is that military men of high rank, disgruntled at their slice of the pie, are now attacking the core of the American system . . . in a disloyal operation."

Up jumped Senator Hubert Humphrey (D.-Minn.) to praise the "courageous statement" and add, "We have seen too much of the role of the military in world affairs." A member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, E. L. (Bob) Bartlett (D.-Alaska), commented that this "sorely needed saying, and I am glad he said it." A Republican, Kenneth Keating of New York, said, "I agree entirely." Significantly, the glamor boy of the Right wing, Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.), who was on the floor, said nothing. He is a brigadier general in the Air Force Reserve.

This sober criticism of what is now the greatest source of power in Washington was virtually ignored by the press, which has been markedly partial to the generals. Yet the struggle is so bitter that one Pentagon civilian remarked wistfully that he hoped the President would return from Europe with tips from President de Gaulle and Premier Khrushchev on handling the military.

President Kennedy was somberly warned by none other than Dwight D. Eisenhower of the "military-industrial complex." And former Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson was so troubled by it that he told a House subcommittee: "I have said to a number of my friends that one of the serious things about this defense business is that so many Americans are getting a vested interest in it; properties, business, jobs, employment, votes, opportunities for promotion and advancement, bigger salaries for scientists, and all that. It is a troublesome business."

This colossus is a strange monster. It has no head other than the theoretical direction of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It is composed of many wriggling tentacles: regular military officers; military contractors, which now include many universities with whopping research grants; professional groups, such as the Air Force Association; veterans organizations; captive Congressmen; captive professors and scientists; favorites in the press corps; and, in a limited way, Reserve officers.

There is, in effect, an interlocking directorate between the defense contractors and the military establishment. Retired officers can take off their uniforms and get good jobs with contractors. General Dynamics, the top-ranking defense contractor, had 186 retired officers on its payroll, including 1 general, 1 lieutenant general, 5 brigadier generals, 1 vice admiral and 19 rear admirals. It is difficult to decide just who controls whom. A year ago, the late Representative B. Carroll Reece (R.-Tenn.) said, "The Army has become the captive of industrial forces of great power, particularly Bell Laboratories and Douglas Aircraft."

In cold political terms, the military has more swag to dispense than any U.S. institution: more than $23.5 billion in contracts not hampered by competitive bidding or the analytical control of the Government Accounting Office; camps and bases (the Defense Department controls 31,303,577 acres); reserve commissions; research grants; junkets to overseas bases and free transportation; exclusive stories on glamorous subjects; and, indirectly, advertising. And it is not only protected by secrecy but surrounded by an aura of patriotism.

Much of the energy and power of the military is spent on preserving the *status quo*. For example, a switch from manned bombers to long-range guided missiles strikes dismay in many areas. The aircraft manufacturers, the unions in their plants, the Congressmen in their districts and the banks that finance them are immediately concerned. The big-bomber boys who dominate the Air Force are in the same boat as the battleship admirals they fought so violently little more than a decade ago. And the Pentagon politicians are upset because their lever on foreign policy,

the foreign military bases, is knocked out of their hands.

ACTUALLY, the present revolt is over an attempt by the Kennedy Administration to modernize our defenses. The Air Force and Navy, principally, are trying to hold back the hands of the clock. The Administration proposes to scrap the policy of "massive retaliation" as both out-moded and dangerous. This policy depends on huge bomber fleets loaded with nuclear weapons that can be dropped on an enemy at the first hostile act, and great fleets of ships surrounding aircraft carriers with planes that also carry atomic weapons. The new concept seeks to cut down the danger of an accidental nuclear holocaust by placing less reliance on huge nuclear strikes. It would also bring the United States into the missile age by having Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles and submarine-based Polaris missiles provide retaliatory power. In addition, in this modern world where nations are destroyed by guerrilla operations and internal subversion, the U.S. would build up highly trained brushfire brigades.

All those who would be adversely affected by this revolution in arms are crying out. They are being joined by the forces in and out of the Pentagon who demand that the U.S. renew its testing of new nuclear weapons. The Air Force, primarily, is involved in this pressure, together with uranium mining interests.

The chief targets of this combine are the intellectuals who advise the President on military strategy: Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, his pipe-smoking science adviser; W. W. Rostow, his deputy security coordinator; and Paul H. Nitze, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. In the academic community, all three are considered conservatives in the raging debate between arms control and disarmament. They all favor limited arms control.

The attack blew out into the open in an amazing "story" in *Newsweek*, which loaded its guns in favor of the military. The magazine quoted anonymous military leaders as contemptuously referring to "wooly-headed scientists, State Department idealists, and White House intellectuals . . . going off half-cocked," who "want to disarm the U.S. of its massive nuclear power and stress limited war preparation." The Associated Press, whose reporters are taught never to quote anonymous sources, also quoted an anonymous "Navy officer" as chewing up the Administration for blaming the Cuban fiasco on the military.

Still another attack by the military on the scientists, which is particularly shocking because it strikes directly at the heart of independent research, has just recently come to light. The Pentagon subsidizes scientists and research facilities at many universities, and nervous college administrators are cautioning professors against criticizing the military or its policy for fear of driving the income away. Last week, too, the Army dropped its chief research organization, the

MRS. SMITH: WOULD NOT BACK DOWN

Operations Research Office (ORO) of Johns Hopkins University, because of what its director termed "ethical differences." The director, Dr. Ellis A. Johnson, accused the current Army leadership, which he termed "conservative" in contrast to Maxwell D. Taylor and James M. Gavin, of trying to maintain "strict control in detail" over the ORO. The Army is setting up a captive research organization whose directors will include two retired generals, Omar N. Bradley and James McCormack, and a vice president of one of the companies Representative Reece had charged with capturing control of the Army.

No one in the Administration has any illusions about this rebellion. It will be fought by forces both powerful and, at times, arrogant. This arrogance was revealed in a brutal attack upon Senator Margaret Chase Smith (R.-Me.) by elements associated with the Air Force. Mrs. Smith is one lawmaker whose integrity and intelligence have never been questioned. She is a member of two powerful committees riding herd on the military, the Armed Services Committee and the Defense Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee. It is unthinkable for any unit of the Government, except the Pentagon, to attack a member of the committee which governs it or passes on its funds.

Mrs. Smith's crime was to upset an Air Force public relations stunt. She objected to making movie actor James Stewart a Reserve General, since, she pointed out, he had not fulfilled the requirements. A member of Congress warned her privately, "If you don't back down, the Air Force will blacken your name from coast to coast." Notably independent, she did not back down.

A syndicated columnist, a popular radio commentator and even a newspaper comic strip were used in the attack upon Mrs. Smith. The press generally treated the episode as an amusing little quarrel between a whimsical woman and the brave boys of the bold blue yonder. In addition, a whispering campaign began in both Washington and Maine against the Senator. Fellow Committee members were so shocked by the attack that they voted 11-2 to back her judgment.

SATELLITE SURVEY

Almost five years have passed since the October 1956 revolution in HUNGARY and the uprising in POLAND. Here we present two articles describing the present mood of the people in these Soviet satellites. Daniel Schorr, writing from Budapest, finds the Hungarian people "unconvinced" by Moscow's claims of superiority; K. A. Jelenski sees in Poland today a "new, pragmatic patriotism," based on 'raison d'état.'

BUDAPEST REVISITED

By Daniel Schorr

BUDAPEST

YURI GAGARIN and Fidel Castro are currently at the top of Hungary's Communist hit parade, their exploits being pushed for all—or a little more than—they are worth. In Budapest's May Day parade, which led off with a spaceship model, there were more pictures of Major Gagarin than of Hungarian Party chief Janos Kadar or Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. Castro's nose-thumbing at the United States and his official embrace of Communism have been highly publicized here, though not his proclaimed scorn for elections, which still receive lip-service.

Graham Greene's *Our Man in Havana* is being published in Hungarian and serialized in advance in a leading newspaper. Greene's fictionalized account of a British intelligence failure in Cuba is presented here not as a spoof, but as prophetic evidence that "the secret service system employed by the Western countries always ends in failure."

The apartment house for American diplomats on the Danube's Szetechenyi Embankment still displays the "Cuba Si, Yankees No" sign which was smeared in white paint during the abortive invasion of Cuba. On cue from press and radio, about a hundred letters and telegrams protesting the invasion, signed mainly by factory workers, were sent to the American Legation. In Budapest, however, almost alone among Communist capitals, there was no "spontaneous demonstration" outside the Legation; street demonstrations are somewhat frowned upon here since 1956.

Clearly, Space Hero Gagarin and Earth Hero Castro have a definite role to play in Hungary's Communist propaganda. The regime is anxious to prove to a skeptical people that Communism is the wave of the future. But a random sampling of Hungarians indicates that many remain unconvinced; curiously, most Hungarians seem less impressed with Communist exploits than do Americans.

There are many who simply do not believe that Gagarin did it. Typical was a doctor who said, "They have always lied, so why should we believe them now?" (In Hungary, as throughout the Communist world, the symbol of power is an unspecified "They.") Budapest taxi drivers, unlike Moscow cabbies, do not seize upon an American passenger to ask what he thinks of Gagarin's feat. Nor is it a great subject of discussion in cafes.

Hungarians do believe that an invasion of Cuba was launched, and failed because it was not mounted with sufficient strength. It dismayed those who were reminded of their own 1956 experience with Western indecisiveness and half-measures. One Hungarian said, "It was crazy to send 800 men against 60,000 AVO." (AVO is the abbreviation of Hungary's internal security forces, and the word is used unjestingly in referring to Castro's militia.)

Despite American setbacks in space and off the Florida coast, Hungarians, incredibly, still believe that America is stronger than Russia. They have become too immunized to propaganda to accept the constantly repeated claims of Soviet superiority. What they doubt, as they have since 1956, is America's will.

THE KADAR REGIME now seems to regard the uprising of 1956 as finally liquidated. Almost five years after the rebellion was put down with Soviet tanks, the Government has apparently regained enough self-confidence to rejoin the other satellites in the march towards Communism. For most of those years the authorities were mainly concerned with stamping out the remnants of rebellion and consolidating their own power, while luring the consumer with more goods and avoiding drastic actions that might provoke new trouble.

But this dispensation could not last forever. Khrushchev has announced that within three or four years "the basic foundation of Socialism" will have been laid and "all

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DANIEL SCHORR *is head of the Columbia Broadcasting System's news bureau for Germany and Eastern Europe.*

the people's democracies will more or less enter Socialism." Czechoslovakia has already proclaimed her entry through the pearly gates, and Hungary still has some catching up to do.

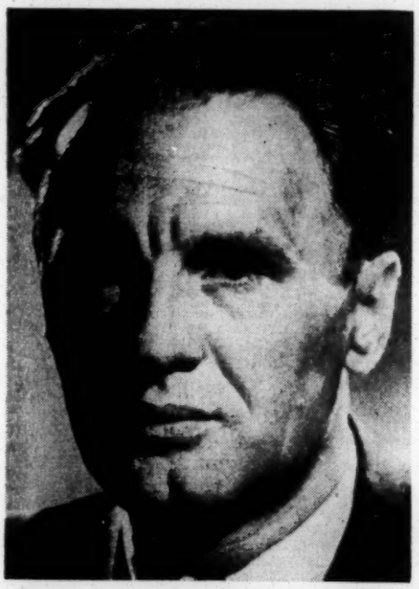
The farm collectivization that was tried twice and failed has now been carried out on more than 90 per cent of Hungary's arable land. Under a new five-year plan, production quotas for industrial workers have been increased. And the screws have been tightened anew on the Roman Catholic Church, the last organized barrier to Communism. In these three areas, the Kadar regime must have been aware that it would arouse considerable popular resentment, but felt strong enough, after more than four years of repression, to take the risk.

Among the farmers, there apparently was little active resistance to collectivization, though the real test will come with this summer's harvest. Officials deny that any blackmail, threats or arrests were used to enforce collectivization. "On the contrary," one official told me, "the Party gave strict orders that administrative measures were to be avoided, that no one could wear any uniform when calling on a farmer to sign up. And, in one case where undue pressure was used, three Party members were expelled." When I observed that the result was astonishing if it was voluntary, the official replied: "We were somewhat astonished ourselves."

The Government admits that there was more resistance by factory workers to the recent increase in production quotas, intended to overcome a lag in productivity. Officials refer to "discussions" and "disputes" in factories, but deny the current rumors that some workers were arrested for trying to organize strikes.

The Government is still putting considerable emphasis on maintaining a supply of consumer goods. The people of Budapest appear reasonably well dressed and reasonably well fed. One even sees foreign liquors and foreign perfumes in shop windows. But the time when a nervous regime devoted itself almost entirely to economic placation and political repression is over. The Hungarian government has started repaying the huge post-1956 Soviet loans, and sacrifices are demanded of the Hungarian worker in terms of more work. Under the current five-year plan, two-thirds of the programmed increase in production is supposed to come from harder work.

The dimensions of the new drive against the Catholic Church are hard to ascertain. In February the Government announced the arrest of eight priests and two laymen, charged with



KADAR: REGAINS SELF-CONFIDENCE

"leading an illegal organization engaged in anti-State activity." There is no doubt that there have been more arrests, but estimates vary all the way from 50 to 1,200. The drive against the Church is designed to obtain more "active cooperation in the building of Socialism."

With all the reports of pressure against agriculture, industry and the Church, it is significant that the grapevine is no longer reporting, as it did as recently as last year, continued arrests stemming from the 1956 uprising. If the population is not singing any Communist huzzas, it is at least passively accepting what looks like the inevitable.

A Government spokesman went so far as to claim to me that all those arrested as a result of the 1956 rebellion (presumably those still alive) have now been released—a claim that foreign diplomats, from personal knowledge, find hard to believe. But at least some of the writers who helped to spark the revolt are now free. And officials say that while they are banned from writing on political subjects, many earn a living of sorts as translators.

A Hungarian official, seeking to impress me with the liberal treatment accorded the dissident writers, said, "I met one of them in the street. He asked where I was going. I said, 'To the office. And you?' He replied, 'To the beach!'" The official did not quite convince me that he envied the free but unemployed writer.

Soviet troops are less conspicuously evident in Budapest than they were last year, but the regime's self-confidence has not yet reached the point of having them withdrawn, despite periodic rumors that this is planned. What is true, though, is that Moscow has apparently regained enough confidence in the Hungarian Army to entrust it with modern rockets. Anti-aircraft missiles were shown in a Hungarian military parade in April, reportedly the first to be turned over to a satellite army. There was no sign of ground-to-ground, tank-destroying rockets — understandable when one recalls how the Hungarian Army fought against Soviet tanks in 1956.

WHEN I MET Endre Sik, the white-haired Foreign Minister who was once Hungarian cultural attache in Washington, almost the first words from his lips were about his Government's desire for "normalization of relations with the United States." The word "normalization" springs up, almost obsessively, whenever a Hungarian official talks to an American.

In defining "normalization," Hungarian officials say they would like to see a full-fledged American minister returned, instead of a chargé d'affaires. They would like to see trade and cultural exchanges. Especially—and here the voice usually rises a little—they would like to see Americans stop raising "the so-called Hungarian question" and challenging Hungarian credentials in the United Nations and at international conferences.

"We do not expect you to treat us better than the other Socialist states," one official told me, "but you could at least treat us as well." And, perhaps with some logic, he asked why America continues to maintain a special Coventry for Hungary, where the "counterrevolution" was supressed, while maintaining normal relations with the Soviet Union, which did the suppressing.

There is no doubt that the U.S.'s continuing official snub rankles the Kadar regime, and the response is a variety of special harassments for the American Legation, such as travel restrictions and AVO "tails" on American cars. It is more than wounded pride that makes the Hungarian government push incessantly for "normalization": The regime seeks respectability in the eyes of the Hungarian people.

But there is no sign here of any imminent change in American policy. Officially, the State Department insists it will only "normalize" relations when the Kadar regime agrees to accept a United Nations investigating mission, though what such a mission would now find is not clear. Meanwhile, the Legation maintains contact with the Hungarian government without quite acknowledging its legitimacy. It works hard at the curious game of being cool without being openly hostile. Occasional social invitations are extended to Hungarian officials, who occasionally accept them. It has been going on for nearly five years now, and no one quite knows: Where do we go from here?

POLAND TODAY:

COMMUNISM

THE MANY American-style public-opinion polls conducted in Poland since 1956 have cast a vivid light on the complex nature of the people's attitude toward the two organized forces contending for their favor: the Communist party and the Catholic Church. Here, for example, is how the students of the University of Warsaw replied in 1958 to questions about their attitude toward Communism:

Are you a Marxist?	%
Yes, definitely	1.8
Inclined to be	11.4
No opinion	17.2
Inclined not to be	33.7
Definitely not	34.1
Would you like to see the world become Socialist?	
Yes, definitely	24.6
Inclined toward yes	44.7
No opinion	18.2
Inclined toward no	8.7
Definitely not	1.9

Other questions clarified the seeming paradox of adherents of socialism in a Communist country being at the same time opposed to Marxism. The students declared themselves unanimously in favor of nationalizing heavy industry, and those who believed in private property were in a majority only where artisans and small farmers were concerned. On the other hand, the students were asked: "Do you consider it permissible for the State to restrict certain civil liberties so that it can carry out reforms affecting the general interest?" Most of them replied: "Only under exceptional circumstances and for very limited periods of time." Obviously, Communism's ideological problems scarcely touch Poland's youth, which supports the social changes Communism has brought but is extremely distrustful of its contempt for democratic methods of government.

The same group of students defined its position with regard to the Catholic Church as follows:

Position	%
Devout believers, regularly practicing	9
Believers, regularly practicing	18
Believers, but not regularly practicing	30
Believers, but non-practicing	11
Non-believers, non-practicing	13
Avowed enemies of religion	2

So it would appear that Warsaw University's student body includes 68 per cent believing Catholics as contrasted with only 1.8 per cent Marxists. But, again, other questions show the students' attitude to be more complex. They were asked: "What is the decisive authority for you in a situation where you have to resolve a moral conflict: the precepts of religion? the precepts of a social philosophy? the opinion of priests? the opinion of political figures? your personal conscience? the opinion of your parents and friends? public opinion?" A very great majority replied: "My personal conscience." The second most frequent response was "the opinion of my parents and friends," while *no one* replied "the opinion of priests" or "the opinion of political figures." Only a small minority cited religion or "a social philosophy."

Another relevant poll, dealing with legal abortion, was conducted by the weekly *Polityka* in 1960 among young Poles between the ages of 15-24. Recently approved by the Government, legal abortion has encountered fierce

K. A. JELENSKI, *a Polish Social Democrat now living in Paris, has contributed to* Encounter *and* Preuves.

By K. A. Jelenski

SANS IDEOLOGY

opposition on the part of the Church. However, while 78 per cent of the young people who replied to *Polityka's* questions described themselves as Catholics, only a third of the total declared themselves opposed to legal abortion. In a sense, the attitude of young Poles toward the Church seems to be the reverse of their attitude toward Communism. For although only a handful appear to be "believing Communists," they seem in large measure to accept Communist Poland's social system. However, even though "believing Catholics" are in a majority, they by no means accept the implications of their faith at the level of social policy.

Poland's 1954-58 "revisionist" debate, therefore, was the affair of only an active minority. True, at the time the entire country saw itself reflected in those young Communists who genuinely wished to return to the sources in quest of a rigorous body of Marxist and socialist thought. The Polish revisionists were all originally minions of Stalinism. Their minds formed in the years 1945-53, they entered political life as members of the "apparatus" through the Union of Polish Youth (ZMP), the equivalent of the Soviet Komsomol.

Their backgrounds were so similar that one can draw a composite portrait of them: Of working-class origin for the most part, brilliant students and darlings of the regime, the oldest worked enthusiastically for the Communist party in the election campaign of 1945. They thought they were choosing the career of "professional revolutionary" and failed to see that their role had been degraded to that of bureaucratic *apparatchiki.*

The revolt of the Polish writers preceded Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's 1956 "secret speech" to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist party by several months. Many of the intellectuals who had played an active part in setting up the Stalinist regime, however, staged their revolt in such a way that it would also serve them as an alibi. There had been "evil," but it had been the result of "tragic necessity." Like Khrushchev, those who had been the most committed of the Stalinist intellectuals now outdid themselves in idealistic phrases.

But the young revisionists, whose Marxist training had been more serious and thorough, were not satisfied with these Sunday-school excuses. They refused to reduce Stalin's profile to Cleopatra's nose. Their thinking followed a course similar to that which Milovan Djilas was later to take, and, while they did not feel his skepticism about the possibility of creating a genuinely socialist society, it was they who first coined the term "the new class."

Thus, the Polish revisionists undertook a critique of Marxism by confronting it with historical experience. The building of socialism had not taken place under the conditions anticipated by Marx, *i.e.,* when capitalism had reached the peak of its development, but, on the contrary, in economically underdeveloped countries. Hence, it was necessary to jettison many of the notions that had only recently been articles of Marxist faith: the law of the progressive impoverishment of the working class under capitalism, the Marxist theory of crises, the theory of the socialist revolution, and the various views held on the mechanics of power in countries ruled by Communist parties, on imperialism, on technological progress, etc.

The young writers of *Po Prostu,* the revisionist journal, denounced the attitude that man was simply "a factor in the production process" who served "the economic interests of the State." Socialism had no meaning if the nation's leader ceased to take an interest in the fate of the individual in society, and that was precisely what Stalinism had done when it had lent the name of socialism to that "process of primitive accumulation which Marx, in his historical scheme, assigned to capitalism" (*Po Prostu,* October-November 1956).

More than four years have passed since the uprising of October 1956. The hopes of the revisionists have long since died. They have watched their dream of a workers' democracy collapse and are unable to express in any way their conversion to social democracy; having become Rosa Luxemburg Communists or democrats, they can no longer regard Khrushchev as one of their own kind. United by the distrust which both the totalitarian Government and the reactionary masses feel toward these last Mohicans of radicalism and liberalism, they still control the *avant-garde* literary reviews and the cafes of Warsaw, but they have little hold on the country as a whole.

The idea of "coexistence" among various schools of philosophical thought has been severely shaken. The opportunity to undertake an objective study of Polish life, seemingly heralded by the new strides made in sociology, is now limited to a few groups of university professors working in isolation and without adequate research facilities. Polish economists have not been able to apply their new ideas to an industrial apparatus which is mired in bureaucratic routine and forced to toe a political line.

The regime is once again championing "socialist realism," even though it does not quite dare to call it by its right name and is using the carrot rather than the stick as its chief weapon. Polish writers and artists continue to spurn this discredited brand of conformism, but their hearts are no longer in the

bold experiments which they conceived when the future seemed to be theirs. While the people do not yet have much fear of the police, the police no longer have any fear whatever of the people.

Present-day Polish Communism has no ideology, and it troubles itself very little about Poland's intellectuals. The Communist minority governs the country—a Communist party that has fewer illusions, is more pragmatic and has less sense of "guilt" (because it is less alienated from the people) than that of any other country in the Soviet bloc.

Nowhere else in the world is there so wide a gulf between the official line followed in the press and opinions expressed in private. In the Soviet Union, even some intellectuals parrot *Pravda* editorials in private conversation; in Poland, the Party leaders do not take the *Trybuna Ludu* line unless they are on a rostrum. One Polish writer described the present state of affairs this way: "Under the prewar authoritarian regime, the Government occasionally persecuted us and frequently bought us; under Stalinism, we had a choice between terrible persecution and well-paid sinecures; Gomulka, however, wishes neither to persecute us nor to buy us."

THE WATCHWORD of Communist boss Wladyslaw Gomulka's Poland is *raison d'état*. It is because of *raison d'état* that the anti-Stalinist revolt did not go beyond the limits so clearly defined by the fate of the Hungarian Revolution. It is because of *raison d'état* that Poland's anti-Communists voted for the lists presented by Gomulka in the January 1957 elections. Finally, it is because of *raison d'état* that there is a tacit understanding between the people of Poland and Gomulka, who is the only man capable of retaining Khrushchev's confidence and, at the same time, safeguarding the basic achievements of October 1956: the decollectivization of the countryside, the truce with the Church and the elimination of arbitrary police rule.

A philosophy of *raison d'état* based on an alliance with Russia or even on the temporary acceptance of *de facto* Russian domination, moreover, is not without precedent in Polish history. And since 1945, too, it has been buttressed by a weighty fact of geography. By drawing frontiers for the new Poland that extended further westward than the Poles themselves had ever dreamed possible, Stalin executed a master stroke at Potsdam which in a sense condemned the Poles—so long as the Oder-Neisse frontier was not recognized by the Western Powers and Germany—to upholding their alliance with Russia without regard to any considerations of political and social ideology.

On this point, there is no difference of opinion between Gomulka and Cardinal Wyszynski. National solidarity is a decisive concern for the Polish prelate, and he has not hesitated to inveigh against West Germany's Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, one of Europe's most prominent Catholic layment. "From the West resound the threats of a man whom we do not like," the Cardinal said on one occasion. "This man, full of pride, confident of his strength, is threatening the lands of our forefathers and, by virtue of that very fact, our freedom. . . ."

And it is in the independent Catholic press, in Cardinal Wyszynski's official weekly, *Tygodnik Powszechny*, that this thesis finds its most authentic expression (inasmuch as the Communist press is obliged to express itself in ideological jargon). K. Studentowicz, one of the most representative members of the Catholic Znak group, recently wrote in *Tygodnik*, in an article entitled "Polish *Raison d'Etat*":

"A continuation of the cold war not only would be exceedingly prejudicial to our national interests but also would favor the revenge-seeking efforts of West Germany. I write this as a person whose viewpoint is independent and critical with regard to the party that rules Poland. However, we are living at a particular time when the Party line coincides with the nation's *raison d'état* on the most crucial point, *i.e.*, the need to retain an area which is vital to the preservation of the nation's biological forces."

Studentowicz is equally blunt in explaining why a "Western alliance" would scarcely be advantageous for Poland, despite the people's sympathetic feelings toward the West:

"If we had found ourselves in the Western sphere of influence after World War II, it would have been impossible for us—as we can now see in the light of the events and tendencies that developed subsequently—to satisfy our just demands with regard to Germany. . . . Only the peoples of the Soviet Union, which had also suffered the terrible effects of Nazi crimes, could give us such clear-cut and powerful support in this respect. In the future as well, however, we can only count on the support of our eastern allies. That is why our political alliance with the Soviet Union is irrevocable, quite apart from all problems, which are of secondary importance compared to those which involve our national existence and the territory which is vital to us."

This "geopolitical" view, based on classical concepts of foreign policy, is accompanied by the hope—shared by many Western observers—that the forces inherent in an industrial society will gradually diminish the differences between the two blocs: "Socialist and capitalist industrial organization are heading toward a pragmatic type of unity. . . . There is reason to believe that the collective systems may become free societies and that the free societies are evolving toward a collective economy."

Thus Studentowicz combines two approaches in his expression of a state of mind that is extremely widespread in Poland. The classical "national" approach, a carry-over from the 19th century, holds that the Russian alliance is vital to Poland. At the same time, perhaps to offset the more depressing long-term implica-

tions of this position, sociological arguments of world-wide application are borrowed from W. W. Rostow, Raymond Aron and George Kennan in an effort to prove that, without even changing sides, Poland may be able to achieve greater freedom.

The epousal of these views, of course, is very helpful to a regime which is governing a predominantly hostile people and which does not wish to reintroduce the worst features of totalitarian rule. This was stressed in *Tygodnik Powszechny* of September 4, 1960 by Stefan Kisielewski, Poland's most influential journalist: "I feel that those Poles who are not Marxists and who have a different outlook play an extremely important role when they show real understanding of the situation that exists, of the need for the alliance with the Soviet Union and of its natural consequences."

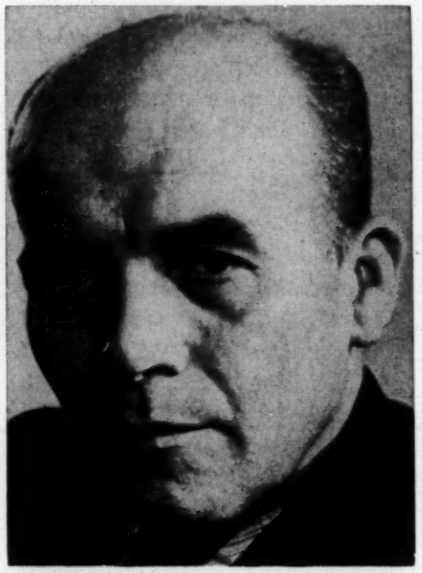
Indeed, the support of independent Catholics on this vital point is so useful to the regime (which is itself, after all, a "natural consequence" of the Soviet alliance) that it can well afford to grant Catholics and their publications a measure of freedom in return. It is unquestionably because it gives limited support to the regime that the Church in Poland enjoys a special status, although truths of that sort are not easily uttered in public.

STEFAN KISIELEWSKI characterized the new, pragmatic visage of Polish patriotism in *Tygodnik Powszechny* as follows:

"Ideals have gone underground. Messianic patriotism, that spiritual manna which nourished several generations, has been replaced by technological patriotism. Poland has given up playing Hamlet, waiting for miracles, succumbing to ideological enthusiasms. The young dream of new cars, motor-scooters, color television.

"A Poland that was not successful economically and technologically would have no appeal for them. Patriotism has changed its face. It has lost its pathos and its mystique, despite the efforts of the old-time chauvinists. Domestic policy, ideological conflicts and international problems interest modern Polish youth only insofar as they have a bearing on the problems of the economy, of organization, production, profit, credit, efficiency, wages and living standards. . . ."

This analysis seems borne out by



GOMULKA: TRUSTED BY MOSCOW

the *Polityka* poll referred to at the outset. Here are some of the replies received when the Polish students were asked to specify their "aim in life":

Aim in life	%
Material well being	44
Improved professional skills	20.2
Luck in love	18.5
A high political post	1.6

And here is what they looked for in their work:

Work goal	%
That it pay well	40.4
That it be interesting	28
That it be socially useful	11
That it be easy	6.9

Finally, here is what these young Poles replied when asked what they put at the top of their scale of values:

Value	%
Knowledge	28.6
Physical beauty	12
Heroism	10.7
Material gain	10.6
Luck in love	5
Working for others (altruism)	9.7
Political power	1.8

Clearly, the "depoliticization" of Polish youth has reached remarkable proportions. Apart from "heroism" and "altruism" (the percentages for which are, in any case, below the total of conventional responses normally obtained in surveys of this kind), the students' values are curiously concrete and practical. They lean toward material well-being (the longing for a "consumer society") and technology (with stress laid on "knowledge" and on "professional skills," which reflect the technological side of industrial civilization).

The importance attached to "love" and "physical beauty" should also be analyzed in the light of contemporary world trends. Rather than "romantic" yearnings, it obviously reflects the modern mythology, at once sentimental and narcissistic, which is propagated by the movies, television and popular songs—in short, the influence which is already being exercised by Western-type "mass culture."

The evolution of the popular stereotype of what the average Pole is like can also be studied by comparing two enormously popular radio series depicting a "typical" family. One was presented before the War, the other has been on the air since the October 1956 uprising. The two serials, tracing the "everyday life" of a family—work, the food market, dinner together in the evening, family quarrels, the son's studies, the daughter's love affairs—were conceived with the same objective: to reconcile the "average listener" to the poverty of his material existence, the grayness of his daily life, by elevating to the position of a national "star" a family which is just as poor as he is, which is bored in the same way he is, and in which everyone is "good," "positive" and "sympathetic."

The pre-1939 series was called "The Daily Life of Mr. and Mrs. Kowalski." The "Mr. and Mrs.," the name chosen (a common middle-class Polish surname, yet one that could suggest descent from the minor nobility) and the father's occupation (government official) all stamped the Kowalskis as part of the traditional Polish intelligentsia. Their daily preoccupations and their conversation reflected this: Up on the latest best-sellers, concerned with their social standing, they took part, at the very bottom of the ladder, in the collective existence of the intelligentsia.

The current series is called "The Matysiak Family." The name is unmistakably of peasant origin. The father is foreman at a factory; the children are students. Curiously, no one in the family is a Party member. The father's conversation shows traces of a Social Democratic past. Yet, since his October 1956 birth on the airwaves he has voiced approval of Gomulka, the Party and the Government for reasons which are a mixture of common sense and patriotism.

The fact that the mass of the Polish intelligentsia has conceived a passion for the Matysiaks and, obviously, recognizes itself in them shows that its internal solidarity has declined and that it is taking on characteristics which make it more like the pre-war petty bourgeoisie. The Polish intelligentsia has, in a sense, divided into two segments—those who retain the distinguishing features of "intellectuals" in the Western sense of the term and the great bulk of so-called "mental workers," who form a kind of middle class.

Before we attempt to analyze their respective characteristics, it should be pointed out that the Party's desire to create a "people's intelligentsia," anchored in the working class and the peasantry, has come to nought. This is hardly surprising, given the structure of the regime. The creation of a "people's intelligentsia," conceived as the first step toward a classless society, is a theoretical possibility within the framework of a genuine workers' democracy. It is out of the question under a system where an established political apparatus wields usurped authority "on behalf of" the working class.

Significantly, when the elite of the young Leftist intelligentsia, during the great political debates of 1956-57, demanded changes which might have brought it closer to the working class, its concept of a democracy ruled by workers' councils and its egalitarian slogans were stifled by the apparatus. The disillusionment which Poland's young intellectuals experienced at that time seems to have made them skeptical about the possibility of carrying out a genuine evolutionary program. In fact, it appears to have made them embrace a Social Democratic viewpoint which is bereft of illusions and anti-ideological.

During the "thaw" period and the events of October 1956, it was indeed the "elite" section of the Polish intelligentsia that was in the forefront: the writers, newspapermen, economists, and philosophy and sociology students. The "split" in the intelligentsia was already an accomplished fact. The bulk of the "mental workers" no longer felt, as they did during the 19th century, that they were called upon to play a part at a decisive moment in history.

The elite of the Polish intelligentsia, on the other hand, had never been crushed, as in the Soviet Union, and had never lost all contact with Western thought. The Polish intellectuals were able to play an important role in the "anti-totalitarian revolution" partly because of certain qualities peculiar to Polish Stalinism. Not a single Polish scholar or writer was imprisoned during the Stalin era because of his opinions. What is more, some Party cultural leaders, such as Professors Adam Schaff and Stefan Zolkiewski, allowed Polish philosophers and sociologists to continue their research quietly.

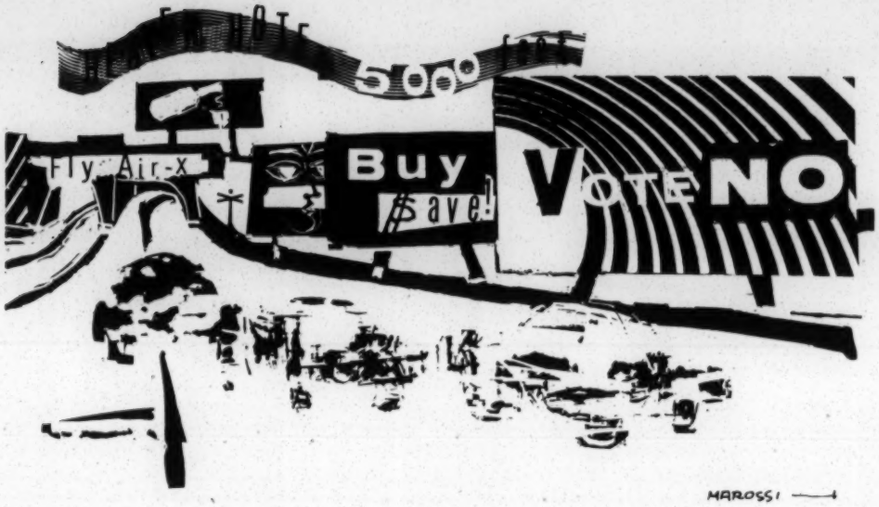
It is therefore not at all astonishing that the Polish intellectual elite was able to reaffirm its independence of judgment, the moment the Stalinist myth collapsed, by means of an alliance between the best representatives of pre-war Poland and the young intellectuals who were seeking to rethink socialism. This elite intelligentsia seems to oscillate between two positions, embracing now one and now the other in accordance with the historical circumstances of the moment.

In October 1956, it resolved to rethink Marxism and attempt to achieve the socialism which had been made a travesty during the Stalin era. Uppermost then was the "reformist," universalist tendency in the Polish intellectual, which causes him to assume responsibility for society. But Polish "immobilism," whose roots lie both in the country's geographical position and in the structure of the Party apparatus, quickly cast a chill over those ambitions.

Another position now began to take shape. Under post-Stalinist Communism, the intellectual is tempted to retreat into the role played by intellectuals in the days of enlightened absolutism: If those in power are willing to grant him freedom of thought and research, he will provide them with useful analysis and information without divulging any of it to the masses.

It is in these two roles that the Polish intellectual plays out his destiny: He is a reformer when the historical juncture is propitious, or he is an undeluded, knowing servant of a dictatorship which he accepts without attributing to it any charismatic quality.

As for the great mass of "mental workers" with baccalaureate degrees, whom Polish sociologists always include in the "intelligentsia," it seems to be developing more along nationalist (though not, as before the War, chauvinistic) than along ideological lines. That is, of course, in keeping with the principal changes wrought in the regime by "Gomulkaism," which is characterized by a tacit understanding with the country's traditional institutions: the peasantry, the Church and the petty bourgeoisie.



The Billboard Battle

By Gerald Krefetz

THE OUTDOOR advertising people have promised a "memorable year" in billboards. High on the list of novel gimmicks are giant eye-winkers, new quartz lamps, metals that glow, chameleon signs that change colors, polarized lights that move about and a 90-million candle-power "Skyjector" to throw ad messages on clouds, mountains and buildings. Not to be outdone, Lockheed Aircraft hopes to use the sodium-vapor trails of descending space vehicles for commercial messages.

The industry is no doubt pleased with such technological progress, but its real joy stems from the expiration on June 30 of Federal billboard control legislation. The present law, passed in 1958, provides bonuses to states which adhere to the optional Federal standards for regulating billboards on the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways (NSIDH)—a 41,000-mile nation-wide network of roads authorized by Congress in 1956. President Kennedy is seeking a four-year extension of the law, and an increase in participating states' bonuses from one-half of 1 per cent to 1 per cent. The Federal government already pays for 90 per cent of the $40 billion system (95 per cent in land grant states), but even an additional one-half of 1 per cent is a sizable figure considering the large sums involved.

Federal specifications under the 1958 law are hardly severe. They call for the elimination of commercial signs for 660 feet of the right-of-way, except for adjacent businesses which are permitted to advertise themselves within 50 feet of their plant. Pertinent information about road services, hotels and historic spots is listed on directories immediately off the parkway, which are available to businesses within a 12-mile radius for a modest fee.

These restrictions are not applicable in municipalities, zoned commercial and industrial areas or to those parts of the interstate system built before July 1, 1956. Consequently, not more than 65 per cent of the whole NSIDH network would be subject to controls if the Federal requirements were adopted by all the states. But the outdoor advertisers oppose any form of regulation. For even though the potentially regulated portion of the network is less than 1 per cent of the total national mileage, the billboard interests estimate that 14-20 per cent of the country's traffic will travel these roads.

In its fight against Federal control the advertising industry successfully borrowed a standard ploy from the segregationists. Crying "states' rights," it persuaded Congress to make billboard control local and optional. On the state level it has also argued against Federal interference with great effectiveness. Nine states have enacted the Federal standards for billboard control, but only Maryland has signed the necessary agreements with the Bureau of Public Roads for bonus money.

Advertisers suggest, too, that billboards are in many ways esthetically superior to natural scenery. According to Robert Moses, New York City Construction Coordinator, the billboard people "claim that their opponents are only a small group of esthetes, 'garden club gals' and misguided conservationists who object to handsome, educational roadside frescoes." The industry further insists that billboards are therapeutic: They can shock drivers out of a near-somnambulistic state. This view is contrary to the findings of a study made by the Minnesota Department of Highways, but the National Safety Council has nevertheless endorsed it.

As a final ploy, usually saved for litigation, the advertising industry stresses the sanctity of free enterprise. Only due process, it contends, not legislative fiat, can appropriate a landlord's rights, wherever his land may be.

But highway zoning programs have long been upheld in the courts, and most zoning planners believe that regulating billboards in no way interferes with property rights. One pioneer in this field, Hugh R. Pomeroy, now director of planning in New York's Westchester County,

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GERALD KREFETZ, *who wrote about the New York Port Authority in the February 6* NL, *is a freelance writer.*

believes that signboards "have no relation to the use of adjacent land other than as a vantage point; they could accomplish their purpose as well if they were suspended from balloons." Other planners question the legitimacy of outside advertising in general; in their view, billboards simply obstruct the view and substitute "signery for scenery."

THE BATTLE between the industry and its various opponents on the state level is instructive. At first, the sides were matched quite unequally: The outdoor advertisers had money, organization and political finesse; their opponents, citizen groups of conservationists, planners, architects, garden clubs, state granges and the Automobile Association of America (AAA), were comparatively penurious, loosely affiliated, politically innocent, and admirably zealous.

Zeal, the civic organizations quickly discovered, rarely carries the day in state legislatures. Although they are learning to fight the billboard lobby through mail campaigns, publicity drives and subtle political pressures, the advertising agencies are still in command.

Actually, civic organizations attempting to control outdoor advertising are usually over-ambitious. Not content with limiting their efforts to winning approval for the NSIDH regulations, they try to abolish billboards from *all* major state roads. But such comprehensive proposals have elicited a negative public reaction in several states.

Oregon is an example of the all-or-nothing approach. For over 20 years, various civic organizations urged the State Legislature to pass a billboard control act and failed. In 1960, state-wide support was aroused and a referendum was suggested.

An Initiative Petition calling for a referendum received more than enough signatures to put it on the November ballot. The Petition called for compliance with Federal standards for the interstate highway network, plus similar standards for major State thruways.

Backers of the Initiative Petition, encouraged by early opinion polls, felt confident that the referendum would succeed. The two leading papers in the State, the Portland *Oregonian* and the Oregon *Journal*, endorsed the measure, as did a number of prominent organizations, including the AAA, the Oregon Chapter of the American Institute of Architects and the Oregon Federation of Women's Clubs. The State also stood to gain between $500,000-$800,000 from the Federal bonus.

But a few months before the election, the billboard industry inundated voters with fliers, leaflets, throwaways and other handouts from an organization ironically named the Council on Highway Regulation. This group, financed and directed by outdoor advertising companies and advertising agencies, together with the Council of Outdoor Advertising, enlisted the aid of the local Teamsters, the State Hotel Association, restaurant and beverage groups and the Sign and Pictorial Artists Local 428 of the AFL-CIO (the principal union involved).

The two major issues raised by the billboard lobby were the legislation's potential effect on tourism (Oregon's third largest industry) and on employment among affected workers. Without signboards, the advertisers argued, tourists might go hungry or thirsty, become sleepy, or, worst of all, drive straight through Oregon to California or Washington. These charges were immediately countered by the Highway Protection Committee, which pointed out that the union involved, whose membership was 125, would incur only a 10 per cent loss in employment—12.5 men—in a five-year period. The Committee also rejected the threat to tourism by pointing out that information signs would be posted to guide tourists to eating and drinking places near the highways.

After the billboard interests' leaflet-signboard-radio-TV blitzkrieg, the public voted almost 2-1 against control. Yet absentee ballots cast two or three weeks before the election and before the industry's intensive propagandizing told a different story. The vote then was almost 2-1 *for* regulation.

According to sworn statements filed with the Oregon Secretary of State, the campaign cost the advertising people $107,967. The Highway Protection Committee spent about $10,000. "It is a victory in which the advertising industry can take no pride," stated the *Oregonian*. "The billboard people have fought this bill shoddily, using falsehoods, scare material and facile deceit of their own, knowingly misrepresenting the facts of their own business as well as the opinions of others," editorialized the Salem, Oregon *Capital Journal*. However, in the heat of the fight the billboard interests did promise to support new legislation enforcing the Federal standards on interstate highways, although not on the remainder of the State roads. Such a bill has just passed the Oregon State Legislature and is awaiting the Governor's signature.

Leaders of the Administration in Washington have indicated disapproval of current advertising mores. Commerce Secretary Luther Hodges has turned down an industry request to increase the size of signs of businesses adjacent to interstate highways. And more storm clouds are sure to gather if the President succeeds in extending and improving the Federal billboard legislation.

Yet advertising people are aware that their own image needs a bit of refurbishing these days, and they have already taken the first ingratiating step. In case of nuclear war, the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization has been promised full cooperation and publicity: Thousands of huge billboards will be available to carry public instructions *after* air-raid warnings have sounded. Considering the circumstances, this may be the beginning of a new technique: the invisible sell.

By Thornton Read

A New Proposal for

Nuclear Arms Control

IN THE ABSENCE of arms control, new nations can be expected to acquire nuclear weapons at a rate limited mainly by their technological abilities. Among those who have seriously considered this prospect, there is wide, but not unanimous, agreement that the proliferation of nuclear capabilities is undesirable. Most reactions range from panic to reluctant acceptance of what seems inevitable. No one can predict just how stable a nuclear-armed world would be, and this very uncertainty is a source of hope to those who despair of preventing the rapid spread of nuclear weapons. But if there is any chance of preventing it, then the possibility that it might be tolerable is less pertinent than the possibility that it might be an unmitigated disaster.

The urgency of the problem is matched by the political and technical difficulties of solving it. At present, world government is not politically feasible and the detection of hidden stocks of weapons is not technically feasible. As long as the world contains both nuclear weapons and sovereign states, the only hope of restraining the spread of nuclear weapons is the voluntary division of nations into a nuclear and a non-nuclear club through a negotiated political settlement; and the prospects for this depend on finding a basis for the division which would be acceptable to both the nuclear and the non-nuclear nations. What obligations would the former have to accept and what compensations and guarantees should the latter be given? What coercions and sanctions would make the agreement self-enforcing? Perhaps there is no more urgently needed negotiation today than that between the nuclear and the non-nuclear nations to search for the terms of a viable political agreement which would safeguard the security of the non-nuclear club and make the possession of nuclear weapons seem more a distasteful obligation than a sign of national prestige.

THORNTON READ, *who here makes his first contribution to* THE NEW LEADER, *is at the Center of International Studies at Princeton University. This article is adapted from a memorandum entitled "A Proposal to Neutralize Nuclear Weapons," originally published by the Center.*

Whether any terms for such an agreement would prove negotiable can be determined only by putting forward proposals that are both imaginative and realistic. The recent literature on military strategy and arms control offers a rich variety of ideas. The proposal I wish to discuss here combines several of these to form a synthesis which is examined in the light of the stringent requirements that have made the problem of nuclear arms control seem hopeless. To be useful as a basis for an international agreement, a proposal must be compatible with the divergent interests of the great powers; it must be phrased in unambiguous terms; and, above all, it must be able to mobilize world-wide feelings and focus them on a realistic objective.

One strong emotion which should be considered is the moral revulsion against nuclear weapons, the feeling that they are not superior weapons of defense but efficient instruments of mass destruction. Many sincere people are so overcome by the revulsion against nuclear weapons that they are attracted to irresponsible disarmament proposals which would leave the West defenseless. Nevertheless, it would be unwise to dismiss the aversion to nuclear weapons as mere sentimental nonsense. World-wide revulsion against nuclear weapons is a political fact of life. We cannot ignore it; we can only decide whether to work with it or against it, whether to break it down as an inconvenience or build it up as the basis for an agreement. What is needed is not a choice between rational analysis and moral revulsion but a rational analysis of how moral revulsion can be mobilized and focused to support a viable arms control policy. We cannot ask nations voluntarily to renounce weapons which are acclaimed as an economical substitute for soldiers and a symbol of national prestige and technological progress. The success of an agreement between the nuclear and the non-nuclear clubs will depend on our ability to strengthen the feeling of moral revulsion against nuclear weapons—by codifying it in international law, by putting the moral authority of the United Nations behind it and by acting as though we took it seriously by building up our conventional forces to the level

where we can wean ourselves from a nuclear strategy.

The tendency to make a sharp distinction between nuclear and conventional explosives has been criticized on the grounds that the smallest atomic bombs have less explosive yield than the largest chemical bombs used in World War II, and in any case have negligible fallout beyond the area within which blast would be lethal. But is it essential that a politically useful distinction between weapons coincide with a discontinuity in the single physical dimension of yield? Distinctions may be important for traditional, symbolic or psychological reasons even when they correspond to no inherent physical differences. (As Thomas Schelling has pointed out, there is little inherent difference between the terrain a few miles north of the Soviet-Iranian border and the terrain a few miles south.) To be useful as a basis for agreement a distinction must have two properties: (1) it must be unambiguous, and (2) it must be a focus for strong feelings. The distinction between nuclear and chemical explosives (like that between Soviet and Iranian territory) satisfies both requirements. It will be politically useful to the degree that the revulsion against nuclear weapons is maintained and strengthened. The question is not whether a sophisticated analysis would support such revulsion on the basis of weapon effects but whether an even more sophisticated analysis would support it as a practical political necessity.

If the revulsion against nuclear weapons is potentially useful, in the past it has been largely ineffective, and even harmful, because there has been no policy to focus these feelings on a realistic objective. Since moral fervor cannot solve the complex problem of eliminating nuclear weapons, it tends to burn itself out in futile protest against the fact that the problem exists. With no reliable means of detecting hidden stocks of weapons, an international agreement should shift attention away from the effort to eliminate all *possession* of nuclear weapons and concentrate on the question of their *use*. The objective should not be to remove nuclear weapons physically but to neutralize them politically as a factor in international relations.

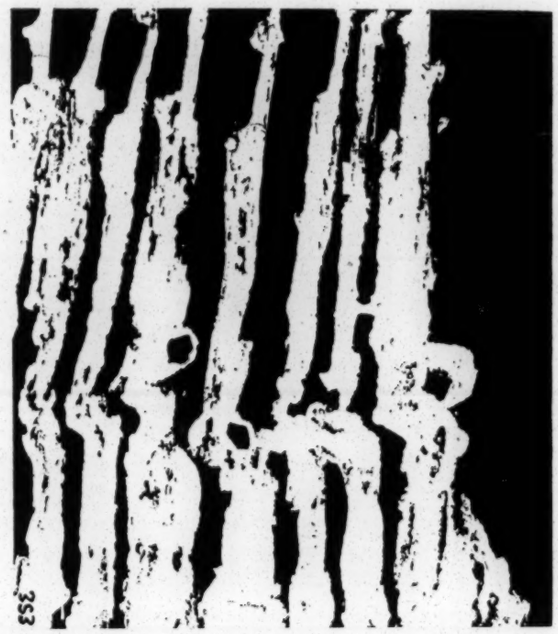
There are three possible laws governing the use of nuclear weapons: They could be used (1) under no conditions; (2) in reprisal for prior use; or (3) in response to a conventional attack. Outlawing all use of nuclear weapons would not prevent their use; rather, it would encourage their use by a nation willing to violate the law if it could do so with impunity. The threat of reprisal is essential to make an agreement self-enforcing. The nuclear nations must police one another. The best solution would be a two-member nuclear club consisting of the United States and Russia—one member from each of the two antagonistic power blocs. Fortunately, the neutral nations are not anxious at present to join the nuclear club, and this in itself is surely a cogent reason for concluding an agreement before they have a chance to change their minds.

It has been proposed that the use of nuclear weapons should be allowed even against conventional forces but only to resist aggression. However, as Julius Stone has argued, aggression is an ambiguous concept which, in specific cases, means different things to different people. An agreement between the nuclear and the non-nuclear nations must be phrased in terms which are unambiguous, which mean the same thing in any language or ideology. Nuclear weapons cannot be removed from international conflict through an agreement expressed in terms such as "aggression," "injustice" or "freedom," whose very meaning is at issue in the conflict. The terms which are most deeply meaningful to us are the least useful in negotiating with our adversaries. We and the Soviets have conflicting interests in the outcome of our bitter competition but we also have a common interest in keeping the conflict within bounds. Our common interest in preventing nuclear war and the spread of nuclear weapons provides a political basis for agreement. The distinction between nuclear and conventional weapons provides the unambiguous language in which to phrase the agreement. The world-wide revulsion against nuclear weapons, strengthened and focused by an agreement, will reinforce the pressures to comply with it.

Here it may be objected that our purpose should be not to prevent nuclear war but to prevent all war, that the best hope for peace is to identify the moral revulsion against nuclear weapons with the opposition to war itself. But such a position says, in effect, that no effort should be made to banish the nightmare of nuclear war until a peaceful international community has been established. And the question is not one of ultimate goals but of practical first steps. Nuclear weapons are new and are now confined to only a few nations. It is both more urgent and more feasible to remove them from the arena of international conflict than to remove conventional forces, which have for centuries been maintained by all nations and are inextricably implicated in virtually every problem of international relations.

Conventional forces are essential to the political process, *i.e.*, to the control of territory, the overthrow and establishment of government, the maintenance of order—in short, to the whole business of determining who rules whom. Nuclear weapons, on the other hand, are singularly unfit for any of these purposes. They are suitable for maintaining a posture of stable deterrence based on an assured capacity to survive a surprise attack. How stable strategic nuclear deterrence will be depends both on military technology and on the political question of what actions are to be deterred by the threat of nuclear retaliation. Technologically, it appears that in the missile age mutual deterrence can be made highly stable. It will be politically stable if nuclear deterrence can be insulated from the unstable realm of political-territorial conflict.

The nuclear and the non-nuclear parts of the spectrum of conflict are connected through the threat to use nuclear weapons in response to a non-nuclear provocation. Prohibiting the first use of nuclear weapons breaks this connection and splits the spectrum of conflict into a self-contained realm of nuclear deterrence on the one hand and a self-contained realm of political-conventional conflict on the other. This split is necessary both to stabilize nuclear deterrence and to provide a rationale for dividing nations into nuclear and non-nuclear clubs. We cannot introduce nuclear weapons into political-territorial issues and at the same time deny them to nations having vital interests in those very issues. Yet



if the only function of nuclear weapons is to stabilize nuclear deterrence, then membership in the nuclear club should be confined to the two nations who maintain a bipolar stalemate. Any additional members will only decrease stability and thus undermine their own interests. To say that nuclear weapons should be outlawed misses the point. They should be placed not outside of international law but outside of international politics and under a law restricting their use for reprisal.

RENOUNCING THE FIRST use of nuclear weapons introduces no new principle into military policy. We already recognize a distinction between legitimate weapons with which nations may defend their interests and illegitimate weapons which may be possessed only to pose the threat of reprisal for their prior use by the enemy. We must put nuclear weapons in the same illegitimate category that we have put poison gas and bacteriological weapons.

The pressure for a nation to join the nuclear club comes to a great extent from the desire for prestige. Revive the declining—but far from dead—revulsion against nuclear weapons, embody it in a well-advertised international agreement, mobilize world opinion behind it, and the prestige value of nuclear weapons will decline to that of bacteriological weapons. There is no great rush to join the "bacteriological club" or the "poison gas" club and no sense of inferiority in being left out. What weapons will be developed and used depends not only on technological possibilities but also on psychological pressures. By the agreements we make and the example we set we can help these pressures to develop in a healthy direction.

A second major reason for wanting nuclear weapons is increased security. Presumably the threat of nuclear reprisal will deter a nuclear attack on a nuclear nation, but will it also deter a nuclear attack on a non-nuclear nation? At least some of the non-nuclear nations would demand a guarantee from one or both of the nuclear powers. Would such a guarantee be credible enough to convince a nation to forgo a nuclear capability of its own?

There are several points to be made here: First, the possession of its own nuclear weapons would not necessarily protect a small nation from a nuclear attack by one of the large nuclear powers. Even the U.S. and the Soviet Union find that maintaining a second-strike or strike-back capability is not easy. Smaller nations will probably find it impossible. But weapons which are useful only for striking first are more of a provocation than a deterrent. Thus they actually decrease security.

Second, there are strong political deterrents against a nuclear attack on a non-nuclear nation. An international agreement expressing and codifying the moral revulsion against nuclear weapons would help to raise these political deterrents to the level where they would be disregarded only by a nation playing for such high stakes that the other nuclear nation would necessarily be drawn in.

Third, the threat of retaliation for a nuclear attack on another nation is by no means unrealistic. If retaliatory forces are vulnerable to surprise attack, the strategic balance between the great nuclear powers would be so unstable that a nuclear attack on any nation would pose an intolerable risk of triggering a preemptive attack. But if retaliatory forces are secure (as hopefully will be the case for missiles), neither side needs to launch or to fear a sudden massive attack. Thus the only realistic strategy becomes one of limited, or graduated, strategic reprisals. This strategy is well suited to enforcing an international agreement because the punishment can be made to fit the crime; *e.g.*, the limited use of nuclear weapons could be deterred by the entirely credible threat to destroy a naval base, an isolated power plant or an evacuated city in the offending country. To be sure, limited reprisals confined to property damage would not be adequate punish-

ment for a massive nuclear attack, but a massive attack would hardly be launched except in the context of a general all-out war, in which case retaliation is not in question.

The Soviets might well be insensitive to their own moral obligations under an agreement forbidding the first use of nuclear weapons, but they could scarcely disregard the effect of the agreement on world opinion, including opinion in Communist countries, or its effect on the U.S. The deterrent force of an agreement would come not so much from the obligation the Soviets would be under not to initiate the use of nuclear weapons, but from the obligation we would have to punish them if they did. The moral revulsion against nuclear weapons focused on a law of no-first-use would sustain the law both by reinforcing the expectation that violations would be punished and by increasing the political deterrent to nuclear blackmail of a non-nuclear nation.

Finally, even if a nation were willing to outrage world opinion and even if it believed it could escape reprisal, it would still be deterred from violating an agreement by the same considerations that led it to make it in the first place—namely, the fear of a world-wide nuclear arms race. The deterrent value of this fear could be enhanced by a private understanding that, in case the agreement broke down, the nuclear nations would give to their non-nuclear allies a better nuclear capability than the latter could have achieved for themselves.

What are the practical prospects for negotiating such an agreement? The two crucial questions are Russia's ability to induce China to accept it and the West's willingness to build up its conventional forces to the level where it can renounce a nuclear strategy. General Maxwell Taylor has pointed out that the United States and its allies have more manpower of military age than the entire Communist bloc. The European North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) nations alone are roughly equal to the Soviet Union in manpower and industrial potential. The weakness of NATO in conventional forces is a matter not of capability but of will. Who can say what would happen if Western leaders spelled out the problem and demanded sacrifices as a matter of both moral principle and national survival? Such a demand would challenge responsible idealism and transform the moral fervor now manifest in revulsion against nuclear weapons into positive action. But the sacrifices required to realize the great Western conventional military potential will not be forthcoming if the public's attention is directed mainly toward a dialogue between the advocates of cheap security (through reliance on nuclear weapons) and the apostles of a cheap morality (of irresponsible protest against nuclear weapons).

For the present we are committed to a nuclear strategy. There is a big difference between saying that we should renounce nuclear weapons at once, thus handing the Soviets complete military superiority, and saying that we should build up our conventional forces to the level where we are able to negotiate the removal of nuclear weapons from international relations, including even wartime relations between enemies. The crucial question is one of phasing, of distinguishing between objectives and immediately applicable policies.

There is also a great difference between basing our security on nuclear weapons as a long-range policy or as a stopgap to tide us over while we put our conventional forces in order. In the short run, the important thing is the direction in which we are going—whether toward greater or lesser dependence on nuclear weapons. We cannot *conclude* an agreement banning the first use of nuclear weapons until our conventional forces are stronger than those of the Soviet bloc; but we can, at any time, announce that our conventional rearmament is intended as a step not only toward a rational policy for national security but also toward an international agreement which would neutralize nuclear weapons politically so long as they cannot be eliminated physically or brought under the control of an international authority.

If there is ever to be a world order supported by an international security force, surely it will come into being not overnight by a dramatic global conversion to world government, but gradually as national armies are used more and more under international auspices. Building up our conventional forces and strengthening the moral revulsion against nuclear weapons would shift prestige from nuclear forces to the conventional forces which can act as international police. If the latter are to command moral as well as military authority, their conventional weapons must be regarded as a badge of legitimacy rather than a sign of obsolescence.

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By Sol Sanders

SOVIET CINEMA TODAY

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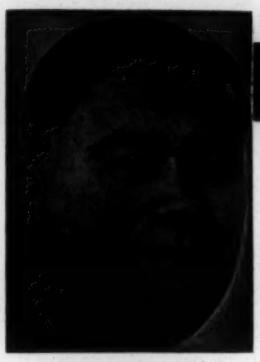
COMMUNIST CHINA'S ATOM BOMB PROGRAM

By Gordon Heyd Evans

NO TIME FOR COCOA

By Susan and Peter Ritner



CHAMBERLIN

WHERE the NEWS ENDS

By William Henry Chamberlin

Two New Myths About the Soviets

ALL-OUT SOVIET propaganda finds comparatively few takers in the United States today. Its high points of success were in the first years after the Revolution and in the period when Hitler's invasion brought Stalin, very much against his will, into World War II.

It is psychologically understandable that, in the bitter upsurge of disillusioned resentment that followed World War I, which George Kennan has rightfully designated "*the* great catastrophe of Western civilization in the present century," there should have an impatient, almost irrational desire to give the best of every doubt to a movement that started, in some measure, as a protest against the War. Less pardonable, it seems to me, was the infatuation with Stalin's totalitarian tyranny as a worthy ally in the cause of freedom during the Second World War. The grim facts about deliberately caused famine, slave labor, wholesale purges and mass deportations from Eastern Poland and the Baltic States were, or should have been, well known.

Apart from a small hard core of Communists and extreme fellow-travelers, there are few now who would uphold the "humanitarianism" or the "democracy" of the Soviet regime. But new myths have replaced the thoroughly discredited old ones.

One of these, which Premier Nikita Khrushchev himself propagates at every opportunity, is that Communism has wrought a miracle by taking control of an economically backward country and transforming it, within less than half a century, into the second largest industrial power in the world. This is a myth because it implicitly assumes that the Russia which the Communists seized in 1917 was a permanently stagnant economy which could not have been expected to make progress under a non-Communist system.

The assumption is completely inaccurate. Russia's rate of economic growth during the generation that preceded World War I was extremely fast, faster than that of the more developed industrial countries of Western Europe. Some of the more sensational percentage growth figures with which Soviet spokesmen like to try to dazzle the outside world can easily be matched, of course on lower base rates, in Imperial Russia.

The general upward trend persisted during the first years of the present century. This industrial growth was achieved not because of any special virtue of the Tsarist system, but because of a combination of factors: the general advance of science and technology, a huge population within a single customs frontier, a considerable inflow of foreign capital and the evolution of Russian managerial capacity and engineering knowledge.

To make comparisons between Russian statistics of 50 years ago and today is almost meaningless, because there is no reason to suppose that economic growth and progress would have ceased if Russia after 1917 had become not a Soviet dictatorship, but a republic or a constitutional monarchy. Many of the hydroelectric power plants and other projects completed under the Five Year Plans were on the drawing boards of Tsarist engineering firms.

No doubt Communist dictatorship in Russia (and even more, perhaps, in China) has diverted the course of economic development by squeezing the people mercilessly for the build-up of heavy industries that are most useful for war purposes. Maybe under a freer economy the Soviet Union would not have put the first astronaut in space. But I suspect the Russian people would have more than one-fifth of the United States' housing supply.

A second new myth is that foreign intervention caused the Civil War which raged in Russia from 1917-21. A letter in the New York *Times*, signed by Taylor Adams, describes as "one of history's most dramatic counterrevolutionary failures" the extremely minor and limited operations of a few thousand American troops who were sent to Northern Russia in 1918 and withdrawn, after a few skirmishes with local Soviet troops, in 1919.

The purpose of sending American and British troops to Russia was to safeguard large military stores which had been sent to Russia before the collapse of the Provisional Government. As Kennan says very accurately in his book, *Russia and the West*, had there been no World War there would have been no Allied intervention. This intervention was extremely feeble and half-hearted and exerted no influence on the outcome of the Civil War. Yet Adams and others who swallow the Soviet myth assume that there was a serious Western attempt to overthrow the Soviet regime, which was "smashed" by the Red Army. A little serious factual history, again cited from Kennan, should place this conception where it belongs, among the discredited myths:

"Real fighting took place between Allied and Bolshevik forces only in one theatre, in the Russian North, and here only on a small scale. Elsewhere, aside from one or two skirmishes, the fighting was done by the Russian Whites. . . ."

WRITERS and WRITING

Old Fox and New Camellias

By Stanley Edgar Hyman

THERE IS something peculiar about Ignazio Silone's new short novel, *The Fox and the Camellias* (Harper, 139 pp., $3.50). It has a diffuseness of intention, a flabbiness of texture, a hollow portentousness, as though it were the inflation of some smaller and tighter work. It reads, in short, like an expanded short story.

It *is*, in fact, an expanded short story. The story, "The Trap," was published in Silone's collection of stories, *Mr. Aristotle*, translated by Samuel Putnam in 1935. With power and economy, in 38 pages, "The Trap" tells the story of Daniel, a farmer living in Switzerland near the Italian border, who is active in the anti-Fascist underground in Italy. A Fascist spy, beaten up by one of Daniel's comrades, is by coincidence carried to Daniel's house to recover. When he is identified, Daniel protects him as his guest. That night the spy flees with Daniel's papers, and Daniel's confederates in Italy are promptly arrested and his underground ring smashed.

In a symbolic subplot, a fox had been raiding henhouses in the neighborhood, and Daniel had set a trap for him. Immediately after the discovery of the spy's escape and his destruction of the anti-Fascist underground, the fox is caught. The story ends:

"'At last!' said Daniel in a ferocious tone of voice. And snatching up an ax which lay beside the henhouse, as if he were hewing at an oak, he began raining terrible blows upon the animal's head, its back, its belly, its legs—blow after blow, the blows of a madman, death-dealing blows continued to rain down, even after the little beast had been hacked to tiny bits and reduced to nothing more than a puddle of blood-soaked mush."

The story is a small masterpiece, tight and vivid. Daniel is a real farmer, and his actions have a coarseness and physicality that carry conviction. We see him at the beginning of the story trying to help his sow litter, giving her "a strenuous castor-oil enema," and when the first three pigs are born, they look "like three enormous rats emerging from a bloody flask." Later in the story Daniel's daughter Silvia discovers trout spawn in the stream, and Daniel explains the spawning and fertilizing process to her. When Silvia comments, "How beautiful, and how simple," Daniel replies, "Trout, my dear girl, don't go to church!"

Politics in the story is bluntly anti-Fascist and Marxist. Daniel's comrade Agostino suggests that one of the newborn piglets be named "Benito," and Daniel lectures his family and the guest on Marx's concept of alienation, in which "the vast majority" of mankind "are separated from and set against the fruit of their own labor." The moral of the story is a hard realism: Daniel's code of hospitality is a scruple he cannot afford; his betrayal of his comrades is marked by a cock crowing three times; and the spy, in commenting on railroad wrecks, is allowed to provide the story's ironic moral: "Every day a tragedy," he says, "but the most tragic thing of all is the way in which men go to meet their tragedies." The compressed dramatic effectiveness of the story, culminating in its powerful end, is produced by a masterly dovetailing of every incident into the total pattern.

So much that is right in the story is wrong in the novel. Where "The Trap" is economical, *The Fox and the Camellias* is flatulent. One sentence explaining the appearance of the spy in the Swiss village is expanded to a wordy conversation of two pages; a five-line speech by a lawyer becomes six windy pages. Where the story is coarse, the novel is squeamish. The "strenuous castor-oil enema" becomes "a dose of castor oil" and the piglets are born "like three mice out of a wineskin" (although I have not seen the Italian original, I cannot believe that Eric Mosbacher is translating the same words that Putnam rendered as "three enormous rats" and "bloody flask"). When Daniele (Mosbacher keeps the Italian spelling) explains the trout spawn to Silvia, the question of their church attendance does not come up at all.

An unnecessary, contrived and distracting triangle is the principal device for expanding the story by a hundred pages. In the story, Agostino is married; in the novel, he is unmarried and in love with Silvia. She falls in love with the Fascist spy as soon as he appears, they plan to get married, and this enables the spy to go away and return, dragging the action out indefinitely. On his return, the spy discovers Daniele's incriminating

papers almost by accident, gives every sign of disturbance, and flees. He is believed to have given away the anti-Fascist underground, but at the end of the novel he is discovered to have nobly (and preposterously) committed suicide without betraying his host. He had made the sign of the cross and walked calmly into the water to his death, a martyr to the conflict between love and duty.

In the novel too, Daniele traps the fox and beats it to death when he believes that he has been betrayed, but it is no longer a "little beast," it is a "magnificent fox"; it is killed with much less brutality and gore, and the scene is no longer the end of the work. Afterward, Daniele collapses out of compassion for the fox, as he later feels compassion for the Fascist, and as he compassionately goes to comfort Silvia at the book's end. This compassion, which is of course his creator's, extends beyond the human. In the story, Silvia helps her father care for their fruit trees by killing woodworms with a wire. In the novel, she asks: "Isn't it cruel?"

In place of the story's hard political moral, there is now a softer Christian message. No pigs are named Benito. The carpenter Lucca, in the story a minor figure, becomes the carpenter Franz (St. Francis?) in the novel, and its moral focus. He is called "Agnus Dei," the Lamb of God, he has "reconciled Karl Marx and Jesus Christ," and Daniele comes to recognize that Franz's gentle nonviolence issues from strength rather than weakness, and is inspired by him.

Silone's plotting in the novel is weak and diffuse, particularly in a long digression that tells us of Daniele's parents, and how he came to inherit the farm and return to his native countryside after working as an engineer in the town. Even Silone's style is unusually clumsy in *The Fox and the Camellias*. He introduces information in crude parentheses: "Daniele was fascinated by his elder daughter (a second daughter had been born a few years later)." He explains his scenes with equal crudity: "Ludovico had taken off the tattered old dressing gown that had made his granddaughter mistake him for a broken-down servant."

I KNOW OF no comparable example of a distinguished writer going back many years later to turn an excellent short story into a poor novelette. Hemingway has reworked the theme of such fine stories as "The Undefeated," changing the rules to turn defeat into victory, in *The Old Man and the Sea*, but at least he did not touch the stories themselves. What could have been in Silone's mind?

I would guess that Silone, who has hinted to interviewers that invention comes hard for him, decided that he had wasted the makings of a novel in the earlier short story. Once determined to expand it, he naturally made it accord with his present views. If he noticed that his present views blunted the story's point, he must have been prepared to see it blunted for the sake of setting the ethical record straight. Forced to choose between esthetic and ideological criteria, Silone has always made it clear that he will choose the latter.

In his progress from Roman Catholic to Communist to Socialist to Christian Socialist to social Christian, Silone has often seemed to be a representative and admirable figure for our time, almost its conscience. But there has been no accompanying gain in power as a writer. In fact, there has been a steady loss. Perhaps Silone doesn't care, or is willing to sacrifice his craft to his quest for truth and value. Certainly he is now very far from his sources of strength, the peasants of the Abruzzi, like Antaeus held away from his mother the earth by Heracles.

Silone's vision of Daniele's Socialist comrades in *The Fox and the Camellias* sees them as "tired and depressed," foolishly doctrinaire and futile. Silone, who once let the critic Nettie Sutro say for him in *Fontamara* that "Nothing is further from his purpose than to excite compassion," now overflows with compassion for mankind, for all that lives. There are no longer any villains in his fictional world, but there is no effective dramatic conflict either.

Since Silone can no longer believe in his story about Fascist evil and anti-Fascist weakness, he is forced to find other meanings, and what he finds most often, I am sorry to say, is vaguely portentous symbolism. Thus the camellias that the novel adds to the story's fox. It is hard to say just what the camellias stand for. Silvia remarks with mysterious significance, "This year our camellias are late," and she later appears wearing in her hair a "magnificent red camellia" (like the "magnificent" fox); at the end of the book an allegorical float for the village festival shows "a fox holding a dove in its paws under a camellia bush," and we have earlier been told: "Politics divides us, but the festival unites us." The camellias might be love, compassion, hope, brotherhood, loyalty or anything good.

Similarly, a story about a wealthy priest who hoarded grain and eventually found it full of snakes becomes a Biblical parable; the "musty smell" of law books becomes a symbolic comment; walking in the rain Daniele gets a symbolic "cold douche from some defective gutters"; the family of the Fascist makes "church candles"; and so forth.

Everything is symbolic and portentous, including the names. In the later world of Silone's fiction, as his autobiographical character is Pietro Spina (Peter the Thorn) and Paolo Spada (Paul the Sword), so his other heroes become St. Luke or St. Francis. In place of the life-giving earthiness and cleansing bitterness of the early books, we are given mysterious symbolic affirmations and vague Christian hints of sanctity. One can only hope that Silone's next book gets back to our common mother the earth.

A Socialist View of Mass Culture

The Long Revolution.
By Raymond Williams.
Columbia. 370 pp. $5.00.

Reviewed by Herbert J. Gans
Assistant professor of city planning,
University of Pennsylvania

ALTHOUGH the Industrial Revolution began in England, only in the 20th century did the large English working class and a growing lower middle class begin to enjoy the level of economic security and material comfort that has long been taken for granted in the United States. It is only recently, too, that these classes have achieved sufficient power and status to make their preferences felt in the market place of goods and ideas. Not until after World War II did England develop the kind of consumer behavior and popular culture that has existed here for several decades.

Most of Britain's critics and writers have looked askance at the country's transformation into an urban industrial society. The growth of popular culture is ascribed to Americanization and to a conspiracy by greedy and unscrupulous entrepreneurs who have subverted a dull but honest working class away from its folk tradition by creating a mass society with a corresponding mass-produced culture.

Much of the same kind of critique developed in this country after the War, but it was countered quickly by a number of writers, notably Lyman Bryson, David Riesman, Reuel Denney and Nathan Glazer. They urged us to understand popular culture and its audiences, and to foreswear blind attacks in favor of a more balanced view.

In England, where social stratification is more rigid, the scorn of the upper and middle classes—and their writers—for the lower classes is much more intense. As a result, the call for a balanced view is both a more radical and a more courageous step than it was in the United States. That it has finally been voiced must be credited largely to the writings of Raymond Williams.

In an earlier book, *Culture and Society, 1780-1950,* Williams described the intolerantly class-bound view of the Industrial Revolution held by many of England's major literary figures. His magnificent concluding essay analyzed modern English society and rejected the mass-society critique; it suggested that if one viewed culture both as cultivation and a way of life, the working class was no less cultured than its social superiors.

This is elaborated in his new book. *The Long Revolution* refers to the democratic, industrial and cultural revolutions that continue to transform English society. Williams is most interested in the cultural aspect, but stresses that changes in culture must be seen in relation to the political structure, the class system and the economic system. He argues that rejection of social change, especially in the 19th century, led many critics to create artificial distinctions between the individual and society and restrictive definitions of culture and art. They recognized only individual achievement in what we now call high culture, he maintains, and ignored the creative contributions of the working classes, especially in the development of social forms.

Williams then presents a series of case studies of historical changes in education, the reading public, communications media, literary forms, language and the social origins of writers from the invention of printing to the present. He highlights the evolving relationships between these institutions, their audiences and the overall social structure, and indicates that in every era the dominant critics viewed each new literary form as vulgar or evil, only to have it become part of respectable culture at a later time.

The author writes from the point of view of a literary critic, but draws considerably on the concepts of modern sociology—especially the sociology of knowledge—and on the cultural relativism of anthropology. Sociologists who have reached similar conclusions have had little impact on critics and scholars in the humanities, for between that branch of learning and the social sciences there exists a cultural gap almost as wide as that which C. P. Snow has observed between the humanities and the natural sciences. Since Williams' approach begins with literature rather than society, his books may be able to breach the cultural gap.

In a concluding essay on Britain in the 1960s, Williams turns from cultural analysis to social policy. He deplores the increasing economic, political and cultural centralization, as well as the growing emphasis on individual consumption, and calls for the deliberate planning of an open democratic society with greater citizen participation in major decisions and more public investment. Like other Socialists on both sides of the ocean, he wishes to reduce the importance of family life and individual expression in favor of a greater sense of community, by enlarging the role of public facilities in everyday living.

His solution to what he calls social poverty goes beyond John Kenneth Galbraith's proposals and calls for public ownership, which he feels has not been given a fair trial. The mass media are to be publicly owned, too, but held in trust for the creative artists and producers who will run them. This solution is intended to raise the country's cultural level, and

to reduce the danger of bureaucratic paralysis as well.

Williams' proposals update traditional Socialist solutions in an imaginative and eclectic fashion, but they do not take into account sufficiently the conclusions of his earlier analyses. He still leans too heavily on the conspiracy theory of modern popular culture, and his proposals fail to consider the possibility that modern developments in British society and culture reflect many of the values and preferences of the working and lower middle classes. Williams shares the Socialists' confidence in the ability of an intellectual elite to change society in its own image, but it is doubtful whether the majority of his fellow citizens would accept the kind of culture he has in mind. This shortcoming does not invalidate his proposals, but it suggests that he needs to hew more closely to the present wishes and future aspirations of the major English public.

The Long Revolution addresses itself only to England, but it is also quite relevant to the American scene. The final essay is especially deserving of American attention because of the poverty of recent American Socialist thinking. One wishes only that Williams had presented his argument in a more systematic fashion. The present volume, like his earlier book, is a series of separate essays, and both suffer from the discontinuities inherent in this form.

Comic Crusade of a Female Fanatic

The Adventures of Maud Noakes.
Edited by Alan Neame.
New Directions. 159 pp. $3.75.

Reviewed by Honor Tracy
Author, "The Straight and Narrow Path," "A Number of Things," "The Prospects are Pleasing"

IT IS SAD indeed to think of the multitudes groaning under a missionary yoke who will never clap eyes on this "disgraceful" volume. It is sadder still to reflect that, so narrow is the range of mission-school curricula, they would hardly understand a word of it if they did. Seldom can the case for mindless pagan Africa have been argued with a greater intellectual sophistication: a sophistication which, to be frank, now and again overreaches itself somewhat and topples into perverseness.

But this objection, if objection it be, is as irrelevant as to say the book is derivative, extravagant, improbable, indecent or in frightful taste. There it is, to take or leave, enjoy or detest; our decision, we sense is a matter of blithe unconcern to Alan Neame.

Maud Noakes is moved to anti-missionary fanaticism in the first place by a natural filial hatred of her mother. This lady is a member of the tribe, now mercifully dying out, who fill their houses with clergy, force their children to pray for the dear blacks and mutter "Insolent brute!" when a Negro addresses a kindly word to them. The fires of Maud's zeal are fanned next by a Terrible Experience when, as a fairly innocent little girl, she is left alone with a clergyman from the mission field.

Grown to womanhood, she devotes her life selflessly to the frustration of the aims and endeavors of the clergy: The very Jesuits are hunted into the forests of Inner Senegal after one of her interventions, and the Noakes Report, harmless and well-intentioned as a puff adder, lies in the desk of every administrator and responsible churchman.

This Report, however, is merely a peak in her campaign and not its ending. For a Maud Noakes there can be no rest until her shattering Last Word to Missionaries is safely delivered; and so in the fullness of time it is, in the presence of her mother, His Grace the Dear Archbishop, Canon Fragment, the Reverend Norman Gradling and other luminaries of the Commission inquiring into the Noakes Report; as well as a distinguished audience of the most wickedly assorted names imaginable, from Father Huddleston and Stephen Spender to Sir Bernard and Lady Docker. It would be very wrong to disclose the nature of this last word. It's enough to say that to this reader, anyhow, it brought as much simple heartfelt pleasure as it must have brought to Maud herself.

At last, her duty to Black Africa accomplished, Miss Noakes is free to seek personal happiness and fulfilment in the deep silences and brawny arms of Noah, a sooty Romeo bestowed on her in appreciation by the chief of the tribe she had liberated from the Jesuits. There is also an interlude in Soviet Russia where the satire becomes a little jaded and obvious. And the "I" of the story is so typically the English upper-class invert (fly, malicious, witty, devoid of scruple) that it comes as a small shock when something in the narra-

4th PRINTING
A NATION OF SHEEP
by William J. Lederer
co-author of THE UGLY AMERICAN
"Every American ought to read it."—N. Y. Times. $3.95
NORTON

tive reminds us that it is meant to be a woman. " 'Give me a double gin,' I said out of devilment [to a frugal and penurious friend], and smiled to see her hand tremble as she reluctantly fiddled with the bottle." That is a pansy talking, not a girl.

These two minor points apart, it is hard to fault this brilliant first novel, once we have accepted it on its own outrageous terms. Neame's comic invention flows freely, and if in manner his book has a decided flavor of Ronald Firbank (not Evelyn Waugh, as the publishers claim), his turn of mind is very much his own. There is a bite to his wit that goes delightfully with the suavity of his language. For example, one character, in describing how the family gardener would deal with their father when fighting drunk, says: "He would lift him off his feet, carry him upstairs like a sack and quieten him by a mixture of brutality and indulgence that would be hard to match outside the Anglo-Saxon world"—a bull's eye, surely.

And lastly, Neame writes like an educated man and an artist. To come on English like this, with the shapely sentence and the accurate use of words, is a wonderful relief after the porridges of the school at present in vogue. More power to him! May it not be too long before another slim deadly volume glides from his pen.

Distorting the French Revolution

The French Revolution.
By Georges Pernoud and Sabine Flaissier.
Putnam. 350 pp. $5.00.

Reviewed by Leo Gershoy
Professor of history,
New York University

GEORGES PERNOUD and Sabine Flaissier, a French journalist and working historian, respectively, have written a history of the French Revolution based on eye-witness accounts "constructed from reportage." In the preface to this book (which is volume one of the history and is subtitled "History in the Making"), André Maurois describes the work as a "credible image of the French Revolution" made up of "a multitude of obscure witnesses."

Who are the eyewitnesses cited by Pernoud and Flaissier in their account of the storming of the Bastille, the march on Versailles, the overthrow of Robespierre in Thermidor and other well-known and frequently documented events? Judging from the text, the listed sources and the index, the "obscure" witnesses are the Royal family and its servitors, plus a motley group of marquises, marchionesses, counts and dukes, army officers, disillusioned Deputies, and ladies and gentlemen of the lesser nobility or the upper bourgeoisie. Absent from this potpourri are the peasantry and the lower-class people of the cities and towns, who constituted about 80 per cent of the French population at the time.

Maurois' claim that the book represents points of view "from every point of the compass" is belied by the relative allotment of space to the various social groups. Roughly one-third of this history deals directly or indirectly with the Royal family and Royal personages. The emigres, given two sections of the book, are represented by a marquis, a marchioness and a count, giving the reader the impression that there were only aristocrats in the emigration. In the generally accepted statistical breakdown of the emigres' social composition, the commoners accounted for more than 50 per cent of the whole, and the peasantry itself was a good deal more numerous than the nobility.

In the pages given to "The Terror," two lawyers, one condemned prisoner, one ecclesiastic and a public executioner are the eyewitnesses, and the accent in the accounts falls heavily on killers, bullies and brutes. Was it only the social scum who took part in the Terror and made up the crowds (usually designated as "mobs") which took the Bastille by storm, attacked the Tuileries and signed the petition for the dethronement of Louis XVI? The hard core of those crowds, the decent artisans and craftsmen, the petty merchants and the small shopkeepers, are ignored by the authors. Robespierre's lucid definition of the Terror—an event which evoked a distinct reaction—is not given; the voting of the levy-in-mass is by-passed; the voting of the law of wage and price controls is absent.

What *is* given is a highly refracted image which places an immensely broad and complex movement completely out of focus. Much that could suggest the depth and range of the great upheaval and present it in balance is unfortunately omitted. There is no report of the night session of August 4, 1789, when the manorial regime was decreed out of existence, for example; or the *Fête de la Fédération* of July 14, 1790, which vividly exemplifies the faith in the regeneration of France through revolution; or the enunciation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which was a major influence in Europe during the following century.

As a comprehensive picture, this work does not come within hailing distance of a credible image. Its omissions and conscious or unconscious social bias can only confuse or offend serious readers. As a historical interpretation, it is 165 years behind the times.

Foreign Policy in Journalese

A Nation of Sheep.
By William Lederer.
Norton. 194 pp. $3.75.

Reviewed by John F. Day
Executive vice president of the Pacifica Foundation and general manager of Station WBAI, New York

UNTIL THE 1957 edition, Webster's New International Dictionary defined "journalistic" as: "Characteristic of journalism or journalists; hence, of style, characterized by evidences of haste, superficiality of thought, inaccuracies of detail, colloquialisms, and sensationalism; journalese." The professional journalistic society, Sigma Delta Chi, protested this definition, and the word "journalistic" is now defined with more dignity.

Unhappily, the old definition can be justly applied to William Lederer's *A Nation of Sheep.* I say "unhappily" because one feels Lederer to be a man of good intentions as well as a writer and observer with considerable talent. But he has written a slapdash book that is full of inaccuracies and unjust appraisals. Everything in *A Nation of Sheep* is black or white—mostly black—with none of the shaded areas into which political, economic and social situations usually fall.

Lederer not only has pushed the coloquialism and slang of journalese to the extreme; he has also fallen into simple bad English. For example: "But when conservative Shanghai bankers, in panic over Communism's growth, volunteered to finance Chiang—provid*ing* he ceased being a radical—Chiang grabbed the opportunity. Dumping the Red associates, he became a respectable anti-Communist. At the same time, he *latched on to* the coattails and petticoats of the powerful and rich Soong family" (italics mine, J. F. D.).

Chiang Kai-shek is one of Lederer's principal *bêtes noirs.* He never suggests that there are two sides to the Nationalist China problem. He states that "the legend of Chiang Kai-shek's military brilliance is a myth"; that the Chinese leader is a crook and a fourflusher; that not only he but his family and many of his officers garnered great fortunes through corruption.

Lederer offers no documentation whatever for his sweeping accusations, but simply sets his assertions down as gospel. The fact is that some experts believe quite differently and can cite reasons for their belief. Many military men, for example, contend that the Nationalist Chinese Army, man for man and weapon for weapon, is among the best in the world.

The author also states that the Nationalists are getting "perilously close to the end of their rope" and that "probably the only thing which can save them is a World War III in which America opposes Communist China." There is no explanation of how Chiang and his men would survive World War III more successfully than the rest of us.

Lederer makes many other indictments. In Chapter One, "The Laos Fraud," he speaks of false claims made by Laotian leaders in 1959 that they were being invaded (these particular claims were pretty well proved false by a United Nations investigating team); of graft, corruption and cynicism on the part of Laotians; and of ignorance, blundering and naivete on the part of American officials and the American press. His account of American activities in Korea parallels his report on Formosa. Here again, the stupid Americans were taken in by tough and wily Koreans, especially by the toughest and wiliest of them all, Syngman Rhee. In a chapter on the foreign student program, Lederer contends that the U.S. has neither chosen the right exchange students nor cared for them properly once they were here.

Everywhere in this book the American people are groundlessly indicted: "Today," Lederer writes, "we are a nation of fair-weather citizens who serve their country only if they receive financial security and vast luxuries . . . of people afraid to speak up on unpopular issues . . . who clamor for leisure time without knowing how to use it. . . ."

American officials are scored for choosing incorrect strategies and the American mass media are told off for aiding and abetting. Still, to his credit, Lederer spends nearly a third of his brief book discussing constructive proposals. He recommends es-

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tablishment of a permanent corps of international experts and makes suggestions on how this might be done. He sets forth plans for a youth corps that in some ways anticipates the Kennedy Administration's Peace Corps, and in other ways goes even further. He makes useful suggestions on how a foreign student program could be made to work efficiently. He spanks the press and urges it to dig harder for facts beneath the surface of events and to print more foreign news.

Lederer seems to have produced another bestseller. One reason, of course, is that he made a "name" as co-author of *The Ugly American.* But there are other reasons: Although colloquially written, loosely organized, strident, oversimplified and overassertive, the book does send out revealing flares of light and brings to public attention situations about which there is all too little knowledge. At the same time, it seems to tap certain masochistic elements in the American conscience and does it bluntly enough to appeal to large numbers of readers. But it is too bad that Lederer, who revealed some penetrating insight and humor in some of his earlier books, didn't take the time or make the effort to write a more reasoned, balanced and polished book.

Germany's Embarrassed Generation

The Vanishing Swastika.
By Christopher Emmet and Norbert Muhlen.
Foreword by George N. Shuster.
Henry Regnery. 66 pp. $1.00.

Reviewed by Louis P. Lochner
Pulitzer Prize-winning foreign correspondent; author, "What About Germany?"

HERE IS an objective, fact-packed work of only 66 pages which crowds more information, supported with trustworthy figures, about Nazism in West Germany today that anything made available to the general reader since the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1948. Christopher Emmet and Norbert Muhlen, expert observers of the German scene, have approached their task of evaluating West German attitudes with open minds and without axes to grind.

They state in their introduction: "What matters is not so much whether individual Nazis and anti-Semites still exist—unhappily, yet naturally, many of them do survive. The crucial question is whether their number has been increasing or decreasing over the past fifteen years."

This reviewer has visited Germany five times since Nazi Germany's surrender. In my opinion, any comeback of Nazism as a dominant political force in the Federal Republic of Germany is wishful thinking, either by that group of self-appointed prophets of German doom who would like to see their thesis of an "incorrigible" Germany proven, or by a die-hard minority of Teutons who still hanker after the "fleshpots of Egypt" they once enjoyed, without any real expectation of ever being able to return to them. For, whenever their activities prove subversive, Emmet and Muhlen point out, the German Supreme Court outlaws them.

The Vanishing Swastika gives an honest account of what has become of those who were part of the Nazi regime. Among these the teachers are a special breed, particularly the older teachers who held their jobs during Hitler's rule. They seem today to find it embarrassing to admit that they once taught history as Hitler wanted them to teach it. Therefore, although the curriculum calls for methodical teaching of the iniquities of Nazism, these teachers until very recently managed to drag their feet and conveniently reached the end of the school year just as they finished teaching the essential facts about the Weimar Republic (1918-1933).

The parents of the children thus deprived of knowledge of an important and disgraceful period of German history hesitate to protest, for many of them had themselves bowed to the Nazi tyranny and find it equally embarrassing to have their offspring ask why they did not revolt. The very fact, however, that both these groups—teachers and parents of the generation that was enmeshed in the Nazi web—were so hesitant about discussing the Third Reich would seem to indicate that Nazism, as the Emmet-Muhlen booklet shows, is truly on the downgrade in West Germany.

This becomes particularly evident when one reads the chapter entitled, "The Young Generation." The deep impression which *The Diary of Anne Frank* has made upon German youth, the pilgrimages of youngsters to the Belsen concentration camp where Anne Frank died, the manifesto of six million German youngsters protesting against the swastika daubings in early 1960, the votes by student councils of various universities to expel all who held Nazi ideas—these are some of the hopeful indications that a recrudescence of Nazism as a potent factor in German life need no longer be feared.

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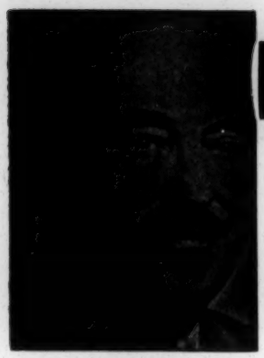

SHIPLEY

On STAGE

By Joseph T. Shipley

A Somewhat Defective Comedy About a Defection From the USSR

A Call Upon Kuprin. By Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee. From the novel by Maurice Edelman. Directed by George Abbott. Presented by Robert E. Griffith and Harold S. Prince. At the Broadhurst Theater.

A CALL UPON KUPRIN, third and best of the season's plays set in Russia, shows the Americans failing in their attempt to help a great Russian astrophysicist defect to the West. The Soviet agents are too shrewd; they feed a trap with the Americans' own bait, and all the conspirators fall in. This is too bad. As we know, there is often much more to-do about the single man that defects to the West than about the thousands that flee from the Iron Curtain lands; and the escape of Kuprin would have been wonderful publicity and free world prestige—in the play. For Kuprin is the man that has made possible controlled, self-maneuvering flight among the stars.

The authors' hardest task, however, was to find a satisfactory ending to the play. It would have been too simple and smug just to let Kuprin get away to the West. It would have been too harsh, on the other hand, to have left Jonathan Smith, the scientist's former pupil who is drawn in to help the escape while visiting Moscow, to languish in a Soviet prison. For plot purposes only, therefore, and without the slightest resemblance to life, the Soviet security police chief lets Smith and his Russian sweetheart dash off to the West, on Kuprin's promise to stay behind and send more Soviet astronauts farther into space. No secret service man would ever allow prisoners safely in his clutches to get away in such fashion.

Sentimental moments aside, there is much to enjoy in the play. It gives many neat and subtle pictures of Soviet ways. The opening scene in the Intourist Bureau at once sets the double level of talk and action: Everything goes according to regulations, but very little goes right. The constant claim that all is well and that everyone is free in this people's democracy is contradicted by the furtive glance, the pretended nonchalance when a plainclothes man is near, the many little signs of hidden fear. And there is continuing inefficiency: While there are two hours a day of television, the TV set doesn't work. About the only thing the Soviets carry on with efficiency and despatch, if one may judge from the play, is espionage.

Except for the opening scene, which gives color but has little to do with the plot, and for the intrusion of romantic, "capitalistic" love between Smith and Kuprin's cousin, the play moves in melodramatic terms. The American Ambassador and a secret service man crisply coach the amateur Smith on the Embassy roof. The head of the Russian security police is also a professor of the humanities, and has several lightning-change moments in his dual role. Kuprin himself, because of the danger to his family, long suppresses his real desire to defect; indeed, under the pressures of the new regime, his mother has become insane.

The mother calls alternately on her servant Dmitri, dead for 20 years, and on the late Czar, as though he were still reigning. She is given a frail and wispy poignancy by Eugenie Leontovich. The other important woman, as portrayed by Lydia Bruce, is the most human figure in the play. For Vera has been trained in objectivity, like a good Soviet citizen; she makes a "catalogue" of the qualities of the American "Smeeth" to find out what leads her to love him; and when the list reveals nothing out of the ordinary, she tosses Soviet science into the Black Sea and dashes to liberty with her beloved.

The men, who have the more melodramatic roles, convey them competently: George Voskovec as Kuprin; Jeffrey Lynn a bit too simple as Smith; Leon Janney as the double-dealing Soviet agent; Claude Horton as a bumbling British businessman who turns out to be an agent—the agent the Russian police easily circumvent.

A Call on Kuprin has much that holds us; its story is gripping and well told. It delays the final action with argument about Soviet and Western ideas of freedom, and it loses its punch when love breaks the final barriers as Vera and her Smeeth go off to the free world. But in the meantime there have been illuminating and exciting moments. And perhaps the point is that the way to bring unity to the divided world is through love. Perhaps the President should launch a love crusade of Smeeths!

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DEAR EDITOR

THE NEW LEADER welcomes comment and criticism on any of its features, but letters should not exceed 300 words.

KUDOS

I was at a party the other evening where a number of current topics was discussed. I was amazed and gratified to note how many articles from THE NEW LEADER were quoted. This is indeed a tribute to what I think is the best liberal political and educational weekly in the United States.

Chicago JOSEPH GOLDMAN

I enclose my check for a three-year subscription. Last year I subscribed on a trial basis. I have found your journal the most useful of any American magazine that I read. There are many journals which are liberal, but few which are both liberal and tough-minded.

Cleveland JAMES A. PILCHER

THE BOMB

If we grant for the sake of the argument that the opposition of "Communism and the free world" proposed by Sidney Hook ("The Couch and the Bomb," NL, April 24, as well as his letter to the New York *Times*, May 2) has the meaning which he gives to it, it is difficult not to acknowledge the totalitarian character of the political moral which it implies. In effect, to affirm that the annihilation, partial or total, of the nation, or even of humanity, is preferable to an existence under Communism, is to place oneself at the antipodes of every sort of humanism. This doctrine and the moral which follows from it involve the destiny of all humanity, both present and future, including those who do not think in political terms (the children already born and the generations yet unborn). Such an affirmation makes sense only as a dictate of military authority which turns a tactic of national self-interest into a universal principle.

The ethic taught by Hook has, however, all its significance on the plane of individual morality: rather to die than to live under Communism. To wish to impose it on a whole nation is to believe that man is born and condemned to remain a slave; it is to think that Communism would put an end to all human evolution. This ethic reduces human heroism to the level of animal courage and makes of philosophy a branch, or the servant, of the military art.

Paris, France MAXIMILIEN RUBEL
Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique

Sidney Hook replies:

To maintain, as I do, that the struggle for freedom is legitimate, even if we cannot be certain to survive, is to place oneself at the center, not antipodes, of a humanism worthy of free men. To imply, as Rubel does, that even the "partial destruction" of a community in the struggle against totalitarianism is never justified, is to betray humanism. This was the line taken, first, by those who preferred the evils of Hitler's fascism to the dangers of the struggle against him, and then by the Petainist collaborators.

The destiny of all humanity, both present and future, is just as much involved in Rubel's implied advocacy of surrender to Communism as in my advocacy of resistance. He would sentence "the children already born and the generations yet unborn" to Communist slavery. I speak only to those who are already born. What gives him the right to speak for the unborn as if they were souls impatiently waiting to descend? They will not reproach me but him.

The policy that I advocate, of deterrence until multilateral disarmament can be achieved, would prevent both war and universal Communist slavery. In the improbable event that the Communists thrust war upon us, intelligent readiness will enhance the prospects of survival.

It is Rubel's policy of surrender, not my policy of resistance, which is more in accord with "the dictate of military authority" whose strategy is derived merely from the odds of victory or defeat. Rubel has provided a neat rationalization in advance for the Petainists of a future Communist occupation of Europe. All Nikita Khrushchev need do, if Rubel's philosophy of survival at *all* costs or at *any* price becomes Western policy, is to rattle some thermonuclear rockets and the whole of Europe will fall prostrate before him.

I am confident that genuine humanists, socialists and democrats will repudiate this policy. For it encourages the Kremlin to remain intransigent in hopes of Western capitulation and limits our alternatives to the twin evils of war or surrender. My position is designed to avoid both. To the extent that it has been followed until now it has succeeded. Despite its dangers, I know of no other positions at the moment which are less dangerous and more honorable.

CORRECTION

In my review of Max Nomad's book *Aspects of Revolt* (NL, May 8), Waclaw Machajski was erroneously described as a friend of Peter Kropotkin. Actually, he was a friend of Nomad.

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▶If Fidel Castro tried to move in from neighboring Cuba.

▶If a newly free Dominican Government should ask the U.S. for armed help.

The U.S. sincerely hoped that none of these contingencies would arise. It was relieved to hear that the new regime which had taken over the Dominican Republic after the assassination of dictator Rafael Trujillo, was talking bravely about "free elections," and "better relations" with the U.S. It was somewhat less impressed with the dispatch of Porfirio Rubirosa as a good-will ambassador. From experience, the U.S. was skeptical about promises of the Trujillos and their heirs. And it wanted to be ready if the Dominican crisis should involve nearby Haiti, and possibly Cuba as well.

One man's murder had precipitated the crisis—Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo's. From the scene, NEWSWEEK'S *Larry Collins cabled this graphic account:*

Between swallows of his favorite $25-a-bottle Carlos Primero Spanish brandy, Dominican dictator Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina was the life of the luncheon party. In fact, his American guest of honor at the six-place lunch, S.S. Gittleman of Phoenix, Ariz., says he had never seen the old man gayer—not even in the days when they served together in the U.S. Marines. As he helped Gittleman's wife, Bellita, to an extra share of cold vegetables marinated in olive oil, one of the strong man's favorite dishes, Trujillo playfully remarked that he had no need for U.S. pep pills to maintain his youthful vigor at 69.

The only sobering note in the luncheon was a brief aside that the dictator made to Gittleman. "I'm retiring Juan Tomás Díaz [a Dominican army general]," he confided, "because I can't trust him any more."

That night, as he often did, the dictator decided to drive to his San Cristóbal farm, La Fundación where he kept his most-recent mistress, a 20-year-old, dark-haired mulatto. As he usually did, he planned to call on his 94-year-old mother first, in her three-story white villa on Avenida Máximo Gómez. Changing into a regular khaki army uniform instead of his usual bemedaled attire, Trujillo collected his chauffeur, Capt. Zacarías de la Cruz, climbed into his old family car, a turquoise 1959 Chevrolet which he kept for his private trysting, and set off without an escort. He evidently felt he could look after himself, for beside him on the seat was his personal Tommy gun, and the chauffeur, too, had an automatic weapon.

What Trujillo did not know was that alongside a gray stucco house, kitty-corner across the street from his mother's spotlighted palace, five men sat in a black 1958 Chevrolet, ready to carry out the assassination they'd been preparing for three months.

As Trujillo's car slid down Avenida George Washington, the black Chevrolet pulled up behind it. From one of its windows, a submachine gun opened up. Then, according to de la Cruz, the attackers swung past the dictator's car and cut in ahead, forcing it to skid over the grass center island into the opposite lane. Trujillo, already bleeding from a bullet wound, ordered his chauffeur to stop and fight it out.

Guns: Lurching out of his car, the dictator leaned across the fender, firing with his pistol until he was cut down. De la Cruz opened fire and wounded two attackers until he, too, passed out from five wounds. The attackers stitched the dead dictator's body with submachine gun bullets (doctors later extracted 27 slugs); then, in an orgy of hate, they kicked in Trujillo's ribs, stomped on his face, and practically tore his arm out of its socket. They dragged the body over the concrete pavement and stuffed it into their car.

What the attackers forgot to do was make sure the chauffeur was dead. De la Cruz was picked up by the police, and from his hospital bed, identified the attackers, who included General Díaz.

At 4 a.m. a Dominican army patrol burst into Díaz's home but found only a pair of cowering servants and two scared relatives. The black Chevrolet, however, was parked in the drive. One of the soldiers opened the trunk and found Trujillo's body. In a rush of anger the troops stormed back into the house and shot all four occupants dead.

That was only the start of the vengeful terror that followed. Trujillo, the father, was dead; but as soon as his playboy son, General Rafael Trujillo Jr., got back to Ciudad Trujillo on a specially chartered plane from Paris, the brutality that the old man had erected into a form of government in the Caribbean was on again with redoubled fury.

Stepping out of his plane, the young Trujillo vowed: "I will wipe out the opposition." In the next 24 hours, hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Dominicans—students, merchants, teachers, the people on whom the U.S. State Department has

UPI

European

With bayonets and brass, Trujillo took over in 1930, decorated dictator Franco, and ruled like a king . . .

THE AMERICAS

Who's Intervening Where?

Trying to do something about Castro inevitably brings up soul-searching debate about nonintervention. But the bearded Castro himself obviously has no qualms about getting in other people's hair. Last week three Latin American nations found themselves coping with Castroite attempts to subvert their people and overthrow their elected governments.

¶ In La Paz, Bolivia, Castro agents working out of the Cuban embassy hatched a plot with local Communists to overturn the government of Reformer-President Víctor Paz Estenssoro with a "hunger march" on the capital by striking leftist tin miners. Forewarned, the Bolivian government declared a state of siege, rounded up the chief conspirators and called out a well-armed militia of nonstriking workers to block all roads into the capital. The march fizzled out.

¶ In Caracas, Venezuela, the government of liberal President Rómulo Betancourt, whom Castro calls a "lackey of imperialism," intercepted several tons of arms—Czech submachine guns, ammunition, grenades—shipped from Cuba to isolated points along the Venezuelan coast. The Venezuelan government, which is not anxious to arouse its volatile populace, issued an official denial of the reports, but intelligence sources insist that the shipments have been going on since December, and a Venezuelan official lamented last week: "We have a long and open coastline. They can smuggle that stuff in virtually anywhere. We catch what we can."

¶ In Pernambuco, Brazil, where Castro agents are taking advantage of frightful poverty and hunger and an angry and miserable peasantry (two ranches and two big sugar plantations invaded in recent weeks, riots in the city of Recife), the situation was approaching open guerrilla action. President Jânio Quadros, long a let's-leave-Castro-alone man, had to fly in an infantry battalion from Rio to help local army units keep order. When troops raided a Peasant League headquarters in the neighboring state of Paraíba, they found 100 rifles, reportedly exported from Cuba, thousands of Portuguese translations of textbooks on guerrilla warfare printed in Cuba, Castro-style military caps—plus a supply of good Cuban cigars for the peasant leaders to pass out to the deserving.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Ramfis in Power

The Dominican Republic's new dictator, Rafael Leonidas ("Ramfis") Trujillo Jr., 32, was proving himself more adroit than anyone had expected. Judging—perhaps correctly—that a full-scale blood bath to avenge his assassinated father might bring the U.S. Marines pounding into Ciudad Trujillo, Ramfis was even willing to let the Organization of American States send in a team of investigators to see how well he was behaving.

As the four-nation team from Panama, Colombia, Uruguay and the U.S. arrived last week, the Dominican radio asked all citizens to "report arbitrary acts of excesses of officials or employees of the government." Juan Abbes García, the dreaded boss of the secret police, SIM, was publicly dismissed and quietly sent off as embassy first secretary in Japan. Ramfis made peace with the Roman Catholic bishops his father harassed. He

Mauldin—St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*
HEAD-HUNTER

promised free elections for 1962, proclaimed amnesty for all political prisoners, asked exiles to come home.

Joaquín Balaguer, the puppet President whom Ramfis inherited from his father, went so far as to welcome the presence of a U.S. fleet cruising 60 miles off the Dominican coast. "It is just," he said. The U.S. "should be concerned that this vital area not become the theater of hatreds." Added Ramfis, who would very much like to resume diplomatic relations with the U.S., sell more sugar, and see more tourists: "I wish to emphasize that reports that I am anti-American are lies spread by reactionaries."

To be sure, the superefficient police-state apparatus was not yet dismantled. At military check points, troops stopped all passing cars; and Ramfis, increasingly suspicious that the assassination was part of a large-scale plot, replaced key commanders with trusted cronies from his air force. Most of the assassins of Old Man Trujillo were either in jail or dead. And there were widespread reports that the dragnet had swept up entire households, including the servants.

Ramfis Trujillo denied that his men were making mass arrests. "Those detained are only those closely involved in the plot," he said. But Dominicans, after 31 years of Trujillo tyranny, fear what is in store when the corps of foreign journalists and the OAS investigating team turn off the searchlight and depart.

COLOMBIA

Qualification No. 1

High Colombian government officials are full of public praise for President Kennedy's Peace Corps, and private misgivings that the corps organizers may forget to explore all the angles. Said one: "I think that after your government gives the girls and boys an examination, we Colombians should give them another. The most important question for a *norteamericano* going into the backlands is: 'Are you a Roman Catholic?' In our rural society, the village priest commands both the body and soul of the peasants. I'm afraid for non-Catholics, however noble the U.S.'s purpose."

PERU

The Peasant Shout

The population of the great cordillera of the Andes, which stretches 4,500 miles from Colombia to the southern tip of Chile, consists of some 15 million Indians and a handful of descendants of the Spanish conquistadors. The Indians work the land; the aristocracy owns it. Hunger-pinched, and with a life expectancy of 32 years, the Indians live in what amounts to medieval serfdom. Their circumstances show why agrarian reform is a popular cry throughout Latin America. Last week TIME *Correspondent Harvey Rosenhouse visited a hacienda high in the Peruvian Andes. His report:*

The hacienda is called Sullupucyo, which in Quechua, the language of the Incas who ruled the Andes for 300 years, means "place of the fountain." It sits in an 11,000-ft.-high intermont basin 300 miles southeast of Lima, and covers 15,000 acres. The owner is Abelardo Luna, 35, who descends from the Spanish conquerors; he lives in a mansion in Cuzco and visits his property two or three times a week. To produce livestock and truck crops, the hacienda is worked by 500 Indian peasants known as *colonos*.

Chicha & Coca. "We treat our *colonos* very well. They have no cause for complaint," says Luna's foreman. "If they want it," he says, "we even give them a daily ration of *chicha* and *coca*." *Chicha* is a crude corn whisky; *coca* is a mild narcotic leaf that deadens pain and kills hunger. Luna lets his peasants graze a limited number of livestock free (most *hacendados* charge one head for ten as a grazing fee). He also allots each family two acres of cropland on which to grow food—potatoes and corn, and in season turnips and cabbage.

Peasants see the whole thing different-

Harvey Rosenhouse

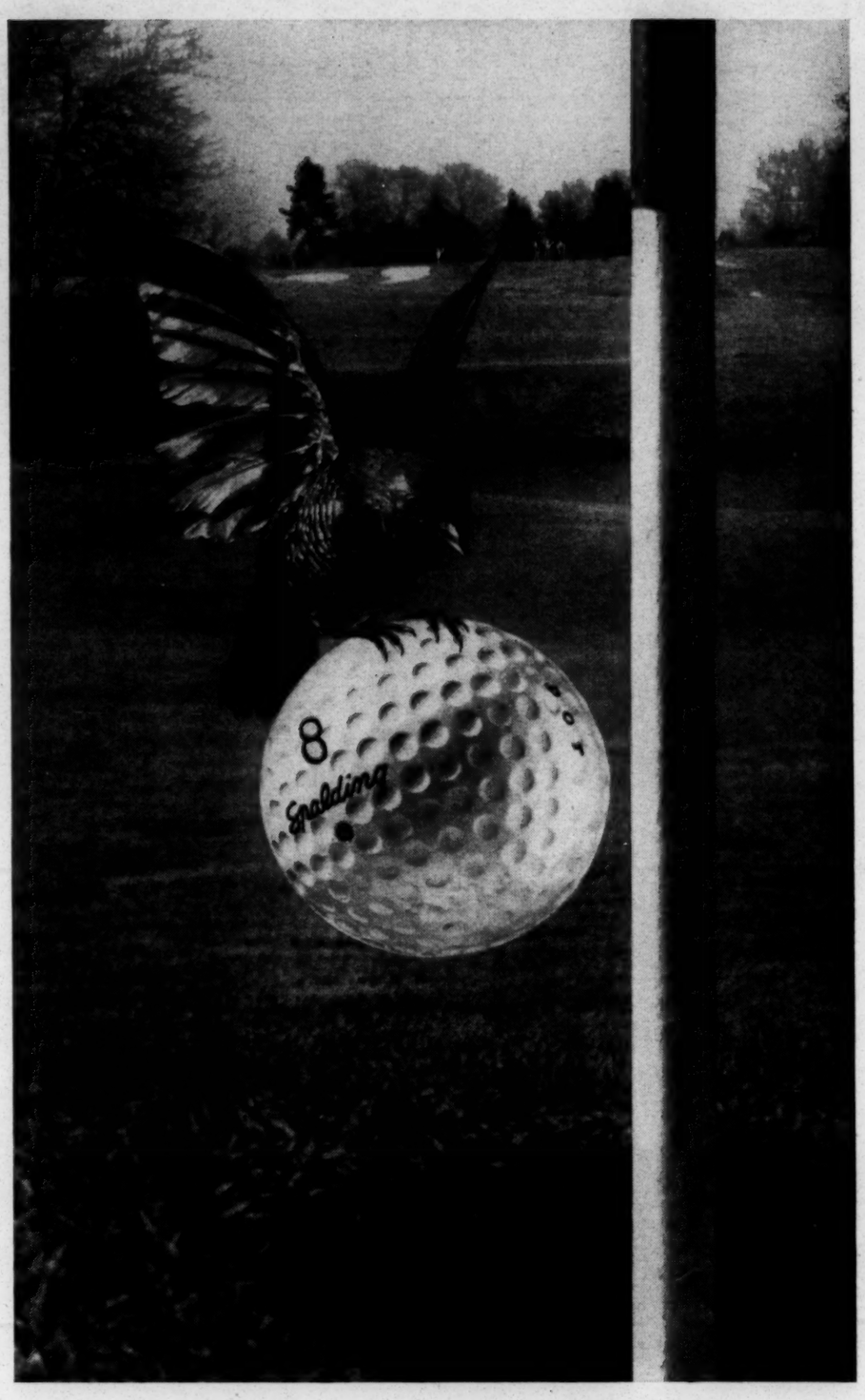
INDIANS OF HACIENDA SULLUPUCYO
Will they go the Cuban way?

ly. Clad in filthy woolen ponchos, they were a humble lot. They doffed their hats and greeted me as "Doctor." But one who could speak Spanish (most know only Quechua) asked with surprising bluntness, "Are you on the side of Doctor Luna or are you for us?" Told that I wished to report how they live, they broke into smiles, lined up like children before a benevolent elder, and gave me a bear hug one by one.

Unsalaried, Unlettered. For four days each week, the peasants must work for the hacienda; they are supposed to get one sol, or 4¢, per day for their labor; in practice, they say, they get nothing. In addition, they and their wives must do servant duty in the big house for a week at a time, also without pay. If a sheep strays, or is killed by a fox, the peasant must prove that the loss is "an act of God"; otherwise it is required that he must replace the animal from his own herd or pay in cash.

Three days each week, Sullupucyo's peasants are permitted to work for themselves. Although Luna denies it, the peasants charge that their market is controlled by the hacienda, which buys their surplus produce at considerably less than market price. Failure to sell, as failure to accept any other hacienda rule, they say, means immediate eviction.

For centuries, the peasants of Sullupucyo have accepted their lot. But in the past year, leaders of the Communist-lining Social Progressive Movement (M.S.P.) have succeeded in organizing a number of peasant unions. For the first time, Luna's peasants are beginning to mutter that they will refuse to work the four days for the hacienda unless they get more for it—and will not be evicted. When Luna had 18 squatters arrested recently for trespassing, the hacienda's peasant union, through their lawyer in Cuzco, got the men freed. *Hacendado* Luna does not see any need for agrarian reform. But at peasant meetings in the Andes, a new shout—*"A la cubana!"* (the Cuban way) —is heard echoing through the chill mountain night.



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UPI

ARRIVING at Caracas, the first stop on his 10,000-mile tour of Latin America, U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson was greeted last week by hundreds of cheering Venezuelans, a far cry from the raging, Communist-inspired rioters who spat on Vice President Richard Nixon when he arrived there in 1958. "There is a new spirit alive in the free, democratic countries of this hemisphere," Stevenson told them.

After two days' talk with President Rómulo Betancourt, Stevenson flew on to Buenos Aires to see President Arturo Frondizi, President Eduardo Víctor Haedo in Montevideo, and President Jânio Quadros in Rio de Janeiro. Everywhere he went, Stevenson stressed U.S. interest in improving living standards. Almost everywhere, too, he was cheered.

There was only one sour note, as Stevenson this week reached the halfway point of his journey (he is visiting ten capitals; he still had six to go). Noting that the ambassador would be calling on Paraguayan strong man Gen. Alfredo Stroessner, the last remaining dictator south of the Caribbean, The New York Times remarked: "Mr. Stevenson [should] have left this stop out of his itinerary . . . Now he will have to embrace Stroessner since that is the normal greeting with Latins. Let us hope there are no photographers present."

DICTATORS:

Count Down

Seven years ago, there were ten dictators in Latin America. Then, in the summer of 1954, President Getulio Vargas of Brazil committed suicide, and there were only nine. The Argentine Army and Navy ousted President Juan D. Perón in September a year later. That left eight. The next year, 1956, President Manuel Odría of Peru bowed out gracefully by permitting a free election to pick his successor. Then there were only seven. Colombian President Gustavo Rojas Pinilla was forced out by a general strike in 1957, leaving only six; President Marcos Pérez Jiménez of Venezuela fled his country in 1958, leaving only five. Two weeks ago, with the death of Trujillo, only four old-fashioned dictators—including Fidel Castro—were left. The other three:

Haiti's sad-faced François Duvalier, in power since 1957. A student of voodoo and a medical doctor who for twenty years had practiced all over Haiti's rugged mountains and hot valleys, Duvalier won office as President in an election that most people think was rigged, and last month was "re-elected" even though his six-year term still had two years to run. Duvalier's dictatorship is less ruthless, and less efficient, than Trujillo's. But it faces desperate problems. Haiti, said Duvalier last year, is "rotting in misery, hunger, nudity, sickness, and illiteracy."

Nicaragua's Luis Somoza, in power since 1956. A less dictatorial dictator than his late father, Anastasio, President Somoza is attempting to "liberalize" his rule while clinging to the economic overlordship which his family holds.

Paraguay's Alfredo Stroessner, in power since 1954. A Teutonic general who rules his landlocked little country with an iron hand, Stroessner recently appeared to be loosening his hold a little. But his brutal police suppression of a student parade (NEWSWEEK, June 5) dashed these hopes to the ground, leaving President Stroessner the most hated man in the whole of South America.

CUBA:

Redder Schoolhouse

Castro is no Marxist, Nikita Khrushchev told President Kennedy. Possibly not, but last week the Castro regime took another giant stride toward all-out Communism.

"The state," he decreed, "will henceforth take over all educational establishments." In effect, this meant that the training of all Cuban children will now be entirely in the hands of the Fidelistas. All schools in Cuba have been closed since April 15, so that 60,000 to 100,000 students and teachers could be mobilized in "literacy brigades." Castro's idea—a derivative of Mao Tse-tung's—is that by roaming about the countryside, the literacy brigades will be able to teach the entire nation to read and write in a single year. Once they *can* read and write, of course, they will read and write what Castro tells them.

BOLIVIA:

Fidel's Shadow

Are Fidel Castro's revolutionaries at work in the high Andes?

Last week the Bolivian Government charged the Fidelistas with responsibility for a workers' strike which completely paralyzed Bolivia's communications with the outside world for several days.

Strikes are nothing new to Bolivians; the country has seen more than 600 in three years. But this one, said President Victor Paz Estenssoro, was to have been a prelude to a Castro-style revolution. He cited this evidence:

▶A manifesto saying: "The glorious Cuban revolution shows it is possible to create a Socialist republic in Latin America."

▶A document which disclosed that an armed group called "The Friends of Cuba" had been organized in the Cuban Embassy in La Paz.

President Paz proclaimed a state of siege and sent armed militia to patrol the streets of all the main cities and towns. By the weekend the government seemed to have the situation under control. But there was no doubt that Bolivia had become another major headache for the United States. Depressed by the worldwide fall in prices of tin and other minerals (which between them account for 93 per cent of Bolivia's exports), the country is near bankruptcy. This is ideal economic climate for the Communists who for years have been preaching revolution to 3.5 million ill-housed, ill-fed, and illiterate Bolivians.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC:

Night-Club Diplomat

The Organization of American States took action last week when four diplomats, an American, a Panamanian, a Colombian, and a Uruguayan, flew to Ciudad Trujillo to "investigate" the Dominican Republic. Their proclaimed objective was to determine whether the D.R. is "a menace to hemisphere peace." Their actual mission: To discover whether Trujillo Jr. intends to govern with the same nasty, terror-ridden dictatorship Trujillo Sr. employed.

Forewarned, Rafael Jr. sought to convince the world that things have changed in the Dominican Republic. He talked

of "free elections," and an amnesty for the nation's political exiles; he unloaded two political liabilities, Lt. Col. John Abbes W. García, ex-chief of the secret police, and José Martí Otero, the anti-American boss of Radio Caribe, by sending them to diplomatic posts abroad. He even hinted that his father's persecution of the Roman Catholic Church might be brought to an end.

Somehow the OAS, like most Americans, remained politely skeptical.

Dismayed, Rafael fell back on his most daring weapon—playboy Porfirio Rubirosa, the Dominican ambassador to Belgium. Named as "unofficial emissary" to the United States, Rubi set out last week to butter up the U.S. in a series of high-level confrontations conducted in the environment he knows best—the zebra-striped main conference room of Manhattan's El Morocco. Among his diplomatic contacts were blond socialite Robin Butler, Hearst columnist Cholly Knickerbocker, and his fellow Latin American good-will ambassador "Baby" Pignatari of Brazil.

After one week on the job, Rubi flew home to report to Rafael in Ciudad Trujillo. As he left, he told NEWSWEEK: "My mission is to inform people of the real conditions in my country. My people are very happy."

CANADA:

Friendly Flip

The Canadian headlines were bitter: U.S. MAY SPOIL CANADA WHEAT SALE. The stories went on to charge that an Illinois manufacturer, from whom Ottawa had purchased ten huge suction pumps, had been forbidden to deliver them because the pumps would be installed in ships that are to carry some 275 million bushels of grain which Canada has contracted to ship to Communist China. (Canada also announced last week the sale of 7.5 million bushels of wheat on credit to Communist Poland.)

In public, Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker said Washington was entirely within its rights in halting the export of the pumps (valued at $12,000 apiece). Privately, however, he asked the U.S. to rescind the Treasury order which was holding up the pump shipments. The Treasury relented enough to permit export of the ten pumps already ordered, while banning further orders.

Next day Diefenbaker spoke gratefully of Washington's "prompt and careful attention" to Canadian arguments. "We appreciate," the Prime Minister said, "the good sense which the United States Administration has shown."

FOR years Buenos Aires's night clubs and their torrid performers (photo) have been the delight of tourists. But last week they were no more. For, in a cleanup campaign, B.A.'s bull-necked vice-squad chief Luis Margaride claimed he had not only reduced the B-girls from voracious hundreds to a frightened ten but had also closed all *amuebladas* (90-minute motels) in residential areas.

In doing so, Margaride may have been excessively zealous. Two young women hustled off to jail turned out to be stewardesses off a German liner.

YOUR JOB may be next!

If the current tide of imports is not stemmed, millions of Americans will lose their jobs. What will become of your job or business?

Already 400,000 American textile and apparel workers are out of work because of imports. Thousands more are threatened.

Oriental manufacturers operate with less than 10c to 15c an hour labor, and their mills use cotton costing 20% under American prices. No matter how ingenious it may be, American industry cannot meet competition like this and pay even the legal minimum wage.

Practically all foreign countries use devices to restrict imports from us. **And yet we leave our doors wide open.** Millions upon millions of yards of cotton fabrics are being imported into this country and sold under American labels.

The American public has a right to make a choice, but our law does not require the fabric to be marked with the country of origin. Therefore, we urge you to buy no textile unless it **shows where the fabric was woven.**

Every pair of TUFFIES wash slacks and jeans is 100% American-made out of fabrics woven in U.S.A.—and carries a label which proudly proclaims it. We would like to see every garment carry a label like TUFFIES which says **"Made in U.S. out of fabrics woven in U.S.A."**

We are not opposed to traditional imports, or to imports of high style or luxury merchandise. We are opposed to imports that enter this country only because they are cheap, and **cheap only** because they are made under conditions which are intolerable or illegal in the United States.

If you want to protect your own economic future, we urge you to insist that every item you buy be labeled so you will know where it was made.

Every time you buy foreign-made gloves, dishes, cameras, barbed wire, ladies' blouses, baseball mitts, typewriters, or shirts you are pushing some American worker one step nearer toward losing his job.

Loss of U.S. jobs is too high a price to pay for "cheap" imports. We hope you are not willing to pay it, because otherwise YOUR job may be next.

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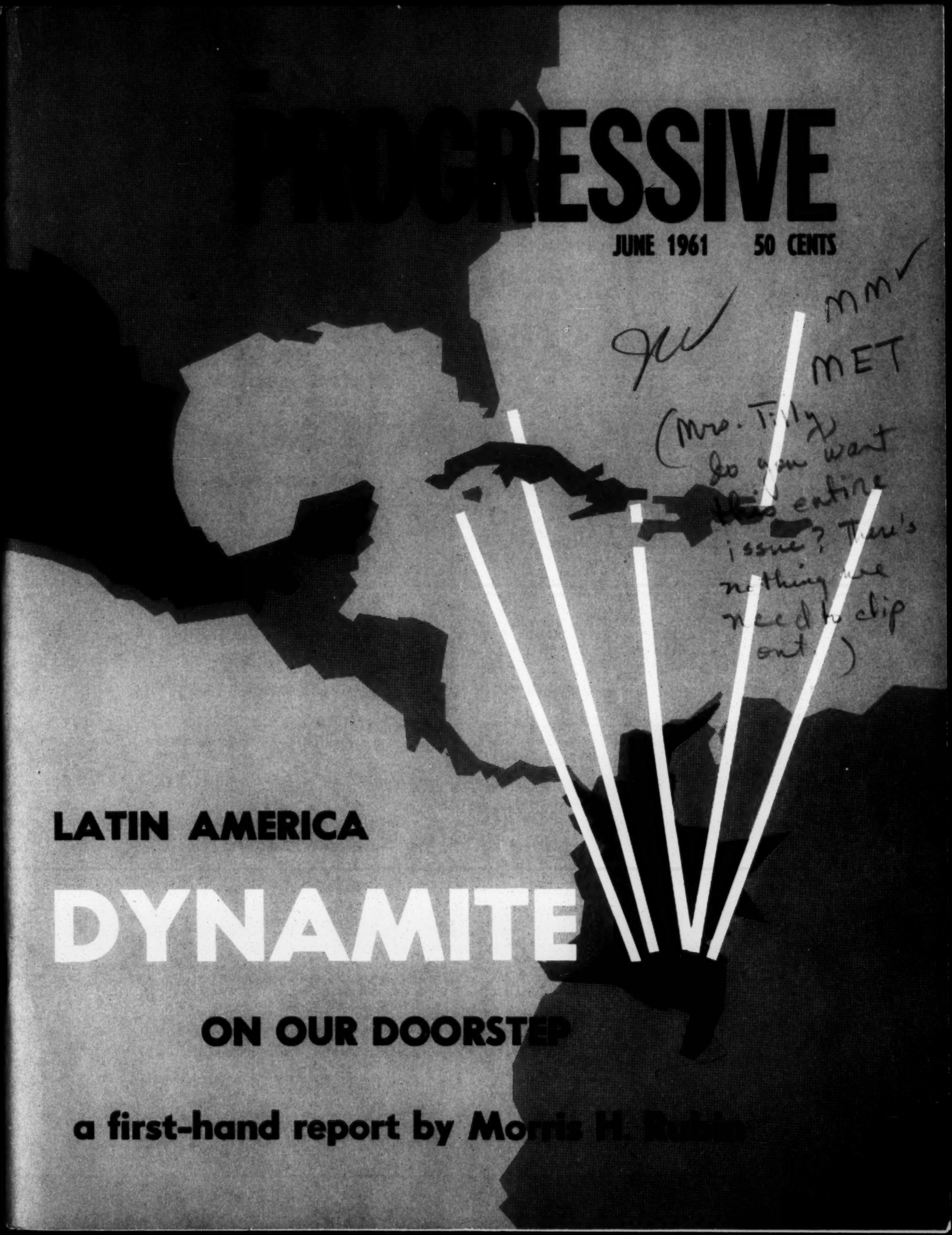

MMV

MET

(Mrs. Tilly
do you want
this entire
issue? There's
nothing here
needs to clip
out.)

LATIN AMERICA

DYNAMITE

ON OUR DOORSTEP

a first-hand report by Morris H. Rubin

September 5, 1961

Abingdon Press
Nashville 2, Tennessee

Gentlemen:

I have just written Mr. A. Dudley Ward of the Methodist Church for permission to use mimeographed copies of what he has on pages 47,48 and 49 about the modern American woman. This will be used in a workshop of about 150 women from over the south, Jews, Catholics and Protestants will attend this session.

I would appreciate permission being granted to make these copies.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

METtmm

September 5, 1961

Mr. A. Dudley Ward
Board of Christian Social Concerns
The Methodist Church
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ward:

First of all I want to thank you for the interpretation of the Social Creed of the Methodist Church. The book is a splendid help to our study of the church under order, and in view of all I am trying to do.

On November 6-7, I have a meeting of about 150 women of the southern states, Jews, Catholic and Protestant, and as I have a feeling that the women must be the shock absorbers and interpreters of social change, I would like to include mimeographed copies of pages 47, 48 and 49, "Facts about the Modern American Woman." Margaret Slattery has written a book, "More Than you Are." I am trying to help the women to see that they are more than they are, and these facts you have will help me do it.

My husband who has always been backing, pushing, and believing in me, slipped away from us on August 19th.

Hoping you may give me permission to use this valuable information you have compiled, for our manual.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

National Council on
AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR

1751 N STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • NOrth 7-3979

MET

May 3, 1961

DEAR FRIENDS OF MIGRANT FARM WORKERS:

Even though you have just written to your Congressman, could you do it again and ask your friends to do likewise, as soon as you get this letter?

The Gathings bill (H.R. 2010) to extend the Mexican imported farm labor program (Public Law 78) for two years WITHOUT REFORMS TO PROTECT DOMESTIC WORKERS will be voted on in the house sometime during the week of May 8th.

Can you send an airmail letter to your Congressman asking him to support the Coad bill (H.R. 6032) WHICH CONTAINS THE NEEDED REFORMS TO PROTECT DOMESTIC WORKERS and to oppose the Gathings bill (H.R. 2010)?

Your letter now will be very important. I enclose a copy of an editorial which appeared this morning in the New York Times.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Herring

Elizabeth B. Herring
Executive Secretary

ADDRESS LETTER TO:

Hon. ---------- (name of your Congressman)
House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr.----------

(If you write your letter on a typewriter and have a carbon, please send the copy to the President. Address him: The President, The White House, Washington 25, D. C., Dear Mr. President:)

The New York Times.

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935

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Labor From Mexico

The time has come for the Federal Government to stop fostering the use of cheap foreign labor to the detriment of American workers. We refer to the program by which Mexican laborers are allowed to come into this country every year on a temporary basis to harvest the crops, mostly in the Far West and Southwest. These government-authorized invasions, over 300,000 strong last year, have an adverse effect on the wages, working conditions and employment opportunities of domestic farm workers.

Public Law 78, which permits these incursions, expires at the end of the year. The Gathings bill (H. R. 2010), now before the House of Representatives, would extend its life as it is for two years more. But Representative Coad of Iowa has introduced a measure (H. R. 6032), strongly supported by the Kennedy Administration, which also provides a two-year extension, but in contrast to the Gathings bill would give American workers much needed protection.

It requires that before growers can employ "braceros" they must offer U. S. workers wages that are at least equivalent to average farm wages in the state or nation, whichever is the lower. Growers would also have had to make reasonable efforts to attract domestic workers by offering them conditions of employment comparable to those required by the existing law. Mexican workers would be limited to seasonal and temporary manual jobs and their numbers could be limited by the Department of Labor so as to assure active competition among growers for domestic farm workers.

The House Agriculture Committee has reported favorably on the Gathings bill and the Rules Committee has cleared it for action by the House. It should be killed—unless it is amended along the lines of the Coad bill. Its death would be unlamented except by the large-scale growers, less than 2 per cent of American farm owners. They have used it to obtain an endless supply of seasonal farmhands who work without complaint under conditions far below decent American standards.

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Mrs. J. R. Allison
1537 Haynesworth Road
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1513 Laurel St.
Columbia, S. C.

Miss Mary Frayser
229 W. Johnston St.
Rock Hill, S.C.

Miss Charlotte Stevenson
309 Wateree Avenue
Columbia, S. C.

Mrs. George Townes
Star Route
Cleveland, S. C.

Mrs. Mabel Price Washington
Frogmore, S. C.

Miss Christine White
414 Saluda St.
Rock Hill, S. C.

Mrs. John C. Hull
1616 - 17th Ave. North
Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. Bernard Fensterwald
Bellemeade Park
Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. Robert Harwell
Rolling River Farm, Route 5
Knoxville, Tenn. ???

Mrs. Charles S. Johnson
915 - 18th Ave. North
Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. Robert W. ~~Peele~~ Peelle
409 West Vanderbilt
Oak Ridge, Tenn.

Mrs. Ben Russell
~~Greeneville~~ 824 Tusculum Blvd.
Greeneville, Tenn.

Miss Ellen Correll
692 Poplar Ave.
Memphis, Tenn.

Mrs. Raymond T. Ferris
3443 Hampton
Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. ~~Olin~~ H. Olin Troy
3709 Mayfield Drive
Knoxville, Tenn.

Mrs. Matthew Walker
1709 Windover Drive
Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. Lawrence Coe
~~3808~~ 3580 Watauga Avenue
Memphis, Tenn.

Mrs. John T. McCall
3728 West End Ave.
Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. James M. Todd
1489 Clarimont Place
Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. Cecil Miles
~~3~~ 1504 Nolan
Knoxville, Tenn.

Mrs. John N. Hitch
1124 Montrose Place
Knoxville, Tenn.

Miss Margaret McCulloch
858 Whitford Place
Memphis, Tenn.
~~Mrs. Stanley Ish~~

Mrs. Stanley Ish, Jr.
1483 So. Parkway East
Memphis, Tenn.

Miss Clarie Andreae
717½ Battery Lane
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Mrs. Nelson Fuson
1815 Morena St.
~~Nashville, Tenn.~~ Nashville, Tenn.
Mrs. Jack Yulman
837 Kendall Drive
Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. George A. Eddy
5151 Polk Ave.
Alexandria, Va.

Dr. Rachel Henderlite
Union Theological Seminary
Richmond, Va.

Dr. Edna Closon
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Va.

Miss Susie Peach Foster
Mary ~~Washington~~ Washington College
Fredericksburg, Va.

ADDRESSES FOR THE FOLLOWING TWO WILL BE OBTAINED, IF DESIRABLE:
Mrs. Theodore F. Adams
Richmond, Va.

Mrs. B. A. Makielski
Charlottesville, Va.

BOARD OF EDUCATION • THE METHODIST CHURCH

DIVISION OF THE LOCAL CHURCH

LEON M. ADKINS, *General Secretary*

DEPARTMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN FAMILY
EDWARD D. STAPLES, DIRECTOR

POST OFFICE BOX 871
NASHVILLE 2, TENNESSEE

February 20, 1961

To Selected Church Leaders
Concerned About Family Life

Dear Friends:

On behalf of The Methodist Church I wish to extend to you an invitation to represent our church in the North American Conference on Church and Family, April 30 - May 5, at Green Lake, Wisconsin.

This is a conference of six hundred selected leaders. The Methodists are entitled to only one hundred and fifty delegates. It is therefore limited to those with a responsibility in this field who will study the special concerns of the church for families. Interesting research has been done in preparation for the conference.

Can you help us in this conference? It will be good preparation for our own conference in October, 1962, at Chicago.

Please send registration through our office.

Sincerely yours,

Edward D. Staples

EDS EF

Edward D. Staples

YWCA
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.
600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N. Y.

National Board, YWCA
Southern Region
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Suite 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 5-2381

May 31, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Your letter of May 30th to Miss Harris was received in the office today. She is in Oklahoma at present for a conference but will contact you when she returns the latter part of the month. She has not forgotten your request for the list of people to be invited to the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned but has been quite busy lately.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,
Edna Comfort
Edna Comfort, Secretary
to Florence Harris

YWCA

National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N. Y.

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Honorary President

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MISS EDITH M. LERRIGO
General Secretary

National Board, YWCA
Southern Region
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Suite 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 5-2381

April 10, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I have your letter of March 24 asking for a suggested list of members of the YWCA to be invited to the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned in the fall. We will prepare this list and send it to you later.

Have the dates for this meeting been set? If so, please give them to me, and will there be subsidy for the expenses for some people to attend the meeting this year?

My best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Florence

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c

YWCA®

YWCA
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.
600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N. Y.

National Board, YWCA
Southern Region
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Suite 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 5-2381

March 29, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Your letter of March 24th to Miss Harris, requesting a list of YWCA members to be invited to the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, has been received while she is out of the city. Staff meetings are scheduled next week but we will send you the list before too long.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Edna Comfort

Edna Comfort, Secretary
to Florence Harris

June 7, 1961

Miss Thelma Stevens
Women's Society of Christian Service
The Methodist Church
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Thelma:

Please send us a list of the Secretaries of Christian Social Relations of the Central Jurisdiction who live in our southern states.

We never hear any more from Mrs. Curry.

We had a good day in Nashville yesterday.

Best wishes to you always from

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

July 10, 1961

Mrs. Augustine M. St. Cyr
3217 Lowerline Street
New Orleans 25, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. St. Cyr:

We are somewhat confused by your letter of July 3. Your letter referred to a meeting which you have to attend on July 6. You explained that, consequently, you would not be able to come to our Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned. The date of the Workshop is November 6 and 7. Did you mean you would be attending a meeting on November 6 instead of July 6?

Please let us know, so that we may plan accordingly.

Yours very truly,

Janet Feagans
Secretary to Mrs. M. E. Tilly

3217 Louisiana Street
New Orleans 25, La.
July 3, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Your letter came while I was attending the Jurisdiction School of Missions and I had planned to attend the fellowship of the Concerned meeting in Atlanta, Ga. but a meeting is called by Rev. J. P. Woodland on July 6th at the Church House of the Regional Committee and I have a committment to be there as this will be our first meeting.

If possible please send me a copy of the findings or any other material that will help in promoting the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Very sincerely yours
Augustine M. St. Cyr
Corr. Secty. of Christian Social Relations

June 21, 1961

Mrs. H. V. Richardson
9 McDonough Blvd., S.E.
Atlanta 15, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Richardson:

Our Workshop for the Fellowship of the Concerned will be at Clark College, November 6 and 7. You know Mrs. Brawley never has been able to be with us very much. We have certainly needed an official hostess---please take this place for us. You could so it so well, and it would smooth many places for me.

Here is another favor I am asking of you. Please give me names of faculty wives we should invite. I have just found out that the Kincheloes (I've forgotten how to spell the name) are at I.T.C. Mrs. Kincheloe will be quite a help in the Workshop

Thanks a heart full --- from

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/jf

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 6, 1961

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Dear Friend:

We are delighted that you will be with us in the Workshop of "The Fellowship of the Concerned."

I. The dates and hours:

November 6th - 10:00 A. M. - with an afternoon and evening session, (Please make no outside engagements for supper or for spending the night.)

To be at the 10:00 O'clock opening of the Workshop, you may have to come the night before.

II. November 7th - 9:30 to 12:30 - with lunch following

III. Plan to be on time for the opening session, and stay until the end on November 7th. You are a leader, and you know what it does to any meeting to have straglers come in late.

You know how ragged the closing session is with the confusion of people leaving before it is over.

All sessions will be held at Kresge Hall, Clark College, 240 Chestnut Street, S. W., here in Atlanta.

IV. You have your choice of staying at the Piedmont Hotel or Atlanta University.

V. If you travel by bus, plane or train - your travel, and your hotel expenses, will be taken care of by the Southern Regional Council.

VI. If November 7th is Election Day in your state, be sure to vote by absentee ballot. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Tilly

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

October 6, 1961

Dear Friend:

This is to invite you to participate in the Annual South wide Workshop of "The Fellowship of the Concerned," Southern Women concerned about their South, November 6 - 7, 1961.

If you do not know about the Fellowship of the Concerned, see enclosure.

The group is inter-racial and inter-faith.

Fortunately, we have funds for your travel and entertainment. The opening session begins at 10:00 A. M. on November 6th. This may necessitate your arrival here on the 5th.

The sessions will be held at Kresge Hall, Clark College, 240 Chestnut Street. You have your choice of staying at the Piedmont Hotel or at Atlanta University.

If you expect to attend, please fill out the slip attached at once and return it to me.

We hope you will be with us. There will be several from the staff of the New York Office of the United Church Women and several denominational leaders, a Catholic Priest and a Rabbi also.

I regret the invitation is coming to you so late. I was out of the office for some weeks due to the serious illness of my husband. He passed to his reward some days ago.

Please consider this a personal invitation - for it really is, because I want you and need you here.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Tilly

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosures

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

October 10, 1961

Dear Friend:

The Workshop of the Fellowshio of the Concerned of the Southern Regional Council will be held at Kresge Hall, Clark College, 240 Chestnut Street on November 6th and 7th.

Beginning at 10:00 A. M. on the 6th; there will also be an afternoon and evening meeting, closing after lunch on the 7th.

I hope you will be with us. I feel a need of you. The Catholic Church has led in ministering to people of both races. Our theme this year is, "The Kingdom Without Frontiers - One God, One World, One People."

Please let me hear from you. Father Mulroy will be with us on the 6th.

Best Wishes to you,

Dorothy Tilly

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

February 2, 1962

Dear Friend:

You are invited to participate in our Second Facade of Brotherhood Date - February 26 - time, 10:00 A. M. - 12:30 P. M.; place, Atlanta Public Library.

Because of limited seating capacity, we are issuing invitations. Please use the enclosed postal card to make your reservation, which must be in on/or before February 12th, to receive an admission card.

HOME WORK.

I. Read over the attached outline of program - note the subject is "A Facade of Brotherhood - Breaking Through the Fears that Bind Us."

II. Face your own fears in accepting all people as people. List the fears you know that bind others - church people, and community leaders.

III. Think through, how we as mature women may help to "break through the fears that bind us."

Hoping to see you at the Library on February 26, at 10:00 A. M. sharp.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Tilly

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosures

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

The dates of the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, which will be held at Clark College, Atlanta, will be November 6th and 7th, beginning at 10:00 A. M. on the 6th and ending at lunch on the 7th. There will be an evening session. We hope you will find it convenient to be with us.

There are funds available for travel and entertainment for those from out of town, and the Fellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women Concerned about the South, includes women in the field of social action in their church organizations--Catholic, Jewish, Protestant--the Y.W.C.A., and labor leaders. This includes members of both races.

For the most part, the names of those invited are sent to us by their overhead organizations.

We would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Tilly

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA — GEORGIA
JA 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

To those in Atlanta who will be at the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Please Read Carefully.

I. The dates and hours:

November 6th - 10:00 A. M. - with an afternoon and evening session.

II. November 7th - 9:30 to 12:30 - with lunch following.

III. Plan to be on time for the opening session, and stay until the end on November 7th. You are a leader, and you know what it does to any meeting to have stragglers come in late.

You know how ragged the closing session is with the confusion of people leaving before it is over.

Please be sure to be at the evening session - 7:00 P. M. on November 6th, - arrange things so you can.

The absence of Atlantans from the evening session will weaken the whole program - you will miss much if you are absent.

I am proud of our city and our people. Don't let us down. We need you.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Tilly

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

P. S. If you have not sent in your reservation, please do so immediately. This is very necessary in setting up our program. Thank you.

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY

SAMUEL DEWITT PROCTOR, PRESIDENT

RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

June 18, 1961

Mrs. M.E? Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I want to thank you for your letter relative to the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned which will be held at Clarke College, Atlanta, on November 6 and 7. I am interested in attending and would appreciate further information at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Rebekah J. Calloway

Rebekah J. Calloway
Director of Department of Christian
Leadership and Missions

RJC:MAR

Zion Baptist Church

TWENTY-SECOND AND WALNUT STREETS
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

D. E. KING
PASTOR

RESIDENCE:
900 SOUTH 47TH STREET

July 3, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I very much appreciate your letter concerning the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women Concerned about the South.

This is to advise that I would like to attend the South-Wide Workshop on the dates listed in your letter. Please send the necessary information for enrolling, lodging, etc.

With sincere thanks for your letter inviting me, and looking forward to your prompt reply, I am

Sincerely yours,

Addie M. Thomas,

Mrs. Addie M. Thomas,
(Member of Zion Baptist Church
Chairman of Child-Welfare
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.

Southern Baptist

July 5, 1961

Miss Miriam J. Robinson
301 Hillsboro
Raliegh, North Carolina

Dear Miss Robinson:

Thankyou so much for giving me the name of the new state president, and we are today forwarding her an invitation. He would be more than glad to have you attend, especially since you are an officer in your state organization.

We have funds for travel and entertainment for both of you. You will have a choice of staying at the Piedmont Hotel or the Atlanta University dormitories.

The Fellowship of the Concerned is composed of woment working in the field of human relations of the various demonintions of the Protestant Church, the Catholic Church and Jewish organizations. Under seperate cover, I am forwarding you a copy of the gleanings of last year's Workshop, and am enclosing a brief history of the organization.

Hoping to see you and Mrs. Parker, November 6 and 7.

Yours very truly,

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

WOMAN'S MISSIONARY UNION OF NORTH CAROLINA

Auxiliary to the Baptist State Convention

MISS MIRIAM J. ROBINSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

301 HILLSBORO RALEIGH

July 1, 1961

ans 7/5

Mrs. M.E. Tilley
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

Your letter addressed to Mrs. W.K. McGee, who was until March 1961 our State Woman's Missionary Union president, came into my hands. Our president now, elected in March, is Mrs. A.L. Parker, 1710 W. Market, St., Greensboro, N.C.

Both Mrs. Parker and I are very interested in the proposed Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held at Clark College, Atlanta, November 6 and 7. We are personally anxious to do anything possible to better race and denominational relations in the South.

Not being acquainted with the specific work of this Fellowship, or having a clear idea as to just what is the purpose and program of the proposed Workshop, we would like so much to have further information from you about it. Would it be possible for both of us to attend it, at our own expense?

Our organization has a very happy and close working relationship with the Negro Baptist women's organization in North Carolina, of which Mrs. M.A. Horne of Winston-Salem is president, and Mrs. Ellen S. Alston of Raleigh is executive secretary.

Please let us hear from you soon.

Cordially yours,

Miriam J. Robinson

Miriam J. Robinson
Executive Secretary

The Woman's Convention
Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.
NATIONAL CRUSADE—WORKING TOGETHER TO IMPROVE AMERICAN LIFE ON ALL FRONTS

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Western Director
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MRS. B. C. WINSTON
Eastern Director
Baltimore, Maryland

MRS. CORENNE WATTS
Southern Director
Birmingham, Alabama

MRS. SUSIE C. HOLLEY, Second Vice-President
429 Northwest 16th Avenue
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Aug 9, 1961

My dear Mrs. Tilley -

Thank you for your very nice letter - concerning the workshop & the fellowship of the concerned - I will certainly try and be in attendance. It is a little early but I will do my best -

Please consider me in the travel funds - as I have none on this end available.

Let me hear from you again relative to the program phase -

Your Coworker
Susie C. Holley -

National Baptist Convention

Negro

Follow-up Fwd 9/13/41

SUGGESTED NAMES

		ADDRESSES	STATES
1. Mrs. Marjorie B. Gailliard		601 N. First St.,	B'ham, Ala
2. " Susie C. Holley		429 N.W.16th St.	Ft. Launderdale, Fla.
3. " J.C. Woods		223 Deaderick Ave.,	Knoxville 16, Tenn.
4. " J.E. Terrill		2740 Collier Drive,	Atlanta, Ga.
5. " M. A. Horne		1467 N. Trade St.,	Winston-Salem, N. C.
~~6. " M. K. Howard~~			
7. " O. P. ~~Christian~~ Captain		206 S. Blake St.	Lake Charles, La.
8. " P. M. Carter		504 Garfield St.	Clarksdale, Miss.
9. " Addie M. Thomas		646 S. 21st St.	Louisville, Ky.
10. " Rebekah J. Calloway		2916 Edgeway	Richmond 2, Va.
11. " M. E. Colvin		208 Rochester St.	Terrell, Texas

No form letter sent N.M.

OFFICERS

MISS NANNIE H. BURROUGHS
President
Lincoln Heights
Washington 19, D. C.

MRS. M. O. ROSS
First Vice-President
Detroit, Michigan

MRS. SUSIE C. HOLLEY
Second Vice-President
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

MRS. MAUDDEAN T. SEWARD
Recording Secretary
Memphis, Tennessee

MRS. MAMIE B. JONES
Assistant Recording Secretary
Fordyce, Arkansas

MRS. ESTHER W. TYREE
Corresponding Secretary
192 South Wheatland Avenue
Columbus, Ohio

MRS. BESSIE HAIRSTON
Parliamentarian
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

MRS. E. A. WILSON
Historian
St. Louis, Missouri

MRS. GERTRUDE E. RUSH
Legal Advisor
Des Moines, Iowa

MRS. CASSIELLE G. DAVIS
Pianist
Waukegan, Illinois

MRS. ALBERTA W. KING
Organist
Atlanta, Georgia

MRS. EMERY BODDIE
Pianist
Baltimore, Maryland

Young People's Department

MRS. A. A. BANKS
National Director
2116 Pennsylvania Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

MRS. B. C. WINSTON
Eastern Director
Baltimore, Maryland

MISS PRIMROSE FUNCHES
Western Director
Chicago, Illinois

MRS. MARGERY B. GAILLARD
Treasurer
601 North First Street
Birmingham 4, Alabama

September 19, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 - Forsyth Street - Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I thank you for your letter of September 15, reminding me of the invitation to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held at Clark College November 6 and 7.

This is my first knowledge of such an invitation to me which I did not receive. I shall be happy to accept the invitation.

Please inform me if I am expected to make my own reservation for housing etc.

Thanking you kindly, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Margery B. Gaillard

Margery B. Gaillard
(Mrs.) L. S. Gaillard

Woman's Baptist Home and Foreign Missionary Convention of North Carolina, Inc.

BAPTIST HEADQUARTERS
603 SOUTH WILMINGTON STREET
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA
PHONE TEMPLE 2-8794

MRS. M. A. HORNE, PRESIDENT
1467 TRADE STREET, NORTHWEST
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA
PHONE PARK 2-8081

MRS. ELLEN S. ALSTON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
P. O. BOX 1818, RALEIGH, N. C.

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DURHAM, N. C.

MRS. L. E. MCGRIER
JR.-Y. P. SUPERVISOR
WARRENTON, N. C.

MISS DELORES MCGRIER
JR.-Y. P. PRESIDENT
NORLINA, N. C.

September 20, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for the kind invitation to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held at Clark College, Atlanta, on November 6th and 7th.

I graciously accept the invitation and consider it an honor to be extended an invitation to such fellowship. My delay in accepting the invitation is due to the fact that I do not remember receiving the first invitation. I am sure it was misplaced with some other mail.

Please inform me as to the program and what hour it opens on the 6th.

Again may I say "Thank you".

Gratefully yours,
(Mrs) M. A. Horne
Mrs. M. A. Horne

HE 6-1385

Woman's Auxiliary
To
Calcasieu Missionary Baptist Association

Mrs. O. P. Captain, President
206 S. Blake Street — Lake Charles, Louisiana

September 20, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

accepted

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I shall be very happy to accept your kind invitation to attend the South-wide Workshop, Nov. 6th & 7th.

Thanking again for the invitation

Sincerely yours,

O. P. Captain

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

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CTA670 CT KVA777 NL PD KNOXVILLE TENN 21

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 201 MRS M E TILLEY DIRECTOR #5 FORSYTHE ST NORTHWEST

ATLA

DEAR MRS TILLY I RECEIVED YOUR NOTICE AT THE MEETING SCHEDULED

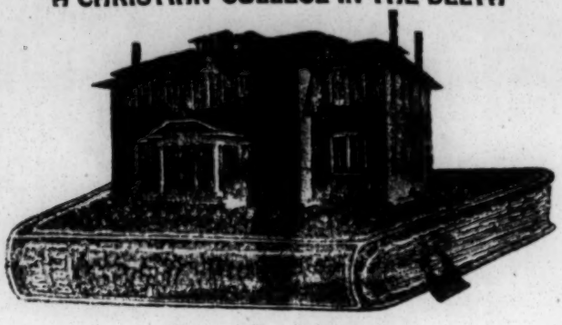
FOR NOVEMBER 6TH AND 7TH AND PLAN TO ATTEND SINCERELY

MRS J C WOODS.

"A CHRISTIAN COLLEGE IN THE DELTA"

Greenville Industrial College

Mrs. M. V. Bolden, Cor. Sec'y.
316 N. Eureka Street
Greenville, Mississippi



Greenville, Mississippi

Mrs. Ruby Comer, Rec. Sec'y.
P. O. Box 216 - Arcola, Miss.

Mrs. P. M. Carter

President of Woman's State Convention Auxiliary of the General Missionary Baptist and Educational Convention of Mississippi.
504 Garfield St. Clarksdale, Miss. Phone 1156-J

Let Us Build The Girls' Dormitory. Our Goal $5,000

September 22, 1961

Mrs. Dorothy Tilly
Director of Women's Work
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I appreciate the oppotunity to attend the meeting of the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, at Clark College, November 6th and 7th,

Thank you for the invitation.

Sincerely yours,
P. M. Carter
P.M.Carter

OFFICERS

MRS. JANIE POE GOODMAN
Recording Secretary
739 Florida Ave.
Sarasota, Florida

MRS. A. O. PARKER
Corresponding Secretary
P. O. Box 1229
Cocoa Florida

MRS. SUSIE C. HOLLEY
President
429 N. W. 16th Avenue
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

MRS. JOSIE Q. JAMES
Treasurer
930 Second Ave.
Daytona Beach, Florida

MRS. TEMPIE FORD
Directress of Youth Work
716 Old Bainbridge Rd.
Tallahassee, Florida

September 25 1961

Mrs M. E. Tilley
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

ACCEPT

Dear Mrs. Tilley-

Thank you for your letter of Sept. 22nd. May I state that this is the first letter I have had from you since the communication of June 15. I answered then and expressed my desire to attend the conference - and was contemplating writing you again to find out more about it - so you can imagine how I appreciate your letter which came today - I have been away a good

deal the past several months so your letter could have been lost in transfers.

You stated that there were funds for expenses for out of town persons & do trust I qualify for the same. Please advise me on this.

I will be in attendance at the United Church Women meeting in Miami, and hope to see you then. Maybe at the 'Tea' given for visitors to the meeting -

Very truly yours
Susie C Halley,

WOMAN'S MISSIONARY UNION OF NORTH CAROLINA

Auxiliary to the Baptist State Convention

MISS MIRIAM J. ROBINSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

301 HILLSBORO RALEIGH

September 26, 1961

accept

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you so much for your letter of July 5 confirming your previous invitation for Mrs. A.L. Parker and me to attend the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. We will be pleased to accept your invitation but would prefer to come at our own expense.

We would appreciate it very much if you would make a reservation for a twin-bed room for us at the Piedmont Hotel for November 5 and 6 (if it is needed for November 5). If the meeting begins on Monday morning we will have to come down on Sunday night. Since I do not have the schedule of the meeting hours I will leave this decision to you. It will be necessary for us to leave late Tuesday afternoon or evening, depending upon the departure schedules we can get.

Please let me know just as soon as possible the beginning and ending time for this meeting so that we may make our transportation plans. Also, since I worked in Atlanta previously, I will want to try to squeeze in a personal visit or two in between times. It is our primary purpose, of course, to be present at all of the meetings of the Fellowship of the Concerned, until such time as we must leave.

Cordially yours,

Miriam J. Robinson

Miriam J. Robinson

MJR:sm

Thank you
Fund
10-18-61

Woman's Baptist Home and Foreign Missionary Convention of North Carolina, Inc.

BAPTIST HEADQUARTERS
603 SOUTH WILMINGTON STREET
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA
PHONE TEMPLE 2-8794

MRS. M. A. HORNE, PRESIDENT
1467 TRADE STREET, NORTHWEST
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA
PHONE PARK 2-8081

MRS. ELLEN S. ALSTON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
P. O. BOX 1818, RALEIGH, N. C.

MRS. RACHEL L. BOYCE
CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE BOARD
WINDSOR, N. C.

MRS. ROSALIE F. WYATT
ASSISTANT CHMN. EXECUTIVE BOARD
SALISBURY, N. C.

MRS. C. E. MCLESTER
CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMM.
DURHAM, N. C.

MRS. L. E. MCGRIER
JR.-Y. P. SUPERVISOR
WARRENTON, N. C.

MISS DELORES MCGRIER
JR.-Y. P. PRESIDENT
NORLINA, N. C.

October 10, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director
Women's Work
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

accepted

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am so excited about the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held at Clark College, Atlanta, on November 6th and 7th until I am wondering if you received my acceptance to your kind invitation.

I shall be happy to hear from you at your earliest date.

Again may I say "thank you " for the invitation.

Sincerely yours,

M A Horne

Mrs. M. A. Horne

OFFICERS

MISS NANNIE H. BURROUGHS
President
Lincoln Heights
Washington 19, D. C.

MRS. M. O. ROSS
First Vice-President
Detroit, Michigan

MRS. SUSIE C. HOLLEY
Second Vice-President
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

MRS. MAUDDEAN T. SEWARD
Recording Secretary
Memphis, Tennessee

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Assistant Recording Secretary
Fordyce, Arkansas

MRS. ESTHER W. TYREE
Corresponding Secretary
192 South Wheatland Avenue
Columbus, Ohio

MRS. BESSIE HAIRSTON
Parliamentarian
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

MRS. E. A. WILSON
Historian
St. Louis, Missouri

MRS. GERTRUDE E. RUSH
Legal Advisor
Des Moines, Iowa

MRS. CASSIELLE G. DAVIS
Pianist
Waukegan, Illinois

MRS. ALBERTA W. KING
Organist
Atlanta, Georgia

MRS. EMERY BODDIE
Pianist
Baltimore, Maryland

Young People's Department

MRS. A. A. BANKS
National Director
2116 Pennsylvania Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

MRS. B. C. WINSTON
Eastern Director
Baltimore, Maryland

MISS PRIMROSE FUNCHES
Western Director
Chicago, Illinois

MRS. MARGERY B. GAILLARD
Treasurer
601 North First Street
Birmingham 4, Alabama

October 16, 1961.

Mrs. M.E.Tilly, Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I thank you for the information on the Workshop to be held on November 6th. I shall remain through the closing session.

Sincerely yours,

M.B. Gaillard

(Mrs) M.B.Gaillard

National Fellowship of
Congregational Christian Women

LILLIAN S. GREGORY, *Executive Secretary*
MILDRED O. WALKER, *Administrative Assistant*
19 S. La Salle St., Chicago 3, Illinois - State 2-8733
MRS. F. C. LESTER, *Field Secretary*, D
906 Chestnut St., High Point, North Carolina

A DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSIONS COUNCIL AND AFFILIATED WITH THE WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGREGATIONAL COUNCIL

MRS. ROBERT W. RENEKER, *President*, 10158 S. Leavitt Street, Chicago 43, Illinois

April 12, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Your letter of March 24, addressed to Miss Lucille Frost, has been referred to me for acknowledgment. Miss Frost is no longer with this office, and the letter was forwarded to her and then returned to us, hence the delay.

Here is the list of presidents and Social Action chairmen as follows:

Convention of the South	- Mrs. W. Judson King Franklinton Center, Bricks, N.C.
Alabama-Mississippi	= Mrs. F. M Rodgers, 1618 Cooper Avenue Anniston, Alabama
East Atlantic	- Mrs. Ethel Allen 1206 Bay Street, Morehead City, N.C.
Georgia - S.C.	- Mrs. Helene Douglas Dorchester Center, McIntosh, Georgia
North Carolina	- Mrs. V. W. Webb, Drawer A Sedalia, North Carolina
Lincoln, N.C.	- Mrs. Lillian T. Holmes P.O. Box 172, Graham, North Carolina
✓ N. C. Christian	- Mrs. Jessie S. Davis Box 78, Norlina, North Carolina
Plymouth	- Mrs. Corine Dufour, 1122 Dumaine Street New Orleans, Louisiana
South District	- Mrs. Ella Cheatham, 202 Battle Street Raleigh, North Carolina
Tennessee	- Mrs. M H. Jones, 1848 Freemont Memphis, Tennessee
Virginia (W)	- Mrs. Ruth Lawrence, R. #2, Box 192 Windsor, Virginia
Florida	- Mrs. G. H. Martin, 1611 S. E. Second Street Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Vice Presidents of the National Women's Fellowship
MRS. DWIGHT J. DWINELL, 16 Manning St., Reading, Mass. MRS. ROBERT T. HAMLETT, 339 Park Ave., Manhassett, L.I., N.Y.
Secretary, MRS. EUGENE V. HAYNES, 425 Centre Street, Bountiful, Utah

Cog

Southeast Convention - Mrs. Jettie Logan, 606 Oak Street
Tallassee, Alabama

Alabama - Mrs. Harry Barr, 1703 14th Street
Phenix City, Alabama

Ga.-S.C. - Mrs. Edward S. Askren, 170 Laurel Forest Circle N.E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

- Mrs. Walter Williams, Jr. (President-elect)
1011 Park Avenue, LaGrange, Georgia

Ky. - Tenn. - Mrs. Claude Pendergrass, Rt. #1, Crabtree Road
Hixson, Tennessee

X Southern Convention - Mrs. Ray Gordon, 218 Grace Street
Suffolk, Virginia

Eastern Va. - Mrs. J H. Booth, Jr., 143 Winchester Drive
Hampton, Virginia

North Carolina - Mrs. John R. Lackey, 637 Sunset Drive
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Valley of Virginia Mrs. Austin Kipps, New Market Virginia

SOCIAL ACTION CHAIRMEN

Convention of South - Mrs. Zanda Jenkins, 2410 Barre Street
Norfolk, Virginia

Ala.-Miss. - Miss Isabella Miles, 419 12th Terrace
Birmingham 4, Alabama

North Carolina - Mrs. Winnie Hooper,
Mooresville, North Carolina

omit Plymouth - Mrs. Esther J. Jackson, 1830 Esther Drive
Acres Home, Houston, Texas

Florida - Mrs. J. J. Dorn, Tice, Florida

Southeast Conv. - Mrs. Fred Muhleman, Bay Shore Drive @
Harrison, Tennesse

Alabama - Mrs. Locke White, Jr., 3509 Park Lane D
Birmingham 13, Alabama

Ga. - S.C. - Mrs. Frank Simmons, ~~3668 Kingsboro Road, N.E.~~ 1074 Vistavia Circle
~~Atlanta~~ Decatur, Georgia

Ky.-Tenn. - Mrs. Fred Muhleman, Bay Shore Drive a
Harrison, Tennessee

Southern Conv. - Mrs. J. R. Kernodle, Edgewood Avenue, Ext. d no
Burlington, North Carolina

Eastern Va. - Mrs. Edward Bresko, 1638 Mt. Vernon Avenue @
Petersburg, Virginia

North Carolina - (no chairman at present)

Valley of Va. - Mrs. Lynwood Hosaflook, W. Wolfe Street
Harrisonburg, Virginia

F. of C. invitations mailed to persons checked 10-9-61

Sincerely,

Mildred H. Ulrich

Mildred H. Ulrich
Secretary

MRS. LOCKE WHITE JR.
3509 PARK LANE
BIRMINGHAM 9, ALA.

Copy

June 9, 1961

Declined

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I regret that I will not be able to attend your workshop on November 6 and 7. I am sorry that I have been able to do so little to help your cause. We have five children, ranging in age from four months up to 11 years. I manage to do some work with my local church and with the American Association of University Women, but I do not feel that I can do justice to any additional organizations, especially those involving out-of-town meetings, without running the risk of neglecting my children. My concern for social problems has sometimes led me to attend meetings of groups who very badly need active leaders, but I just cannot follow through to this extent. I sometimes feel that even if I could get to some of these workshops or meetings, it would not be right to accept travel or other expenses, because I simply would not have time to carry through with the necessary work in my own community. A further complication is that my husband and I are moving to Davidson, North Carolina, where he will be teaching physics at Davidson College. This means that my time will be even more limited than usual for a while.

I don't think there is any chance that I can be at all helpful in your organization for

MRS. LOCKE WHITE JR.
3509 PARK LANE
BIRMINGHAM 9, ALA.

at least four or five years. If, in view of this, you still wish to keep me on your mailing list, the address will be:

Mrs. Locke White, Jr.
Davidson, N. C.

My suggestion for a theme is: Strengthening the moderate voice in the South.

Yours truly,

Anne White

DON SELLERS, INC.
871 McCALLIE AVENUE
CHATTANOOGA 3, TENNESSEE
TELEPHONE AM 7-4721

HOME OFFICE
MIDDLETOWN, OHIO

June 14th, 1961.

Accept
Rev. Emile F Pitcock

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Room 201,
Atlanta, Georgia,

Dear Mrs. Tilly?

I am planning to attend the Fellowship of the Concerned. Your help is still needed as those of us return with new techniques and a greater dedication to the work ahead of us.

One question I feel to be important is "How can we desegrate our schools before opening our churches?" Can the church fail to answer?

My kindest regards to you and my thanks for your ever present inspiration to all of us.

Sincerely,
Pauline H. Muhleman
Pauline H. Muhleman Bay Shore Drive
M. Mrs. F.R.
Harrison, Tenn

Congregational

Form letter sent 10-9-61

National Fellowship of
Congregational Christian Women

LILLIAN S. GREGORY, *Executive Secretary*
MILDRED O. WALKER, *Administrative Assistant*
19 S. La Salle St., Chicago 3, Illinois
MRS. F. C. LESTER, *Field Secretary,*
906 Chestnut St., High Point, North Carolina

A DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSIONS COUNCIL AND AFFILIATED WITH
THE WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGREGATIONAL COUNCIL
MRS. ROBERT W. RENEKER, *President,* 10158 S. Leavitt Street, Chicago 43, Illinois

October 21, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am very sorry that I cannot attend the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop in Atlanta November 6-7, as I already have previous commitments. Thank you for asking me to be a group leader, too.

It so happened that I am to be with the women of one of our Negro churches in Greensboro the afternoon of November 5.

I have been interested in the Fellowship of the Concerned and have hoped I could go sometime. Please put me on your list to receive publicity about the meeting next fall and I will make every effort to attend.

Best wishes for a good meeting.

Sincerely,

Emily Lester
Mrs. F. C. Lester

Vice Presidents of the National Women's Fellowship

MRS. DWIGHT J. DWINELL,
16 Manning St., Reading, Mass.

MRS. ROBERT T. HAMLETT,
339 Park Ave., Manhassett, L.I., N.Y.

Secretary, MRS. EUGENE V. HAYNES, 425 Centre Street, Bountiful, Utah

J. H. LIGHTBOURNE, JR.
CHAIRMAN OF TRUSTEE BOARD

REV. Z. P. JENKINS
VICE CHAIRMAN TRUSTEE BOARD

DR. R. A. KING
SECRETARY

Franklinton Center

SPONSORED BY THE
CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

Bricks, North Carolina

WM. JUDSON KING
PRESIDENT-TREASURER

TELEPHONE
ENFIELD HI 5-2146 AND HI 5-2147

October 23, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thanks for your letter and invitation to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned at Clark College, November 6-7.

As of June 1, I am no longer President of the Women's Fellowship of the Convention of the South and feel that this invitation is to the President of that organization so I am forwarding the material to her and urging her to attend.

I wish very much that I could come also because I surely am one of the concerned but there is a conference here on November 4-7 so I am afraid I shall have to stay here.

The new President is Mrs. Wolsey Gay, Box 883, Raleigh, N. C.

Sincerely,

Ora H. King
Mrs. W. Judson King

Read 10-26-61
Send letter & thanks for hotel space

Mrs. John Robert Kernodle
2465 Edgewood Avenue
Burlington, North Carolina

Declined

Dear Mrs. Silly,

In answer to your recent letter regarding the workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, may I say that I will not be able to attend the meeting in Atlanta on November 6 and 7.

I have appreciated receiving through the mail the newsletter regarding this phase of our work, and regret that I cannot accept the invitation to attend the fall meeting.

Yours truly,
Esther C. Kernodle

Board of Women's Work
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A PONCE DE LEON AVENUE, N.E., ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA
EVELYN L. GREEN, *Executive Secretary*

May 12, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am glad I had the opportunity to talk with you this morning, and it was especially good to know that Mr. Tilly is getting along well enough to be home from the hospital.

I am attaching two enclosures with this letter. The first one is a list of the names and addresses of the Synodical Presidents of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. I believe only one of these ladies was with us at the Fellowship of the Concerned meeting last fall, that was Mrs. A. P. Miller of Mississippi.

The second enclosure is the publicity flier on the Christian Action Conference being planned by Dr. Malcolm Calhoun to be held in Montreat, North Carolina September 1-4, 1961. We have additional information about this conference in the July issue of Presbyterian Women, the monthly publication from our Board. I just checked with our Literature Distribution Department to see if that issue had been delivered to our office yet as we were expecting it yesterday, but the Director of that department tells me it will be next Wednesday before we receive it. I am making a note on my calendar to send you a copy when we receive it.

I am sorry that on Wednesday, May 17 no one from our Staff can meet with you to make plans for the workshop, but I explained to you this morning that was because our Board is in town Wednesday and Thursday, May 17 and 18. If we can be of help later on, let us know and we will certainly try to do so.

With sincere good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Mable Morley

Mable C. Morley, Director
Leadership Education Department

MCM/s
Enc.

Information about

THE FIRST ASSEMBLY-WIDE CHRISTIAN ACTION CONFERENCE

September 1-4, 1961

MONTREAT, NORTH CAROLINA

THEME:

"THE CHRISTIAN IN ACTION"

for

MEN, WOMEN, YOUTH AND

YOU

Speakers include:

DR. WALDO BEACH
Professor of Christian Ethics and Director of Graduate Studies in Religion, Duke University, N. C.

THE REVEREND GEORGE A. CHAUNCEY
Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Danville, Ky.

DR. HOWARD J. CLINEBELL, JR.
Associate Professor of Pastoral Counseling, Southern California School of Theology

DR. JAMES M. DABBS
Author and teacher, Mayesville, S. C.

DR. WILLIAM B. OGLESBY, JR.
Professor of Pastoral Counseling, Union Theological Seminary in Virginia

sponsored by the division of
christian action,
board of christian education,
presbyterian church, u.s.

REGISTRATION

Name _____

Address _____

Presbytery _____ Church _____

Date of Arrival in Montreat _____

Willing to share a room? _____

☐ fee enclosed – $6.00, single reservation — $10.00, married couple

May 16, 1961

Mrs. I. F. Reed
454 Pinedale Road
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Reed:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women Concerned About the South-will be held here in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

Heretofore, the leaders in the field of social action of the three faiths and both races have been the ones who shared in the Workshop. After consultation with Mrs. Mabel Morley, we feel it would be beneficial to all of us if this year the synodical presidents would be the ones to be invited. Therefore, we extend the invitation to you to share in the Workshop. We have funds to care for both your travel and entertainment.

This year we know we must face the responsibility of the church in these days of social change. We believe you have a contribution to make and we hope you will find the Workshop some help in your work.

We are enclosing some sheets that give you some idea of what has happened in the Workshop in the past.

We trust you will find it entirely convenient to be with us.

Sincerely,

MET/jf
Enc. (2)

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

May 17, 1961

Mrs. Lucy Godwin
306 Sylvan Road
Fayetteville, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Godwin:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women Concerned About the South-will be held in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

Heretofore, the leaders in the field of social action of the three faiths and both races have been the ones who shared in the Workshop. After consultation with Mrs. Mabel Morley, we feel it would be beneficial to all of us if this year the synodical presidents would be the ones to be invited. Therefore, we extend the invitation to you to share in the Workshop. We have funds to care for both your travel and entertainment.

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We trust you will find it entirely convenient to be with us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Enc. (2)
MET/jf

May 18, 1961

Mrs. J. M. Thompson
Olanta
South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Thompson:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women Concerned About the South-will be held here in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

Heretofore, the leaders in the field of social action of the three faiths and both races have been the ones who shared in the Workshop. After consultation with Mrs. Mabel Morley, we feel it would be beneficial to all of us if this year the synodical presidents would be the ones to be invited. Therefore, we extend the invitation to you to share in the Workshop. We have funds to care for both your travel and entertainment.

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We trust you will find it entirely convenient to be with us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Enc. (2)
MET/jf

May 18, 1961

Mrs. Robert Ruffin
440 Prescott Street
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Ruffin:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women Concerned About the South-will be held here in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

Heretofore, the leaders in the field of social action of the three faiths and both races have been the ones who shared in the Workshop. After consultation with Mrs. Mabel Morley, we feel it would be beneficial to all of us if this year the synodical presidents would be the ones to be invited. Therefore, we extend the invitation to you to share in the Workshop. We have funds to care for both your travel and entertainment.

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We trust you will find it entirely convenient to be with us.

Sincerely,

MET/jf
Enc. (2)

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Women of the Church
SYNOD OF TEXAS
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH U. S.
1143 N Windomere,
Dallas 8, Texas,
May 30,1961.

Mrs.M.E.Tilly,
5 Fotsyth Street,N.W.,
Atlanta 3,Georgia.

Dear Mrs Tilly:
Y our invitation to be a part of theFellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women Concerned About the South in the Workshop November 6 and 7,is received with much interest.

I trust I can be of benefit to the group and know that I shall receive much help from it.

The dates and place are on my calendar and I plan to be with you.

Sincerely,
Frances
Frances
Mrs Julius H Smith.

yes

May 16, 1961

Mrs. Julius H. Smith
1143 North Windomere
Dallas 8, Texas

Dear Mrs. Smith:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women Concerned About the South will be held here in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

Heretofore, the leaders in the field of social action of the three faiths and both races have been the ones who shared in the Workshop. After consultation with Mrs. Mabel Morley, we feel it would be beneficial of all of us if this year the synodical presidents would be the ones to be invited. Therefore, we extend the invitation to you to share in the Workshop. We have funds to care for both your travel and entertainment.

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We are enclosing some sheets that give you some idea of what has happened in the Workshop in the past.

We trust you will find it entirely convenient to be with us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Enc. (2)
MET/jf

yes

June 6, 1961

Mrs. Carl M. Conrad
3839 State Street Drive
New Orleans 25, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Conrad:

Thank you so much for your letter.

It would be well for the new president to attend, but in the meantime we will list you and I think it will be possible to have both of you - so please keep the date open.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET/jf

The Women of the Church
Synod of Louisiana
Presbyterian Church in the United States

3839 State Street Drive
New Orleans 25, Louisiana
June 2, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for the invitation to attend the Fellowship of the Concerned on November 6th and 7th. I would like to attend this conference sometime but my term as Synodical President expires on September 22nd. Therefore I am wondering if this invitation should not go to the nominee who has been chosen to succeed me. It may be that she can attend although she is a business woman.

Will you please advise me on this?

Sincerely yours,

Margaret S. Conrad

Mrs. Carl M. Conrad, President

Thank you so much for your letter -
It would be well for the new President to attend, but in the meantime we will list you and I think it will be possible to have you both - so please keep the date open -

May 17, 1961

Mrs. Carl M. Conrad
3839 State Street Drive
New Orleans 25, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Conrad:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women Concerned About the South will be held here in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

Heretofore, the leaders in the field of social action of the three faiths and both races have been the ones who shared in the Workshop. After consultation with Mrs. Mabel Morley, we feel it would be beneficial to all of us if this year the synodical presidents would be the ones to be invited. Therefore, we extend the invitation to you to share in the Workshop. We have funds to care for both your travel and entertainment.

This year we know we must face the responsibility of the church in these days of social change. We believe you have a contribution to make, and we hope you will find the Workshop of some help in your work.

We are enclosing some sheets that give you some idea of what has happened in the Workshop in the past.

We trust you will find it entirely convenient to be with us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Enc. (2)
MET/jf

Women of the Church
Synod of North Carolina
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

June 8, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly;

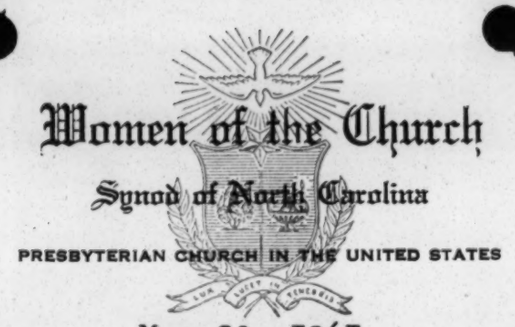
I believe if you look in your files you will find a copy of my very prompt reply to your letter regarding this Workshop to be held in Atlanta, November 6-7.

The letter stated that I would be not be serving as President of the Women of the Church, Synod of North Carolina, Presbyterian Church, U. S., after September, 19; so I forwarded the information to my successor, Mrs. E. Johnston Irvin, 253 Louise Avenue, Concord, N. C.

It could be Mrs. Irvin is waiting until after her election at the forthcoming meeting on 14-15 of June, to send you the desired information, The material is in her hands for consideration and decision.

Sincerely,
Zuleika J. Godwin
Zuleika J. Godwin

Mrs. H. Lacy Godwin
President of W.O.C.
Synod of North Carolina



May 23, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly;

I am passing your letter and enclosed information regarding the Workhop of the Fellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women, on to the incoming president of the Women of the Church, Synod of North Carolina, Mrs. E. Johnston Irvin.

Mrs. Irvin will be elected at the meeting in June and assume the duties of office in September.

Sincerely yours,

Zuleika J. Godwin

Zuleika J. Godwin

New Address:
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

No

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Friend:

You have had the first notice of the south-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned which is to be held here in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

It is time now to be hearing from you.

First, will you attend? Did you know your expense of travel and entertainment will be taken care of?

If you are not coming, we need to know so someone else may be invited in your place.

Second, what in your opinion should be the theme of our Workshop--in light of the problems of today?

Please answer the two questions, and we would appreciate hearing from you quickly.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Tilly

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Dear Friend

Thank you, Mrs Tilly, for the invitation. It will not be possible for me to attend in November.

Sincerely yours,

Lucile G. Miller
(Mrs. A. P.)

Columbus, Miss.
6/8/61

May 17, 1961

Mrs. A. P. Miller
503 South 6 Street
Columbus, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Miller:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women Concerned About the South-will be held here in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

Heretofore, the leaders in the field of social action of the three faiths and both races have been the ones who shared in the Workshop. After consultation with Mrs. Mabel Morley, we feel it would be beneficial to all of us if this year the synodical presidents would be the ones to be invited. Therefore, we extend the invitation to you to share in the Workshop. We have funds to care for both your travel and entertainment.

This year we know we must face the responsibility of the church in these days of social change. We believe you have a contribution to make, and we hope you find the Workshop of some help in your work.

We are enclosing some sheets that give you some idea of what has happened in the Workshop in the past.

We trust you will find it entirely convenient to be with us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

ENC. (2)
MET/jf

Women of the Church, Synod of Florida

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U. S.

D — 720

MRS. HENRY CRAIG
PRESIDENT
1223 LISBON STREET
CORAL GABLES 34, FLA.

June 9, 1961

Mrs.M.E.Tilly
5 Forsyth Street,.N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs.Tilly:

Thank you very kindly for the invitation to attend the south-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held in Atlanta,November 6-7.

Owing to commitments of several months, I find it impossible to attend the Workshop.

In the light of the problems we face to-day I pray God's blessings on your work. I am sorry I cannot be of any help in suggesting the theme for the Workshop.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Kathleen Craig

(Mrs.Henry) Kathleen Craig,

May 17, 1961

Mrs. Henry Craig
1223 Lisbon Street
Coral Gables, Florida

Dear Mrs. Craig:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women Concerned About the South will be held here in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

Heretofore, the leaders in the field of social action of the three faiths and both races have been the ones who shared in the Workshop. After consultation with Mrs. Mabel Morley, we feel it would be beneficial to all of us if this year the synodical presidents would be the ones to be invited. Therefore, we extend the invitation to you to share in the Workshop. We have funds to care for both your travel and entertainment.

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We are enclosing some sheets that give you some idea of what has happened in the Workshop in the past.

We trust you will find it entirely convenient to be with us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Enc. (2)
MET/jf

Dear Mrs Riley: Due to illness your two letters about Nov 6-7 Conference have not been answered -

Since I am having to resign my Superior will be named next week perhaps - Will send this correspondence to our Training School meeting to be asked on there - Sincerely,

Mrs. Lee W. Reynolds
1151 Hunter Street
Conway, Arkansas

sending material to new officers

May 17, 1961

Mrs. Lee W. Reynolds
1151 Hunter Street
Conway, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Reynolds:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women Concerned About the South-will be held here in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

Heretofore, the leaders in the field of social action of the three faiths and both races have been the ones who shared in the Workshop. After consultation with Mrs. Mabel Morley, we feel it would be beneficial to all of us if this year the synodical presidents would be the ones to be invited. Therefore, we extend the invitation to you to share in the Workshop. We have funds to care for both your travel and entertainment.

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Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Enc. (2)
MET/jf

Corresponding Secretary
MRS. CHARLES P. WILSON
2109 Hanover Avenue
Richmond, Virginia

President
MRS. R. K. M. PATTERSON
5100 Riverside Drive
Richmond 25, Virginia

Vice-President
MRS. COTHRAN SMITH
Christiansburg, Virginia

Treasurer
DR. MILDRED TAYLOR
Mary Baldwin College
Staunton, Virginia

Recording Secretary
MRS. S. THOMAS MARTIN
89 N. Princeton Circle
Lynchburg, Virginia

Historian
MRS. LEIGH HANES
Fincastle, Virginia

Women of the Church

Synod of Virginia

7 Presbyterials 457 Local Organizations

47,798 Members

Yes

June 11, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

It is distressing to have to begin my first letter to you with an apology for my delay in answering your letter of May 18th. However, an adjustment in my schedule had to be made so that I could accept your invitation to attend your workshop on November 6 and 7. We had tentatively scheduled the Mid-year Synodical Board Meeting for November 8 and 9, so another suitable date had to be found and the Board Members contacted.

The way now seems clear for me to be in Atlanta with you on November 6 and 7, and I am delighted to have this opportunity to share in the discussions of those concerned for the critical situation that our South-land is facing.

We realize that this is not a present problem soon solved, but a continuing problem of great complexity. The roots of custom run deep, and the changing of long established social patterns is always fraught with heartache and bitterness. Church women face a tremendous responsibility as they seek to help our Negro citizens find their rightful place in the life of our nation. And our concern is that this change may take place without further violence and with more patience, tolerance and understanding on both sides.

I am looking forward to our meeting in November and to knowing you who have meant so much to the work of this group.

Most cordially,

May W. Patterson

Mrs. R. K. M. Patterson

May 18, 1961

Mrs. R. K. M. Patterson
5100 Riverside Drive
Richmond 25, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women Concerned About the South-will be held here in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

Heretofore, the leaders in the field of social action of the three faiths and both races have been the ones who shared in the Workshop. After consultation with Mrs. Mabel Morley, we feel it would be beneficial to all of us if this year the synodical presidents would be the ones to be invited. Therefore, we extend the invitation to you to share in the Workshop. We have funds to care for both your travel and entertainment.

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We trust you will find it entirely convenient to be with us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Enc. (2)
MET/jf

OFFICERS
MRS. L. H. McKAY, Vice-President-at-Large
Route 1, Flat Rock, N. C.
MRS. HERBERT A. HORNE, Recording Secretary
Glade Spring, Va.
MRS. D. C. YOUNG, Corresponding Secretary
508 Mayes Ave., Sweetwater, Tenn.
MRS. DON KING, Treasurer
Piney Flats, Tenn.
MRS. WM. I. REILLY, Historian
407 Sweetbriar Ave., Chattanooga, Tenn.
MRS. W. B. FERGUSON, First Vice-Pres.
Weaverville, N. C.
MRS. ELLIS AGER, Second Vice-Pres.
1916 Euclid Ave., Bristol, Va.
MRS. JOSEPH B. MACK, Third Vice-Pres.
2230 Laurel Ave., Knoxville 16, Tenn.
MISS ANN BRYAN, Fourth Vice-Pres.
Grandfather Home, Banner Elk, N. C.
MRS. R. M. GOSS, Dir. I.C.C.
1210 Luttrell St., Knoxville 17, Tenn.

The Women of The Church

SYNOD OF APPALACHIA

Presbyterian Church, U. S.

★ ★ ★

MRS. D. R. FREEMAN, President
901 Houston St., Knoxville 14, Tenn.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN
MRS. JOHN C. ALLISON, Spiritual Growth
Draper, Va.
MRS. J. E. WILSON, World Missions
27 Normandy Road, Asheville, N. C.
MRS. B. B. Brier, Church Extension
1425 Kennesaw Ave., Knoxville 19, Tenn.
MRS. GEORGE M. WHEELER, Stewardship
Route 3, Church Hill, Tenn.
MRS. FRANCIS BELL, Annuities and Relief
Dublin, Va.
MRS. A. F. TYSON, Jr., Christian Education
Black Mountain, N. C.
MRS. B. C. KETRON, General Fund Agencies
3232 Shamrock St., Kingsport, Tenn.
MRS. TRACY PRATER, Jr., White Cross
Morristown, Tenn.
MRS. RAY HAMBLEN, Intergroup Work and
Callaway Sch., Big Stone Gap, Va.
MRS. HENRY NORMAN, King College Sponsor
Cedar Bluff, Va.

Yes

June 13, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3 Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I have received your notice in regard to the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held in Atlanta Nov. 6 & 7. It is my intention to attend the meeting. If I find it impossible to do so I will notify your office as soon as I can.

As to the theme for this meeting, I do not feel capable of suggesting one. However I hope we will realize that the race problem even in the South is not confined to the Negro and white races. There are other minority groups and under-privileged groups who need Christian love.

Sincerely,

Mrs. D. R. Freeman

May 16, 1961

Mrs. D. R. Freeman
901 Houston Street
Knoxville 14, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Freeman:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women Concerned About the South--will be held here in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

Heretofore, the leaders in the field of social action of the three faiths and both races have been the ones who shared in the Workshop. After consultation with Mrs. Mabel Morley, we feel it would be beneficial to all of us if this year the synodical presidents would be the ones to be invited. Therefore, we extend the invitation to you to share in the Workshop. We have funds to care for both your travel and entertainment.

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We are enclosing some sheets that give you some idea of what has happened in the Workshop in the past.

We trust you will find it entirely convenient to be with us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Enc. (2)
MET/jf

gp?

Mrs. J. W. Baldridge

132 McCready Avenue, Louisville 6, Kentucky

June 30, 1961

Southern Council Inc.
Forsyth Street,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Thank you very much for the invitation to attend the meeting of the "Fellowship of the Concerned" this November 6-7. The Lord willing I will be there.

Sincerely,

(Mrs J.W.) Martha M. Baldridge

Mrs. J.W.Baldriege

Substitute for
Mrs. James Pierce

Women of the Church
SYNOD OF KENTUCKY
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U. S.

Rt. 4 Box 358
Hopkinsville, Ky.
June 22, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

The first reaction to your invitation to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta Nov. 6 and 7 was appreciation and hope that I could attend. On close examination of my fall schedule, however, I find that it will follow too close on the heels of several other out-of-town trips necessary in the line of my Synodical responsibilities.

You may have more names of people who would be interested in this Workshop than you can possibly invite, but Mrs. J. W. Baldridge, 132 McCready Ave., Louisville 6, Ky. (immediate past Ky. Synodical president) and Mrs. Hecht Lackey, 802 South Adams St., Henderson, Ky. (her husband has been mayor a couple of terms and did a good job of cleaning up gambling and such, she is a member of our Synodical Board now) are

two people I think would benefit from and carry out the findings of the Workshop. I would like very much to give a Kentucky woman an opportunity at our winter Board meeting to tell us about this Workshop.

You may be sure I am concerned and in sympathy with your purpose of attaining, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Sincerely,

Ellen M. Pierce
(Mrs. James Pierce)

May 17, 1961

Mrs. James Pierce
Cox Mill Road
Hopkinsville, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Pierce:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women Concerned About the South-will be held here in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

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We are enclosing some sheets that give you some idea of what has happened in the Workshop in the past.

We trust you will find it entirely convenient to be with us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Enc. (2)
MET/jf
cc Mabel Morley

Board of Women's Work

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A PONCE DE LEON AVENUE, N.E., ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

EVELYN L. GREEN, *Executive Secretary*

July 6, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I will be leaving Atlanta Thursday, July 13 along with several other members of our Staff to go to Montreat, North Carolina for two weeks. A part of this time will be spent with the sixteen Synodical Presidents of our denomination who make up what we call the Women's Advisory Council. At this time I will have opportunity to speak with those who have been invited to the Fellowship of the Concerned meeting in November. I am pleased that the area from which you issue invitations includes all of our Synodical Presidents except three -- those in Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia. I hope we will have good attendance from them at the meeting this fall.

I have not had any information regarding the health of your husband since I talked with you several weeks ago. I hope that he is continuing to improve and that you both will have a good summer.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

Mable Morley

Mrs. Mable C. Morley, Director
Leadership Education Department

MCM/s

NO

Rome, Ga
July II- 6I

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Because of conflicting engagments I will not be able to attend " South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned" Nov. 6-7

Sincerely

Pearl King

Mrs. Kirton King

May 17, 1961

Mrs. Kirton W. King
P. O. Box 1322
Rome, Georgia

Dear Mrs. King:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women Concerned About the South-will be held in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

Heretofore, the leaders in the field of social action of the three faiths and both races have been the ones who shared in the Workshop. After consultation with Mrs. Mabel Morley, we feel it would be beneficial to all of us if this year the synodical presidents would be the ones to be invited. Therefore, we extend the invitation to you to share in the Workshop. We have funds to care for both your travel and entertainment.

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We are enclosing some sheets that give you some idea of what has happened in the Workshop in the past.

We trust you will find it entirely convenient to be with us.

Sincerely,

Enc. (2)
MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Board of Women's Work

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A PONCE DE LEON AVENUE, N.E., ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

EVELYN L. GREEN, *Executive Secretary*

August 12, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I tried to call you at your office this afternoon but was told you were at home and that your husband was quite ill. I am so sorry to hear this.

I have been in Montreat, North Carolina for three weeks, but one of the things I did while there was to talk to the synodical presidents of our denomination about coming to Atlanta for The Fellowship of the Concerned November 6 and 7. Our Board is setting up a conference for them on Wednesday, November 8 so we hope having the two meetings to come to Atlanta for will help the attendance to be good at both meetings.

You have probably received a brochure on the first Assembly-wide Conference on Christian Action being sponsored by our denomination that is to be held in Montreat, North Carolina September 1-4, 1961. I hope it will be possible for you to attend this conference.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

Mable Morley

Mrs. Mable C. Morley Director
Leadership Education Department

MCM/s

WHO'S WHO ON THE PROGRAM

Mr. E. A. Andrews, Jr.—Secretary, Division of Men's Work, Board of Christian Education

Dr. Waldo Beach—Professor of Christian ethics and director of graduate studies in religion, Duke University, North Carolina

Mr. T. Mack Blackburn—Past president of Assembly Men's Council and member of the Board of Christian Education

The Reverend Lawrence W. Bottoms—Secretary, Negro Work Department, Board of Church Extension

Dr. Malcolm P. Calhoun—Secretary, Division of Christian Action, Board of Christian Education

The Reverend Donald K. Campbell, II—Pastor, Little Rock, Arkansas, and Christian Action chairman for the Synod of Arkansas

The Reverend George A. Chauncey—Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Danville, Kentucky

Dr. Howard J. Clinebell, Jr.—Associate professor of pastoral counseling, Southern California School of Theology

Dr. James McBride Dabbs—Author, teacher, and Presbyterian elder, Mayesville, South Carolina

Mr. Neil Davis—Journalist and member of the Board of Christian Education

The Reverend Irvin Elligan—Pastor, All Souls' Presbyterian Church, Richmond, Virginia

Miss Evelyn Green—Secretary, Board of Women's Work

Dr. William B. Oglesby, Jr.—Professor of pastoral counseling, Union Theological Seminary in Virginia

Dr. Isabel Rogers—Professor of Christian ethics and Christian education, Presbyterian School of Christian Education

Mr. William H. Schutt—Minister of Music, Grace Covenant Presbyterian Church, Richmond, Va.

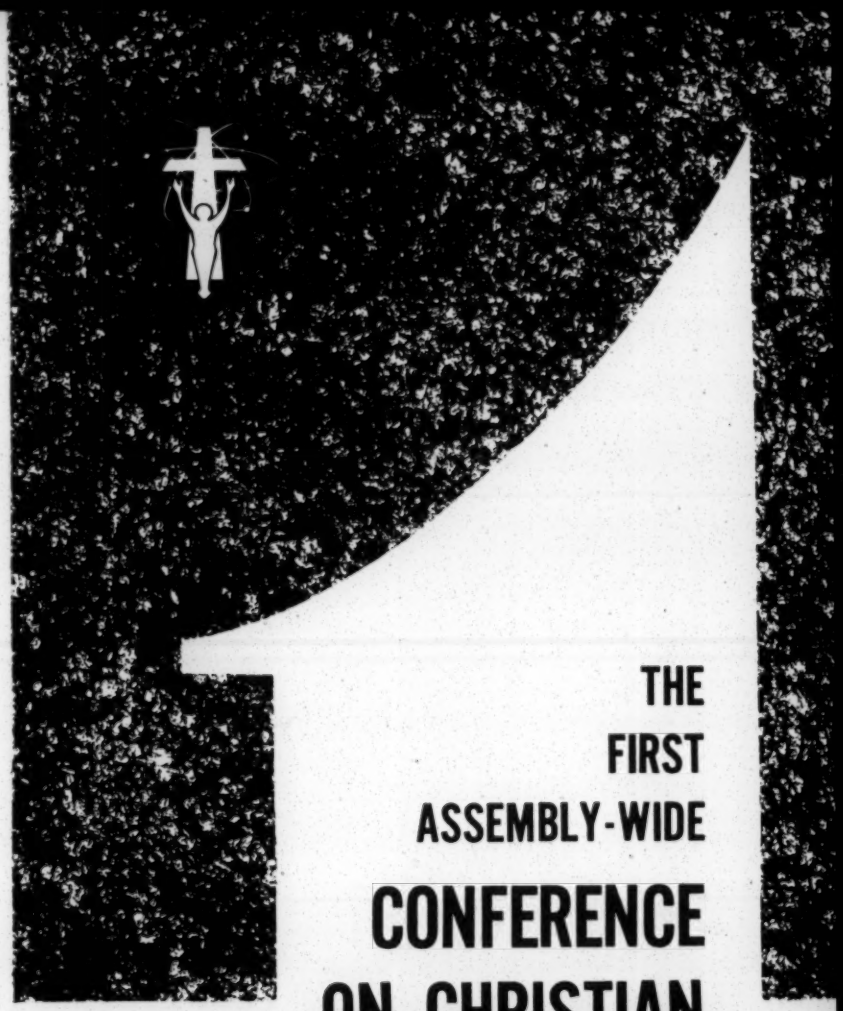
Mr. David Wilson—Banker, immediate past president of North Carolina Synod Men's Council and chairman of Christian Action Advisory Council

About the Division of Christian Action

The Division of Christian Action, Board of Christian Education, works with other divisions of the board and with other boards and agencies of the church in building a program of education which will give guidance to individuals and churches confronting the social problems of everyday living. The program is based upon the standards of the church as interpreted by the General Assembly under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Advisory Council to the Division of Christian Action

Mr. E. A. Andrews, Jr.
Rev. George A. Chauncey
Dr. D. J. Cumming
Dr. James M. Dabbs
Mr. Neil O. Davis
Mr. George V. Gardner
Miss Evelyn Green
Rev. John S. Lyles
Miss Roberta Lytle
Miss Ruby McDurmon
Dr. William B. Oglesby, Jr.
Dr. J. Rupert Picott
Dr. Frank W. Price
Dr. H. Kerr Taylor
Mr. David R. Wilson



THE FIRST ASSEMBLY-WIDE CONFERENCE ON CHRISTIAN ACTION

SEPTEMBER 1-4, 1961
MONTREAT, NORTH CAROLINA

Theme: The Christian in Action

Sponsored by
Division of Christian Action
Board of Christian Education
8 North Sixth Street
Richmond 9, Virginia

Welcome to the 1st Assembly-wide CONFERENCE ON CHRISTIAN ACTION!

During the three-day period, September 1–4, we will:

. . . consider the theological basis of Christian action;

. . . ponder the church's responsibility for coping with the problem of alcoholism in our land;

. . . explore avenues of understanding in race relations.

(A complete schedule and list of participating leaders is given in this folder.)

The conference gets under way with two great hopes:

We *hope* you will find it stimulating and useful. It marks an important milestone for our denomination. For the past twenty-five years, we have exhibited increasing concern about bringing the gospel to bear upon the tension-creating areas of modern life. A great deal of work has been done on the synod, presbytery, and local level. But now, for the first time, Presbyterians from across the Southland are gathering together to give thought, study, and prayer to some of the critical issues confronting us today.

We *hope*, too, that because of what happens here you will be encouraged to enter upon new fields of endeavor in your home, church, and community. To that end, we urge you to participate freely in the discussion groups, as this will add to the value of the conference for all of us.

And if there is any way we can help make your stay at Montreat more meaningful, please call on us.

Most cordially yours,
David R. Wilson, chairman of conference
Malcolm P. Calhoun, secretary,
Division of Christian Action

REGISTRATION

Fill in the blank and send before August 1 to the Division of Christian Action, Box 1176, Richmond 9, Virginia. Enclose $6.00 per person registration fee or $10.00 for a married couple. There is no Montreat gate fee.

Name _____

Address _____

Presbytery _____ Church _____

Room (single or double) and meals at Assembly Inn cost $7.00 per day per person. Will share room? _____
Note: this Conference is off-season. Late registrations will be accepted if spaces are available.

SCHEDULE

Friday, September 1

2:00– 6:00 P.M.—Registration
6:00– 7:00 P.M.—Dinner
7:30– 8:30 P.M.—Opening Session—David R. Wilson presiding.
Orientation
Keynote address—Theological Basis of Christian Action by Dr. Waldo Beach
9:00– 9:20 P.M.—Service of Evening Prayer. The Reverend George A. Chauncey

Saturday, September 2

7:00– 8:00 A.M.—Breakfast
8:30– 9:00 A.M.—Service of Morning Prayer. Mr. Chauncey
9:15–10:45 A.M.—Discussion Groups—Theological Basis of Christian Action
10:45–11:00 A.M.—Recess
11:00–12:00 noon—Dialogue with Dr. Beach
12:15– 1:15 P.M.—Lunch
1:15– 2:15 P.M.—Free Time
2:30– 3:15 P.M.—*Address*—The Church and The Alcoholic by Dr. Howard J. Clinebell, Jr.
3:30– 5:00 P.M.—Discussion Groups—The Church and The Alcoholic
6:00– 7:00 P.M.—Dinner
7:15– 7:30 P.M.—Sing—William H. Schutt
7:30– 8:30 P.M.—Dialogue with Dr. Clinebell
9:00– 9:20 P.M.—Service of Evening Prayer Mr. Chauncey

Sunday, September 3

7:30– 8:30 A.M.—Breakfast
9:00– 9:30 A.M.—Service of Morning Prayer. Mr. Chauncey
9:45–10:30 A.M.—Address—The Church and Race Relations by Dr. James M. Dabbs
11:00–12:00 noon—Morning Worship—Sermon by Dr. William B. Oglesby, Jr.
12:15– 1:15 P.M.—Lunch
1:15– 2:00 P.M.—Free Time
2:00– 3:30 P.M.—Discussion Groups—The Church and Race Relations
3:45– 4:45 P.M.—Dialogue with Dr. Dabbs
6:00– 7:00 P.M.—Dinner
7:30– 8:00 P.M.—Sing—William H. Schutt
8:00– 9:00 P.M.—*Closing address*—Christian Action and the Local Church by Dr. Waldo Beach.
9:30–10:30 P.M.—The Sacrament of Holy Communion. Led by Mr. Chauncey

Monday, September 4

7:00– 8:00 A.M.—Breakfast

September 1, 1961

Mrs. Ben Russell
824 Tusculum Blvd.
Greenville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Russell:

The following of your Presbyterian group have accepted the invitation to participate in the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Mrs. Robert Elly Mrs. F. J. McGill
Miss Mary C. Willis

This makes a total of four favorable replies including yourself.

Mrs. Clyde Bease will not be able to attend, and others that were invited have not responded either way. We hope to send out a follow-up letter to them next week.

Looking forward to seeing you in November.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

September 1, 1961

Mrs. Mable C. Morley
Leadership Education Department
Presbyterian Church
341-A Ponce de Leon Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Morley:

The following of your Synodical Presidents have accepted the invitation to participate in the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Mrs. Julius H. Smith
Mrs. D. R. Freeman
Mrs. R. K.M. Patterson
Mrs. Carl Conrad
Mrs. Martha M. Baldridge

Mrs. James Pierce suggested Mrs. Baldridge, of 132 McCready Ave., Louisville 6, Kentucky, and she has accepted, making only five favorable replies to date. Mrs. Lee W. Reynolds said she was going out of office and would turn the matter over to her successor, but we do not have the name of her successor.

Mrs. Henry Craig, Mrs. Kirton King and Mrs. A. P. Miller do not find it possible to attend.

We have had no reply from the following:

Mrs. J. M. Thompson; Mrs. Lucy Goodwin, and Mrs. I. F. Reed. Follow-up letters will be sent to them next week.

Please accept my apology for the delay in getting this information to you, but in view of Mr. Tilly's illness and passing, I have been delayed in many things.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

Presbyterian

September 8, 1961

Mrs. Eleanor Smith
P. O., Box 1341
Kingston, N. C.

Dear Mrs. Smith:

At the request of Mrs. H. D. Moye, we are happy to extend you an invitation to attend the workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

METsmm
Enclosure

September 8, 1961

Mrs. H. D. Moye
Farmville, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Moye:

This is to let you know that today we are sending an invitation to Mrs. Eleanor H. Smith, P. O. Box 1341, Kingston, North Carolina, and will let her know that you suggested her as one who would be very valuable in this workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I sincerely trust you will be able to attend our meeting, and will be looking forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Farmville, N.C.
August 23, 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley;

I can not be positive, at this time, whether or not I can attend the Council workshop on Nov. 6th & 7th. I am sorry to have waited this long to reply, but was hoping to have a definite answer, by this time. My problem is a conflict of personal plans and they are not complete.

I would like to suggest that, if possible, our State Executive Secretary for Christian

"Women's Fellowship would make an excellent contribution to this workshop, if she could be invited. She is Mrs. Eleanor H. Smith, P.O. Box 1341, Kinston, N.C.. She is an active member, in fact a Board member, of the interracial Council in Kinston. This is, I think, the only interracial council in Eastern N. Carolina. I believe her thinking would be most beneficial to the work-shop.

I do appreciate the privilege of attending the workshop and if it is not necessary to give a definite answer before October 15th

I would like to keep it under consideration.

Sincerely Yours,

Dorothy W. Moye

(Mrs. H. D.) - Pres. N.C. Ch. F.

September 13, 1961

Mrs. Mable C. Morley
Director
Leadership Education Department
Board of Women's Work
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
341-A Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 8, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Morley:

An invitation and Fellowship of the Concerned material is being forwarded to the suggested persons as of today, also Mrs. Plunkett.

Thank you so very much for this information, it will be very helpful in my planning.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

P.S. Since writing the above, Mrs. Tilly has come into the office and requested that invitations be extended to the incoming presidents. This information will be sent out as of today.

Board of Women's Work

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A PONCE DE LEON AVENUE, N.E., ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

EVELYN L. GREEN, *Executive Secretary*

September 11, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

It just occurred to me that four of the twelve states from which you have invited Presbyterian synodical presidents will be changing presidents this month.

State	Retiring President	Incoming President
Louisiana - -	Mrs. Carl M. Conrad - -	Miss Elisabeth Williams P. O. Box 247 Benton, Louisiana
North Carolina -	Mrs. Lacy Godwin - - -	Mrs. E. Johnston Irvin 253 Louise Avenue Concord, North Carolina
South Carolina -	Mrs. J. Melvin Thompson -	Mrs. E. G. McCall Rock Hill, South Carolina
Tennessee - - -	Mrs. Robert Ruffin, Jr. -	Mrs. Carter Owen Gallatin, Tennessee

(You did not say in your letter of September 1 whether or not you had heard from Mrs. Ruffin)

I don't know just what you will care to do in a case like this, but the new synodical presidents are the ones we are inviting to Atlanta for the meeting that will be the next day after the Fellowship of the Concerned. It may be you will want to write to these new persons letting them know you have just learned they will be the synodical president after this month, and inviting them to the Fellowship of the Concerned. Since Mrs. Conrad has already accepted, it may be that she is planning to come anyway regardless of going out of office. I have a letter from Miss Elisabeth Williams and she has a P.S. on her letter that says "Just what is the Fellowship of the Concerned?" So, I don't know what information she has about it, but I am writing her today giving her some information.

Sincerely,

Mable Morley

Mrs. Mable C. Morley, Director
Leadership Education Department

MCM/s

Board of Women's Work

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A PONCE DE LEON AVENUE, N.E., ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

EVELYN L. GREEN, *Executive Secretary*

September 11, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I did not know of the death of Mr. Tilly until your letter of September 1 was received September 5. Please accept my sympathy and love. I knew he was very ill in August but I have been out of the office more than I have been in and did not know of his passing.

Thank you for your letter of September 1 giving me the information that five of our synodical presidents have accepted the invitation to participate in the Fellowship of the Concerned. If it is not too late, I would like to suggest alternames for the three presidents who have definitely let you know they are unable to attend. You said that Mrs. Craig from Florida, Mrs. King from Georgia and Mrs. Miller from Mississippi did not find it possible to attend this year. May I suggest the following:

Mrs. Ray L. Tilghman, 1202 Guernsey Aveenue, ✓
Box 7385, Orlando, Fla.
Mrs. Otis L. Baskette, 2865 Old Norcross Road, ✓
Tucker, Ga.
Mrs. C. S. McGivaren, 1421 Shady Lane, ✓
Clarksdale, Miss.

All three of these women are presbyterial presidents who serve directly under the synodical presidents. If you do invite these three, let me know and I will send them a follow-up letter.

I hope that you will get favorable replies from Mrs. J.M.Thompson, Mrs. Lacy Godwin and Mrs. I. F. Reed. In a letter from Mrs. Reed she stated that she heard that the Southern Regional Council was very "questionable" and had been investigated." However, she said she did not feel that the Board of Women's Work would plan a meeting to follow one of this type, if it was true, or that we would encourage our synodical presidents to come, so I am writing her today and will try to give her satisfying information. By the way, do you have any recent leaflets telling just what the Southern Regional Council is? I have a gray leaflet entitled "Southern Regional Council Toward the South of the Future." Will you send me about 20 or 25 leaflets so when persons write asking what the Southern Regional Council is I will have correct information for them.

The successor to Mrs. Lee W. Reynolds of Arkansas is Mrs. Arthur Plunkett, Jr., 2801 Charlotte Lane, Ft. Smith, Arkansas. I have already received a letter from her asking me about the Fellowship of the Concerned saying she did not have any information on it. Evidently Mrs. Reynolds did not give her the letter of invitation which came from you, so, if you will write Mrs. Plunkett directly, I believe she will be able to attend.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Will all of the women be staying at Clark College this year, or will they have a choice of either Clark or the Piedmont Hotel? The reason I am asking, we are scheduling a meeting to begin after the Fellowship of the Concerned is over, and I thought if our synodical presidents were staying at the Piedmont Hotel it would be good for us to make their reservations there for another night so they will not have to move.

With sincere good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Mable Morley

Mrs. Mable C. Morley, Director
Leadership Education Department

MCM/s

September 13, 1961

Mrs. Arthur Plunkett, Jr.
2801 Cjarlotte Lane
Fort Smith, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Plunkett:

In a recent letter from Mrs. Morley, she informed me that you are the successor to Mrs. Reynolds for the Synodical Presidency, therefore, I am herewith enclosing an invitation to you to attend the Fellowship of the Concerned meeting, which will be held on November 6-7.

We are rather insistent that every person register ahead of time and be prepared to stay from the beginning to the end of the Workshop, as there are so many problems to be faced.

I would certainly appreciate hearing from you at once.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

September 13, 1961

Mrs. Howard R. Carter
701 Helen Street
Lake Charles, Louisiana

Dear Dorothy:

I have had a time about your address. Three times we have had it from Thelma, once it was lost in this office, and another time at home, but I think we have it securely safe now on my address book, Miriam's address book, and on the files of the Southern Regional Council.

The Fellowship of the Concerned will have its group meeting here in Atlanta on the 6th and 7th of November at Clark College. Thelma will be here and most of the Christian Social Relations' secretaries will be here - the same type of officers from other denominations, including the Catholic Women, and the AME, CME, and various forms of Baptist groups. You belong with this group and I certainly want you to come. Our theme this year is, "The Kingdom without Frontiers, One God, One World, One People." We will begin at 10:00 on the morning of the 6th, and will close at noon on the 7th. You can see by this that you will have to vote by absentee ballot. Please give me a favorable reply.

I suppose you know that Mr. Tilly quietly slipped away from us on the night of August 19th at 11:00 O'clock. His home-going was triumphant and those of us who were close to him have had no tears, but miss him as you know.

Love

Dorothy Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

Persons who have been invited to attend the Fellowship of the Concerned Meeting on November 6-7, are as listed below from the State of Louisiana.

1. Mrs. O. B. Christian, 206 S. Blake Street, Lake Charles, La.
2. Mrs. Irving Goldstein, 2820 Octavia, New Orleans, La.
3. Mrs. Wm. Haspel, Jr., 141 Homestead, Ave., Metairie, La.
4. Mrs. Jules Cahn, 3 Versailles Blvd., New Orleans, La.
5. Mrs. Werner Friedman, 901 Burdette, New Orleans, La.
6. Mrs. Carl Conrad, 3839 State Drive, New Orleans, La.
7. Mrs. Laurice S. Mobley, Belvue, Letsville, La.
8. Mrs. Elizabeth Williams, P. O. Box 247, Benton, La.
9. Mrs. Jimmie Simmons, 659 McCormick Street, Shreveport, La.
10. Mrs. R. R. Eckart, 4547 Mark Twain Drive, New Orleans 22, La.

Women of the Church

Synod of Alabama

Presbyterian Church in the United States

Declined

September 15th, 1961.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am sorry that I have been unable to reply to your letter of some weeks ago. At that time I was reasonably sure that I would be unable to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, but I did have a friend who is also a Presbyterian who was interested in attending and I thought I would send you her name. In the meantime she has had illness in the family and will not be able to come.

I regret that I have been so late in my reply but in another year I may be able to attend.

Sincerely,

Mrs. J. T. Reed

Synodical President of Alabama.

454 Pinedale Road
Auburn, Alabama

MRS. J. MELVIN THOMPSON
President
OLANTA, S. C.

WOMEN OF THE CHURCH
SYNOD OF SOUTH CAROLINA
Presbyterian Church U. S.

September 18, '61

Mrs. M.E. Tilley
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Please pardon my delay in writing you - My term of office will end this week Sept. 21, and I had your letter ready to hand to the incoming President - I'll give her both letters and you will hear from her as to whether it will be possible to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned Nov. 6 and 7. It is impossible for me to attend -

Very sincerely yours
Winnie D. Thompson
(Mrs. J. Melvin)

✓ accept Presbyterian

253 Louise Ave.
Concord, N.C.
September 21, 1961

Southern Regional Council
Mrs. M. E. Tilley, Director
Women's Work
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

I have just discovered that I will be able to attend the meetings of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta on November 6 and 7.

Since I am unfamiliar with the work of the Fellowship, I am afraid I cannot be of any help in suggesting the theme of the workshop.

I notice that the travel and entertainment expenses are paid. Are the hotel reservations made, or is it necessary that that be done?

Looking forward with a great deal of interest to this meeting.

Yours very truly,
Marguerite Irvin
Mrs. E. Johnston Irvin

Dear Mrs. Tilly, - Declined Gratefully

Please pardon my delay in replying to the invitation to attend the Southside Workshop to be held on Nov. 6th and 7th.

I am sorry I will not be able to accept at this time because of previous commitments. If it does become possible to attend

Oct. 13, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilley,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilley;

I have been home only a week and sick all the time.

Your communication came this a. m. and I have spent the morning phoning and checking on schedules of the three ways of transportation you mentioned. None of them fit in very well. train trip is from 9.45 a. m. until 6.45 a. m. next day, bus from 6.55 a. m. until 9.45 p. m., no plane out of our airport, would have to go to Tampa (20 miles) to get one and

that would add an additional cost to the round trip plane ticket of $58.89.

Now as I see it to drive would be best. A friend of mine who is to be President of our Women's Association (which has 16 Circles) would drive me there and back for 5¢ a mile, which is less than the plane fare. We would leave Sun. so as to be there in time for the meeting Mon. 10 a.m.

Would you have any objection to having her attend the meetings of the Workshop?

Anticipating meeting you and enjoying the Workshop, Sincerely,

Mary C. Willis

division of foreign missions

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

rev. edwin t. dahlberg, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

cable address -"formiscon" newyork

August 10, 1961

Dear Friends:

Foreign Missions often seem far away and distant; something we feel important but seldom see in action; something we pour millions of dollars into each year hoping it is doing some good but not really knowing if it is.

Each year the Division of Foreign Missions of the National Council of Churches publishes a book, the "Christian Mission Digest", that gives a glimpse of Christians at work in other lands--capsulized stories in a Readers Digest-sized book.

Last year church people in the United States gave 26 million dollars' worth of aid to 52 countries through Church World Service, a department of the National Council of Churches. Through CWS, thirty-five Protestant and Orthodox boards and agencies cooperated in this program.

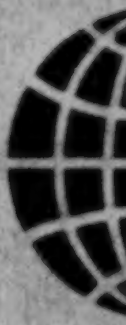
Often there is cross-pollination of Christian Work through Nationals themselves. Mr. K. L. Nasir, principal of the United Theological Seminary in Gujranwala, West Pakistan, visited Literacy House in Egypt. While there he accompanied a literacy team into a village and saw how people were taught to read and how, as a result of reading, they acquired new skills. As a result, the Christian leaders in Pakistan invited the Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature of the Division of Foreign Missions to set up a training center. Through the Committee, the Reformed Church in America responded with a professionally trained director, even though it has no work in Pakistan.

Four years ago a group of Okinawans emigrated to Bolivia to cut farms and villages from the jungle and to begin a new life. The Methodist Church of Bolivia sought a pastor for the group and a volunteer from the United Church of Japan responded. Organizations in the United States and Switzerland underwrote transportation and salary costs and soon a fledgling congregation was on its way. This young enterprise has now appointed one of its own members to begin a mission among a second group of Okinawans that have just arrived in Bolivia.

Not too long ago, a semi-literate Indian in Ecuador exchanged two bottles of whiskey for a book to read. The book turned out to be the Bible.

luther a. gotwald, executive secretary
irene a. jones, associate executive secretary
elsie c. pickhard, secretary for interpretation
selma m. femrite, assistant treasurer

WORLD DAY OF PRAYER



FOR GOD SO LOVED THE WORLD...

Time:

Place:

MARCH 9, 1962

[redacted]

[redacted]

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Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

BDM

World Day of Prayer, March 9, 1962

sponsored by General Department of UNITED CHURCH WOMEN
of the National Council of the Churches of Christ
475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y. • Riverside 9-2200

To Local Leaders Planning for World Day of Prayer 1962

Dear Friends:

The World Day of Prayer 1962 offers another opportunity to release the power of God through united prayer, to heal tensions that divide, to remind us of Christ's will "that all may be one."

The 75th Anniversary in 1961 gave compulsion for growth in observances, attendance, and offerings--even more in the spirit of oneness in Christ. We must not be too proud, for it was God who gave results to our work; but neither can we deny them. We can continue to grow only as we make use of the experience of the Anniversary in which so many of you shared. With this Call goes gratitude for your devotion. May all your planning for 1962 match the magnificent outpouring of prayer and gifts made on the 75th.

All services, especially those held for the first time last year, will need strengthening. Ways must be found to deepen prayer life and commitment. The materials listed on the reverse side should help. Order a packet early, study the new Leaders' Guide. Note its suggestion about local Prayer Fellowships. The 75th Anniversary proved them a dynamic force in preparation for the Day and its resulting action.

Nearly three million Calls were distributed last year. Ordered in large quantity they can reach widely into your community. The Service, written by the women of Uruguay, with its theme, "For God so loved the world...," can build a oneness of spirit, if provided for every worshiper. The Children's Service is increasing in appeal as youth find this an exciting world fellowship.

From across the nation comes appreciation for the individual offering envelopes, available last year for the first time. Furnish them to every woman in every church, remembering that the offering is one expression of hearts moved by prayer. In the Guide is an outline of the wide service which the offering does on your behalf.

This is a call upon each of you to deal faithfully not only with organization but with the fullness of prayer for all who are preparing for and will share in World Day of Prayer 1962, everywhere in this whole world, which is His. The test of our oneness will be there!

Most sincerely yours,

Inez M. Moser

Mrs. Paul Moser, National Chairman
World Day of Prayer Committee

World Day of Prayer Friday, March 9, 1962

P & D, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., P.O. Box 323, Cathedral Station, New York 25, N. Y.

ORDER FORM

Material produced by the General Department of United Church Women
Order from your denominational bookstore or from the Office of P & D, NCC.

Basic Packet containing all the necessary planning and resource materials plus samples of materials you will want to order in quantity: One each of the items starred below:

QUANTITY		PRICE	FOB
	One or two packets	EA. 50¢	
	Three or more packets to one address	EA. 40¢	
	*Worship service for adults ($4.50 per 100)	EA. 5¢	
	*The Call ($3.00 per 1,000) orders filled in hundred and thousand lots only	FOR 100 35¢	
	*Children's Service ($4.00 per 100)	EA. 5¢	
	*Leaders' Guide, with speakers' information	EA. 15¢	
	*Poster	EA. 15¢	
	*Report blank and offering envelope for national office, report blank for state chairman	FREE	
	*Individual offering envelope	60¢ PER 100 $4.25 PER 1,000	
	"There Came a Woman . . . " by Dr. J. Carter Swaim	EA. 50¢	
	*Dramatic presentation, "In Unbroken Line." 4 copies recommended	EA. 25¢	
	Filmstrip, tells of united work being done by church women locally, nationally, and around the world. Color, 75 frames, 33⅓ record and script. For sale only. Available October 1, 1961	EA. $8	
	World Day of Prayer map, 5 colors, 17″ x 22″	EA. 25¢	
	Suggested newspaper story	EA. 15¢	
	Glossy print of poster for use with suggested newspaper story	EA. 25¢	
	Mat of poster for use with suggested newspaper story (with proof)	EA. 25¢	
	Radio and TV program script, 6 pp.	EA. 25¢	
	Radio and TV spot announcements, 3 pp.	EA. 20¢	
	Emblem seals, sheet of 35 (sold only in sheets). 10 or more sheets, 15¢ per sheet	EA. 20¢	

IMPORTANT: Our SHIPPING DEADLINE is FEBRUARY 23, 1962. No material is shipped after that date. Please order early.

Refunds cannot be made on materials sent as ordered. Please make out order carefully.

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Office of P & D National Council of Churches
537 W. 120th St., New York 27, N. Y.

POSTMASTER: Contents: Merchandise. This parcel may be opened for postal inspection if necessary. Return postage guaranteed.

Remittance enclosed: $

Order Coupon

Office of P & D, National Council of Churches

P.O. Box 323, Cathedral Station, New York 25, N. Y.

Please send me the items checked.

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Printed in U.S.A.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Reading and studying, the Indian became convinced of the truth of the Bible's message and began telling his friends. They, too, were moved by Christ's life and teachings. This lay movement began to grow, augmented by others seeking a more meaningful faith. Now four villages have a regular schedule and services and are visited weekly by a Protestant minister.

When President Kennedy's administration began to plan its Peace Corps, administrators drew heavily on the experience of churches which for a long time have been quietly following their own peace plans overseas. The pioneering of missionaries in technical assistance began more than 150 years ago and their work has inspired the massive programs of social welfare undertaken by governments in recent times. There is a piece adapted from an article by John Taylor describing some of the Peace Corps projects.

These are only a few incidents from the 64-page Christian Mission Digest. It is a book sardined with stories about people and their problems and their triumphs and the help and inspiration they received from people they have never seen, people from the United States and Canada and Europe whose charity makes possible the personnel and the projects by which these people can lift themselves from their foxholes of destitution into the sunshine of hope and reasonable expectation for a life better than any they have known.

For your use, we have inclosed an order blank.

Sincerely

Richard H. Gray SK

Richard H. Gray
Assistant to the
Secretary for Interpretation

Division of Foreign Missions, NCCC
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y. Attn: Miss Elsie C. Pickhard

Please send me the Christian Mission Digest as follows:

1 - 9 copies, postpaid	____	@ $0.35
10 - 4,999 copies, carriage extra	____	@ $0.21
5,000 and more copies, carriage extra	____	@ $0.15

Date _____ Signed _____

____ Please place my name on your Standing Order list to receive future issues as they are published.

Address _____

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follow-up sent 7-13-61

STATE PRESIDENTS - UNITED CHURCH WOMEN

4-18-61

Alabama	Mrs. R. D. Elly, 1509 29th Street, West, Birmingham 8
Arkansas	Mrs. Roger Cornelison, 504 West F Street, North Little Rock
Florida	Mrs. Alfred Lexow, 610 N. 19th Avenue, Hollywood Term expired - Thrasher
Georgia	Mrs. Ben Milner, 58 Sheridan Drive, Atlanta 5
Kentucky	~~Mrs. J. D. Erskine, 141 St. Mildred's Court, Danville~~ Mrs. A. C. Johnson 766 Covington Ave, BWG
Louisiana	Mrs. Jimmie Simmons, 659 McCormick Street, Shreveport
Mississippi	Mrs. S. C. Meisberg, 1422 Lyncrest Avenue, Jackson Alford substitute
North Carolina	Mrs. Harold J. Dudley, 2726 Anderson Drive, Raleigh
South Carolina	Mrs. Harold L. Timmerman, 1002 Fairfield Ave., North Augusta
Tennessee	Mrs. H. Olin Troy, 3708 Mayfield Drive, Knoxville 18
Texas	Mrs. Manfred Gerhardt, 1903 Kenilworth, San Antonio
Virgina	Mrs. Carl L. Moser, Route #2, Box 46-3, Manassas
National Dir.	~~Mrs. W. Murdoch MacLeod, 475 Riverside Drive, NY 27,~~
Florida	Mrs. W. W. Thrasher - 10 S.W. 12th Street, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

STATE CHAIRMEN OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS - UNITED CHURCH WOMEN

4-18-61

Alabama	Mrs. A. J. Melemore, 242 Felder Avenue, Montgomery
Arkansas	Mrs. J.W. Rainwater, 433 Adams, Fayetteville
Georgia	Mrs. C. M. Weston, 2052 Edinburgh Terrace, Atlanta yes
Florida	~~Mrs. O. H. Owens, 492 N.E. 160 Street, Miami~~ Out due to illness
Kentucky	Miss Mary Lena Wisehart, 25 West Villa Place, Fort Thomas
Louisiana	Mrs. R. R. Eckart, 4547 Mark Twain Drive, New Orleans 22
Mississippi	Mrs. J. W. Patrick, Jr., Brandon no ans -
North Carolina	Mrs. Ruth Wilson, 1119 Harvey Street, Raleigh
South Carolina	Mrs. L. C. M. Smythe, 10 Bedons Alley, Charleston
Tennessee	Mrs. Ben Russell, 624 Tusculum Road, Greeneville
Texas	Mrs. Warren E. Besselieu, 1527 Lullwood, San Antonio Mrs. R.G Hunt 7/22
Virginia	Miss Charlotte Crawley, 715 Furnace Rd, Harrisonburg, Va - Sub. 7/17 ~~Mrs. Daniel E. Leatherman, 609 Tennyson Avenue, Winchester~~
Sub. for National Dir.	Mrs. David D. Baker, Program Co-ordinator, 475 Riverside, N.Y. 27
Florida	Mrs. David Anderson - 5000-14Ave., N., St. Petersburg, Fla.

G.B.C. on — 4-18-61 to firm checked

STATE CHAIRMEN OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

ALABAMA	Mrs. A. J. McLemore, 242 Felder Ave., Montgomery
ALASKA	Mrs. Cap't Leslie Hood, Box 2171, Juneau
ARIZONA	Miss Alberta O'Kane, 42 (R) E. 2nd Ave., Mesa
ARKANSAS	Mrs. J. W. Rainwater, 433 Adams, Fayetteville D
N. CALIF. & N. NEV	Mrs. Stephen Peabody, 3677 Sarn Hill Blvd., Redwood, Calif.
S. CALIF. & S. NEV	Mrs. H. Fred Russell, 2900 DeForest Ave., Long Beach 6, Calif.
COLORADO	Mrs. Howard Bine, 212 Lewis St., Castle Rock
CONNECTICUT	Mrs. Chester Bartram, 170 Hoffman St., Torrington
DELAWARE	Mrs. John Longbotham, Thompsonville Rd., Milford
DIST. OF COLUMBIA	Mrs. Charles Lockwood, 4501 Dexter St., N. W., Washington 7
FLORIDA	Mrs. C. H. Owens, 492 N. E. 160th St., Miami
GEORGIA	no ~~Mrs. C. M.~~ Weston, 2052 Edinburgh Terrace, Atlanta, Ga.
HAWAII	Mrs. Henry Caldwell, 2650 Pacific Heights Rd., Honolulu 13
IDAHO	Mrs. Roy Locey, Jr., Weiser
ILLINOIS	Mrs. William Welsh, 1351 N. Hudson St., Chicago 14
INDIANA	Mrs. Howard C. Washburn, Kenthland, Indiana
IOWA	Mrs. D. C. Mitchell, Atlantic
KANSAS	Mrs. Leslie King, 3118 Aloma, Wichita
KENTUCKY	Miss Mary Lena Wisehart, 25 West Villa Place, Fort Thomas
LOUISIANA	Mrs. R. R. Eckart, 4547 Mark Twain Drive, New Orleans 22
MAINE	Mrs. Stanley B. Hyde, 67 Haven Road, S. Portland
MARYLAND	Mrs. D. E. Williams, Jr., E. Winchester Rd., Annapolis
MASSACHUSETTS	Mrs. Stanley M. Partridge, 40 Warwick Rd., Melrose 76
MICHIGAN	Mrs. Donald Tracy, 30480 Oakleaf Lane, Birmingham
MINNESOTA	Mrs. Lloyd Hatch, 1131 Scheffer St., St. Paul 16
MISSISSIPPI	Mrs. J. W. Patrick, Jr., Brandon
MISSOURI	Mrs. Frederick H. Olert, 1237 W. 69th Terrace, Kansas City
MONTANA	Mrs. H. M. Gronhovd, Canyon Ferry
NEBRASKA	Mrs. Monroe Usher, 1749 Euclid St., Lincoln
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Mrs. Leland M. Partridge, 41 Ray St., Manchester
NEW JERSEY	Mrs. Harry W. Foot, 6 Ridgeway Ave., West Orange
NEW MEXICO	Mrs. Sallie Tomlin, Rt. 2, Box 37, Las Cruces
NEW YORK	Mrs. Carlyle Adams, 33 Broadway, Rensselaer
NORTH CAROLINA	Mrs. Ruth Wilson, 1119 Harvey St., Raleigh (a)
NORTH DAKOTA	Mrs. J. W. Schwager, Davenport
OHIO	Mrs. Charles F. DeLoache, 159 Sherbourne Dr., Columbus 19
OKLAHOMA	Mrs. A. G. Clifton, 3829 N. W. 44. Oklahoma City
~~XXXXXXXXXXX~~ OREGON	Mrs. Gerald R. Wood, 126 Alberta St., N. E., Portland 11
PENNSYLVANIA	Mrs. Jo Hays, 441 W. Fairmount Ave., State College
RHODE ISLAND	Mrs. P. E. Monroe, 240 Blackstone Blvd., Providence 6
SOUTH CAROLINA	Mrs. L. C. M. Smythe, 10 Bedons Alley, Charleston
SOUTH DAKOTA	Miss Margery Hibbard, 208 N. Center St., Flandreau
TENNESSEE	Mrs. Ben Russell, 624 Tusculum Road, Greeneville, Tennessee
TEXAS	Mrs. Warren E. Besselieu, 1527 Lullwood, San Antonio
UTAH	Mrs. Arnold Hultquist, 1666 Garfield Ave., Salt LakeCity
VERMONT	Mrs. Robert Kynoch, 14 Ridge St., Montpelier
VIRGINIA	Mrs. Daniel Leatherman, 609 Tennyson Ave., Winchester
WASHINGTON & N. IDAHO	Mrs. Donald Fife, 1301 Maple, Pullman. Wash.
WEST VIRGINIA	Mrs. H. S. Hutzell, 13 Birch Ave., Wheeling
WISCONSIN	Mrs. Victor Maves, R. R. 2, Box 378, Thiensville
WYOMING	Mrs. R. Lloyd Davis, 317 North Main St., Sheridan

announcement mailed 4-18-61 F.O.C.
a few checked

STATE PRESIDENTS - UNITED CHURCH WOMEN

Alabama	Mrs. R. D. Elly, 1509 29th Street, West, Birmingham 8 (a)
Alaska	Mrs. Frank Hall, 530 Park Street, Juneau (Acting)
Arizona	Mrs. Harold Kolter, 5342 East Waverly, Tucson
Arkansas	Mrs. Roger Cornelison, 504 West F Street, North Little Rock
N.Cal. & N.Nevada	Mrs. W. A. Root, 254 St. James Drive, Piedmont 11
S.Cal. & S.Nevada	Mrs. Troy E. Simmons, 1220 Bostonia St., El Cajon
Colorado	Mrs. Carrie M. Howland, 520 West 19th, Pueblo
Connecticut	Miss Ethel Norton, 309 S. Main Street, Wallingford
Delaware	Mrs. Park Huntington, 715 West 37th Street, Wilmington
Dist.of Columbia*	Mrs. J. Edward Kidder, 1607 Elson Street, Hyattsville, Maryland
Florida	Mrs. Alfred Lexow, 610 N. 19th Avenue, Hollywood
Georgia	Mrs. Ben Milner, 58 Sheridan Drive, Atlanta 5
Hawaii	Mrs. Henry Caldwell, 2650 Pacific Heights Road, Honolulu 13(Actg)
Idaho	Mrs. A. L. Ayers, 669 Safstrom Drive, Idaho Falls
Illinois	Mrs. Charles MacDonald, 2736 Hartzell St., Evanston
Indiana	Miss Sara Jo Schilling, 1124 N. Salisbury St., West Lafayette
Iowa	Mrs. Herbert Arthur, 1219 Ninth Street, Ames
Kansas	Mrs. Joe Ostenberg, 521 S. Hartup, McPherson,
Kentucky	Mrs. J. D. Erskine, 141 St. Mildred's Court, Danville
Louisiana	Mrs. Jimmie Simmons, 659 McCormick St., Shreveport,
Maine	Mrs. Robert E. Lindquist, 11 Fern Avenue, Falmouth
Maryland	Mrs. Robert W. Young, 30 Virginia Avenue, Cumberland
Massachusetts	Mrs. Earl E. Bolton, 21 Hawthorne Avenue, Arlington 74
Michigan	Mrs. Jesse Jai McNeil, Rural Route #2, Mendon
Minnesota	Mrs. Wright W. Brooks, 5056 Garfield Avenue South, Minneapolis
Mississippi	Mrs. S. C. Meisberg, 1422 Lyncrest Ave., Jackson,
Missouri	Mrs. Harold G. Freund, State Hospital #1, Fulton
Montana	Mrs. H. E. Gerke, 1032 North 26th Street, Billings
Nebraska	Mrs. Herman Marts, 619 North 13th, Nebraska City
New Hampshire	Mrs. G. R. Johnson, 128 Madbury Road, Durham
New Jersey	Mrs. Kenneth C. Gulick, 319 Beech Street, Teaneck
New Mexico	Mrs. Lee Corn, 100 South Washington, Roswell
New York	Mrs. H. E. Woolever, 740 Euclid Avenue, Syracuse 10
North Carolina	Mrs. Harold J. Dudley, 2726 Anderson Drive, Raleigh
North Dakota	Mrs. Emil Glaser, 1337 - 6th Avenue South, Fargo
Ohio	Mrs. W. Verne Buchanan, Box 72, New Philadelphia,
Oklahoma	Mrs. Jack Charvat, 4120 East 42nd Street, Tulsa
Oregon	Mrs. Carroll C. Roberts, 2355 Wilson Street, Eugene
Pennsylvania	Mrs. J. Lloyd Snyder, 1998 Harold Avenue, Allentown
Rhode Island	Mrs. Wm. Ogden McCagg, 77 Barnes Street, Providence 6
South Carolina	Mrs. Harold L. Timmerman, 1002 Fairfield Ave., North Augusta
South Dakota	Mrs. James Clapp, Box 827, Rapid City,
Tennessee	Mrs. H. Olin Troy, 3708 Mayfield Drive, Knoxville 18
Texas	Mrs. Manfred Gerhardt, 1903 Kenilworth, San Antonio
Utah	Mrs. Roy E. Cabell, 1338 Kensington Ave., Salt Lake City 5
Vermont	Mrs. Richard M. McNeer, 42 Mountain View, Montpelier
Virginia	Mrs. Carl L. Moser, Route #2, Box 46-3, Manassas
Washington	Mrs. Hugo Ringstrom, 7020 18 N.E., Seattle 15
West Virginia	Mrs. Henry S. Barth, 1454 National Rd., Pleasant Valley,Wheeling
Wisconsin	Mrs. Aaron Klug, N. 90 W. 16819 Roosevelt Dr., Menomonee Falls
Wyoming	Mrs. M. M. Hise, 599 Marion Street, Sheridan

*National Capital Area

United Church Women
Fellowship of the Concerned
(1961)

French

5507-33rd St. N.W.
Washington 15, D.C.
April 24, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilley,

I am here in Washington for a few weeks nursing my father who has been quite ill. I'm thankful to say that at present he is much improved.

You may be sure that I have marked the dates for the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned, and am surely looking forward to being part of it.

It will be my privilege to do any thing that you think I can to help with the meeting.

I intend to get in touch with Mrs. Oliver while I am here in Washington. I enjoyed so much meeting her in Atlanta last fall.

Love and heartfelt support to you always in the tremendous work you are doing!

Sincerely yours,

Jane Schutt

mrs schutt

accept

Box 243
Blue Ridge Summit
Pennsylvania

August 8, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Missrouse address

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

This is in answer to your letter of July 28th inviting me to be a member of the round table discussion on November 6th. I appreciate very much being asked to participate in this group and shall plan to be in Atlanta on Sunday, November 5th, to take part in the planning session.

I have spent the summer here in Pennsylvania with my father at his summer home. I expect to be back in Jackson by September 8th. I do not have a copy of the articles from The Living Church with me; but I will send them to you when I return to Jackson.

While I am grateful for the opportunity for helping with the workshop, I cannot help feeling that there are others who

have done much more than I, and are better qualified to serve. I have wondered whether or not the Rev. Murray Cox of Gulfport, the chairman of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights, has ever been a member of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

You probably know that he is a retired Methodist minister and has devoted himself these past two years (or more) almost entirely to the attainment of those things for which the Council exists. He has been a great help and inspiration to me, and has had a great deal of "on-the-spot" experience with the various situations on the Coast.

Thank you for inviting me to assist with the workshops. I shall consider it a privilege, and will give my best effort to it.

Sincerely yours,

Jane Schutt (Mrs. W. D.)
955 Pecan Boulevard
Jackson 3, Mississippi

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING * UNITED CHURCHWOMEN OF KENTUCKY

May 11, 12-1961

Miss Mary Lena Wisehart
25 West Villa Place
Fort Thomas, Kentucky

CENTENARY METHODIST CHURCH
South Third St
Danville, Ky

Registration Form

Name_____ Address_____

Denomination_____ Local Council_____

Office held in Council -Local, State, National_____

Transportation Car____ Bus_____ Train_____ Plane____ Time of Arrival_____

Do you wish to be met?_____ Do you wish overnight hospitality?_____

Do you wish reservation for Dinner ($1.75)_____
" " " " " Breakfast (75¢)_____
" " " " " Friday lunch ($1.25)_____

Registration fee of $1.00 will be paid on arrival at Registration Desk.

Please fill in and mail promptly to: Mrs. Lewis N. Neale, Chairman Registration
443 West Broadway
Danville, Kentucky (Deadline May 9th)

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

United Church Women of Kentucky

Miss Mary Lena Wisehart
25 West Villa Place
Fort Thomas, Kentucky

(a)

May 2-1961.

Dear Mrs Tilly

Received your letter of April 17- with dates of Annual Sunset Week Workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned. Shall place the dates in my red book -

I wonder if you have any extra copies of "Civil Disobedience". I am gathering materials together for our Annual meeting of United Church Women of Kentucky. We are having three breakfast groups to have discussions on each part of unk. Which I am looking forward to -

Always

Mary Lena.

Mrs. Daniel E. Leatherman
609 Tennyson Avenue
Winchester, Virginia

UCW

Refusal

June 9, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I regret that a fractured hip will make it impossible for me to attend the workshop in Atlanta on Nov. 6 + 7th. I shall miss being there as I found the meeting last year a wonderful experience.

I am at a loss when it comes to suggesting a theme but it surely should be something suggesting ways

and means of solving our race problem, of trying to make segregationists realize that the negro citizen is not, in the eyes of God, a second rate citizen and that people who are truly Christian surely should see him as a brother and that the color of his skin should make no difference.

I have rambled on rather incoherently but I feel this this thing so deeply.

I trust you will have a fine workshop and you will be in my thoughts and prayers.

Sincerely,

Ruth J. Leatherman

United Church Women of Texas

6/10/61

a

Dear Miss Tilly:

Your letter received and I hope very much to be with you on November 6th and 7th,1961 in Atlanta.

Do you suppose it would be possible for me to get my transportation in advance like I did last time. I just do not have money to make the trip.

I realize that this is a great favor to ask, so please do not hesitate to say it will not be possible, if it is going to work a hardship anywhere.

My best personal wishes to you,

Answered 6/21/61

Sincerely,

Mrs. Warren Bessellieu

Mrs.Warren Bessellieu
Chairman Christian Social Relations
United Church Women of Texas

Regarding the thame , I wonder if we could hear of the accomplishments made by our negro friends in the world-- I believe this would be of great benefit to all .

a

610 N. 19th Ave.
Hollywood, Fla.
June 12, 1961
UCW

Dear Mrs. Tilly

I will be pleased to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned Nov. 6 and 7. Thank you for inviting me.

A timely theme I would like to have discussed is the integration of churches on the local level with emphasis on specific ways in which concerned individuals can act.

The responsibility of the press is a continuing interest which I feel merits discussion, also

Sincerely
Genevieve Lefow

United Church Women of Louisiana

Shreveport, Louisiana
June 13, 1961

(a)

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I was so glad to have your second letter reminding me that the time has come to make the decision concerning the meeting to be held in Atlanta at Clark College November 6-7.

To answer your questions- 1- I will attend but my time and funds are budgeted and will have to fly. I am not sure if the organizations' expense of travel includes air travel. I hesitate to ask this but it is necessary that I know. Written re plan okay 6/21/61

Question #2- "Thy Kingdom Come." "Christian Unity- The Salvation of the World." I have just assumed the post of president of United Church Women of Louisiana and am not equipped with background knowledge of the work this particular group has been doing, however I have known of this work for years and am convinced its a great undertaking.

Blessings on you and your work in HIS name.

Sincerely,
Ruby Simmons
Mrs. Jimmie Simmons

The Virginia Council of United Church Women

A Department of The Virginia Council of Churches

MRS. CARL L. MOSER, *President*
Route 2, Box 46-3
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

June 16, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tiiley:

I intend to attend the Workshop of the Concerned in Atlanta, Clark College, November 6 and 7.

I do not know that I have a theme to suggest, but I would hope that we would discuss ways of making continued progress, withour loosing any of the ground we have gained.

The Cjristian Socila Relations chairman fo our Virginia Council of United Church Women, has had seious surgery and will not be able to travel by November. I have written and asked her to see if another member of her committee could attend and if so to contact you to see if it would be pemissable to send a substitute. You will probably be hearing from Mrs. Leatherman but wanted you to know what action I have taken.

Yours truly,

(a)

Constance H Moser

Constance H. Moser

Will accept

accept

June 23,1961

Dear Mrs.Tilly: (a) UCW

Thanks for the invitation to the South wide Workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned,November 6-7,1961.I am putting that date down in my calendar. I hope to be there.In the meantime I am sure I shall be receiving additional information regarding it.

Since I have not attended this particular group before I know nothing of your plans for making hotel reservations etc.Whether you do it for everyone or we do it ourselves and such matters as that.

I shall look forward to being there and to seeing you again.Sincerely,

Ruth S. Johnson

Mrs.A.C.Johnson
766 Covington Ave.
Bowling Green,Ky.

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA

a

1002 Fairfield Avenue
North Augusta, S. C.
June 25, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Receipt

My long delay in replying to your last letter has been due to assorted reasons, including Bible School, Girl Scout Day Camp, Boy Scout Camp, Red Cross swimming lessons, a seriously ill mother-in-law in Greenwood, S. C. (the object of frequent visits for the past three weeks) and--this past week--a sick husband, son and daughter!!

I am planning to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned at Clark College on November 6 and 7, and am looking forward to it.

In spite of some serious thought, I am afraid I have not been able to come up with a suggested THEME, but I certainly think ALL of us need all the help we can get in thinking and living right in times like these.

Sincerely yours,

Betty Murph Timmerman

Mrs. Harold Lee Timmerman, President
United Church Women of South Carolina

I am sorry my typewriter has just started acting up - it either does not print a t at all or it plops down an unwanted v simultaneously with the t!! My apologies

ucw

a

MRS. DAVID M. ANDERSON
5000 - 14TH AVENUE NORTH
ST. PETERSBURG 10, FLORIDA

July 1, 1961.

accept

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your letter of June 8th, which I have been slow about acknowledging.

I shall be very glad indeed to attend the Workshop in Atlanta in November, for I know I shall find it of great value.

I am diffident about suggesting a theme, not ever having been at any workshops of the Fellowship of the Concerned, and also knowing that the whole question of human relations in the South has many facets.

As regards the Florida Workshop, I am writing this week to the denominational presidents, asking for any information they may have about coming meetings, conferences, etc. which they may be having early in 1962.

I have also sent a note to Lake Byrd Lodge, asking about dates. I understand that they are booked up long ahead. Possibly I had better check also with Lake Placid (United Presbyterian U.S.A.) and Silver Springs (Disciples). When I have more information, I shall let you know.

I shall try very hard to interest our Negro, Jewish, Unitarian and other friends in the workshop, and have good friends among all of them who will give us their support, I am sure.

I am looking forward very much to the General assembly of the UCM in Miami, and hope to have the privilege of talking with you there. However the sooner the date and place of the workshop in Florida can be set up, the sooner we can start publicizing it and arousing interest in it.

As soon as I have heard from the denominations and the church camps, I shall let you know, and thank you for giving me the privilege of attending the worksh op in November.

Sincerely yours,

Helen Anderson

July 5, 1961

Mrs. C. C. Alford
632 Chickasaw Avenue
Jackson 6, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Alford:

Thank you very much for your letter. We find, however, Mrs. J. W. Patrick, Jr. of Brandon, Mississippi has been invited but has not replied.

As you suggest, we are sending an invitation to Mrs. L. A. Watkins. Mrs. Schutt will be one of the leaders of a Workshop group.

Please talk to Mrs. Watkins for us. Let her know more about the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Again thanking you, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

632 Chickasaw Ave.
Jackson 6, Mississippi
July 3, 1961

7/5

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
SRC, 5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

My dear friend:

I am in receipt of your kind invitation to be with you for the workshop of The Fellowship of The Concerned in Nov. I hasten to assure that I would like nothing better as I am still recalling most vividly the one I attended so long ago when Mrs. Roosevelt was present and spoke so forcefully to us.

However I do feel that, since I have been at one of these work shops and already have the vision of the need for greater and better understanding where the races are concerned, it would be far better if we could enlist the interest of some others of our women this time than for me to go.

I regret that our new president of UCWM, Mrs. Meisburg, feels she cannot attend. But I did suggest to her that she send in the name of our chairman of Christian Social Relations who is the most logical person and in this instance, the very one who should attend. Then if she cannot go, I believe the local president of the JCCW might be interested or her local chairman of CSR would also.

This may be entirely out of my province but I am one of these who usually sticks her neck out and as yet has not had it chopped off so will continue to do so in the interest of this great work in which my heart and soul are literally buried--too deep I fear some times!

Now if neither of these women can attend at the time set, let me know and I feel sure that I'llbe able to make it as my time is my own since my husband's death two years ago so I can pretty well do what I want to when I want to do it.

Mrs. J. W. Patrick, Jr., Brandon, Miss. has been the chairman of CSS in the Methodist district here so tho new in UCW work, has been exposed to this sort of work and I do believe would ~~make~~ be a good choice.

Mrs. L. A. Watkins, also a Methodist, has been president of the JCCW for the past two years and is most able. Her address is 955 Stuart St., Jackson. I cannot sing Blanche's praises enough as she is one fine Christian woman and a "wheel horse" truly. She travels a lot and can usually work in meetings of UCW in her rounds.

Now again let me thank you for asking me to the meeting and assuring you of my interest and prayers and attendance if needed.

Most sincerely,

Helene G. Alford
(Mrs. E. E.)

June 22, 1961

Mrs. C. C. Alford
623 Chicksaw Avenue
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Alford:

Mrs. Meisberg, Mississippi President of the United Church Women, finds it impossible to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, November 6 and 7. She has suggested that you be invited to represent her.

Mrs. Schutt will be with us and share in the Workshop. We would like very much to have you with us.

Sincerely yours,

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

June 22, 1961

Mrs. Stephen C. Meisberg
1422 Lynerest Avenue
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Meisberg:

We regret that you will not be able to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, November 6 and 7.

We appreciate your suggestion that we invite Mrs. C. Alford and we have forwarded her an invitation. Mrs. Schutt has accepted a place as a Workshop Group Leader.

If you find later that you can come, let us know. Four from Mississippi will not be too many.

Sincerely,

MET/jf

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MRS. STEPHEN C. MEISBURG
1422 LYNCREST AVENUE
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

6/9/61

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I'm afraid it will be impossible for me to attend the South-wide workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, Nov. 6-7. It is very tempting, particularly since my expenses would be paid.

I hope our state can be represented. May I suggest Mrs. C. C. Aegerd a long time worker with United Church women, 623 Chickasaw Ave. Jackson, Miss. or Mrs. Wallis J. Schell, 955-Pecan Blvd., Jackson, Miss., immediate past Pres. of United Church women in Miss.

As for topics I would like to suggest the following:
"What is Liberty? "Freedom vs License"
"Group Responsibility vs Individual Responsibility"
"Can force create or substitute for Love and Understanding"?

Most Sincerely,
Mrs. S. C. Meisburg
(Pres. United Church Women of Miss.)

The Virginia Council of United Church Women

A Department of The Virginia Council of Churches

MRS. CARL L. MOSER, *President*
Route 2, Box 46-3
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

July 10, 1961

My dear Mrs. Tilley:

I have been in correspondence with Mrs. Leatherman , our state chairman of Social Relations, regarding a representative from her committee attending you Workshop for the Concerned in November in Atlanta, if acceptable by you. 7/17 ans

We have contacted Miss Charlotte Crawley
715 Furnace Rd.
Harrisonburg, Va.

She has accepted and is most anxious to attend if it can be arranged. I do not know if you allow substitutions, but she would have much to contribute to the meeting. She is on our sub-committee on Institutional Ministry and the Problems of the Aging and attended the White House Conference as a representative of the National U.C.W. She is 1st vice-president of our state U. C. W. She is district supervisor of Welfare in Shenandoah County, Va. As a professional person she will have to use annual leave to attend the conference. Therefore we would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience, whether or not she may be included in the Conference, so that she can arrange for this leave.

Yours truly Constance H Moser
Constance H. Moser

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN
OF TEXAS

July 14,1961

Dear Miss Tilly:

I want to come to the conference of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta so very much this coming November. However, since I am going out of office as Christian Social Relations Chairman for UCW of Texas, I wonder if it wouldn't be of greater advantage for all of us, if I would let the incoming new chairman go in my place.

She will take office the first of the year 1962 and her name is Mrs. R. G. Hunt, 1000 Linda Lou, San Antonio Texas. She has ac cepted the job for the coming year. We also have a new Race Relations/State chairman who functions under Mrs. Hunt. Mrs L. B. Horn, 140 Primrose, San Antonio. Both of these women would love to come, and will come if they receive invitaxtinns.

(a)

I am going to a book review Sunday afternonn as a guest of the National Conncil of NEegro Women here in San Antonio.

This apast spring the CSR department of UCW of Texas and the YWCA conducted aworkshop in Bishop College in Marshall,Texas. It was quite an experience for all of us and I believe much came of it. I hear from the girls who were in my workshops often. Bishop College is a negro co-ed college.

I just make the suggestion about the new people coming into the work of CSR in the State, for your consideration. I would love to hear from you as to whether you thinnk this would be a good idea or not.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. Warren Bezanson

Chairman Christian Social Relations
United Church Women of Texas

President
U. C. W.
Ala

1509 29th St. W.
Birmingham 8, Ala.
July 24, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Accept

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Sorry, I did not get to answer your letter before — but I will be attending the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on Nov. 6 & 7th at Clark College in Atlanta.

Thank you for the invitation — I hope instructions for getting to Clark College will be forthcoming as I do not know where it is.

Hope to see you in November.

Sincerely
Dorothy S. Elly
(Mrs. Robert D.)

United Church Women of Louisiana

4547 Mark Twain Drive
New Orleans 26 La
July 25, 1961

(a)

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Today, at a luncheon meeting of the Orleans Parish School Board and about 12 citizens of New Orleans we were attempting to accomplish something positive toward the peaceful opening of schools in September.

Three main thrusts need to be made:

1. on public opinion, in order to promote public acceptance, so that the desegregated schools will not be totally boycotted.

2. toward interim financing. The School Board has money only to operate the schools through October 1st. Ordinarily money is borrowed from banks locally and repaid when the taxes come in. However the State Tax Board is controlled by Governor Davis; and has already retaliated against a bank which acted as a friend to the board. No local New Orleans or State Bank will jeopardize themselves to lend the School Board money. The money must come from outside Louisiana. The collateral is excellent and there would be no risk ~~against~~ for someone outside our "Fascist" state. Twelve million dollars is needed on a short term basis, to be paid back with interest. They wondered if there was some foundation who would consider such a loan? Not having any millionaire friends in Chicago or New York, I wasn't much help. But I did think I would at least mention it to you, and you could pass on this information concerning our need ~~to~~ anyone who might know someone who might help.

3. toward converting the governor who is unwaveringly standing for segregation, even to the point of sacrificing the public school system. Overwhelming public

opinion is the only thing that will change his action. With him, it is a religion. And the public opinion state-wide is still firmly segregation-at-all-costs.

The picture as it now shapes up is better than last November — but the incidents and intimidation may be just as severe. There will be 4 to 6 more schools desegregated in a "better" part of town. More pressure may be put on the Mayor and police department to provide better protection for the children going to school. Attempts will be made to get a group (sizeable) of parents to stick-together in getting their children back in school.

The telephone threats and economic reprisals cannot be eliminated, but help can be given in some measure, and it is less frightening when one doesn't stand alone.

Let me express my appreciation for being able to attend the Fellowship of the Concerned last year. It was spiritually strengthening for the days that followed, & would very much like to attend again, and do gratefully accept your invitation.

My request for information as to how to go about borrowing $1/2 million is not facetious. If you know someone to whom the School Board might appeal they would appreciate the contact. The bankers who were at the luncheon were pessimistic that such a lender could be found — but I do know that somewhere God has left a crack in the fence, and who knows what person with faith will find it.

Much love —

Edith Eckart (Mrs. R.R.)
Christian Social Relations
United Church Women of La.

United Church Women of Texas
1903 Kenilworth Blvd.
San Antonio, Texas
July 26, 1961

(9)

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

It is my intention to attend the meeting of the Southern Regional Conference in Atlanta, Ga. on Nov. 6-7.

Thank you so much for making it possible for me to be a part of this most worthwhile undertaking.

May God bless your work in the days ahead as He has in the days and years that are behind.

Do.hope that Mr. Tilly's health is much improved.

Yours in His joyous service,

Eloise M. Gerhardt

MRS. MANFRED J. GERHARDT, PRESIDENT
UNITED CHURCH WOMEN OF TEXAS

UCW

926 Linda Lou Dr.
San Antonio, Texas
August 19, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I received your invitation to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on November 6 and 7.

I shall be very happy to attend this meeting. Mrs. Bessellieu has told me how much she enjoyed and appreciated the Workshop last year. She has done a great deal in our state to better inter-racial understanding. As I take her office in the coming year I hope I shall do half as well.

Thank you for the invitation. I shall be looking forward to coming.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Robert Hunt

accept

UCW

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

UCW South

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 14, 1961

Mrs. Tilly - I have a meeting (my circle) on the 7th. I'd like to be chairman - I'd need your invited come - Sue W. Jones

Mrs. Stanley Jones
554 Lordans Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Jones:

Some weeks ago we sent you an invitation to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held at Clark College, Atlanta, on November 6th and 7th.

Because we want you to be with us, we are reminding you of the invitation and hope to receive an acceptance reply.

Your reply is important, because, if you find it impossible to be with us, someone else will be given the opportunity.

There are funds available for your travel and entertainment.

We would appreciate an early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Tilly
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

UCW

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 14, 1961

Mrs. W. B. Smith
1701 Denora Drive
Waycross, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Smith:

Some weeks ago we sent you an invitation to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held at Clark College, Atlanta, on November 6th and 7th.

Because we want you to be with us, we are reminding you of the invitation and hope to receive an acceptance reply.

Your reply is important, because, if you find it impossible to be with us, someone else will be given the opportunity.

There are funds available for your travel and entertainment.

We would appreciate an early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Tilly
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Dear Mrs Tilley:
I am sorry, but for some reason I did not receive your first invitation you sent before this one. It will be impossible for me to accept your invitation as I have a previous engagement in Kentucky.
I would love to come and, will assure I am concerned.
Hope this will not be to late for you to find some one in my place.

Sincerely
Mrs W. B. Smith

Declined

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Accept

September 14, 1961

Mrs. C. M. Lancaster
992 Cumberland Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Lancaster:

Some weeks ago we sent you an invitation to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held at Clark College, Atlanta, on November 6th and 7th.

Because we want you to be with us, we are reminding you of the invitation and hope to receive an acceptance reply.

Your reply is important, because, if you find it impossible to be with us, someone else will be given the opportunity.

There are funds available for your travel and entertainment.

We would appreciate an early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Tilly
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Thank you for the invitation and it will be my pleasure to accept.
(Martha) Mrs. C. M. Lancaster

United Church Women

HE-5-7187

Mrs. James O. Cobb
241 Brown Circle
Smyrna, Georgia

Sept. 19, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly -

It was good to see you looking your usual self at the meeting last Friday; having experience the same loss a year ago, I know full well the adjustments one has to make when left to live alone. I am so very fortunate though in having a daughter next door and a son in Hapeville with 8 grandchildren to absorb my interest.

Your note of thanks and the little booklet will always be treasured as a reminder of two wonderfully fine people, whom I have admired greatly.

As far as I know, I do expect to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on Nov. 6th, but will probably spend the night at my son's in Hapeville.

May I suggest that Mrs. Anderson, Mrs. Brooks and Mrs. Hendricks from West Hills Presbyterian Church (Negro) be invited. You probably remember Mrs. Anderson being present at Peachtree Presbyterian Church and taking part in the skit.

Yours in Christian love,

Anna Beall Cobb

Declined

10 Bedon's Alley
Charleston, S.C.

Spet. 19, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Your letter has just reached me. Thank you for your invitation to attend the South-Wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I am writing at once to tell you that I will not be able to attend the meeting, so that you can ask someone else in my place.

Yours sincerely

Mary F. Smythe

Mrs.L.C.M.Smythe

HAROLD J. DUDLEY
PRESIDENT

THE NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

MORTON R. KURTZ
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Department of United Church Women

GENERAL CHAIRMAN
MRS. HAROLD J. DUDLEY
2726 ANDERSON DRIVE
RALEIGH

FIRST VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. AUBREY MAUNEY
210 GASTON
KINGS MOUNTAIN

SECOND VICE-CHAIRMAN
MRS. DAVID LAW
713 MANLY STREET
WINSTON-SALEM

TREASURER
MRS. TAFT MORGAN
1626 GLENN ST.
CHARLOTTE

Affiliated With The Department Of United Church Women Of The National Council Of Churches

BOX 6637, COLLEGE STATION, DURHAM, N. C.

CHAIRMAN, CHRISTIAN WORLD RELATIONS
MRS. HUGH HOLCOMB
149 W. ELM
MOUNT AIRY

CHAIRMAN, CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
MISS RUTH WILSON
1119 HARVEY ST.
RALEIGH

CHAIRMAN, CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSIONS
MRS. RUFUS D. WILSON
933 S. CHURCH ST.
BURLINGTON

CHAIRMAN, PUBLIC RELATIONS
MRS. ERNEST F. DIXSON
334 LIVINGSTON RD.
CHARLOTTE

CHAIRMAN, THE CHURCH WOMAN
MRS. IRA C. SHELLEY
1339 SEMINOLE DR.
GREENSBORO

RECORDING SECRETARY
MRS. HAL FIELDS
207 E. HENDRIX
GREENSBORO

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
MRS. H. A. DAVIS
404 PERRY STREET
RALEIGH

HISTORIAN
MISS SUSIE ALLEN
924 WILLIAMSON DR.
RALEIGH

CHAIRMAN, LEADERSHIP EDUCATION
MRS. JOSEPH VINCENT
2502 W. MARKET
GREENSBORO

DISTRICT CHAIRMEN

MRS. W. T. CARPENTER, No. I
BOX 470, LENOIR

MRS. J. R. KERNODLE, No. II
2465 EDGEWOOD, BURLINGTON

MRS. B. FRANK HALL, No. III
2819 CHESTNUT, WILMINGTON

MRS. LEE BLACKWELL, No. IV
214 PINE CIRCLE, GOLDSBORO

September 19, 1961

Accept

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

Please forgive me for not sending in my acceptance to attend the South wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned in November 6th and 7th. I thought I had until I received your letter today for I have it on my calendar to attend!

Thank you for inviting me - it proved to be a most rewarding meeting to me last year and I am looking forward very much to being with you in November.

Cordially,

Dot Dudley

President of United Ch. W. of N.C.

Miss Ruth C. Wilson
1121 ~~HQ~~ Harvey Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

September 19, 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Room 201
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Attention: Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Accept

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I do plan to attend the South-wide workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6-7th. I consider this a privilege I don't want to miss and I appreciate the invitation very much.

Yours very truly,

Ruth C. Wilson

United Church Women of Arkansas

1216 N. 8th.
Ft. Smith, Ark.
Sept. 20, 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

accept

Dear Mrs. Tilley

In reply to your letter, Sept. 15, 1961 - thank you very much for the invitation to attend the Workshop and I am happy to accept.

Last year's experience was so beneficial. "Knowing the facts" brought added Understanding and concern for our friends at the Workshop.

Do hope you and yours are fine. Do take care, now, won't you? Just before the Workshop last year you had tripped — and your presence there bespoke of your great courage! May the Lord bless you in your efforts.

Thank you again for the opportunity to attend. I hope to arrive there on Nov. 5.

Sincerely,
Willie Lee Washington (Mrs. E. W.)

MRS. ROBERT R. ECKART
4547 MARK TWAIN DRIVE
NEW ORLEANS 26, LA.

Sept. 26, 1961

Accept

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

It is with gratitude and keen anticipation that I accept your kind invitation to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned at Clark College, Atlanta on November 6th and 7th.

Thank you so very much.

Sincerely,

Edith Eckart

Mrs. R.R.Eckart

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA

1002 Fairfield Avenue
North Augusta, S. C.
October 13, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Just the day before your letter of October 6 arrived, it had occurred to me that I would not now be able to attend the workshop of the "Fellowship of the Concerned" and that I would have to let you know that right away.

I had really been looking forward to that meeting, but I have a broken foot and, with crutches and a cast, I "don't get around much anymore." The cast won't be off till the middle of November, and I am so AWKWARD on crutches that I would not begin to attempt a trip out-of-town. I had to miss the Assembly of United Church Women at Miami Beach this week for this reason.

Please know that I AM interested and I hope that NEXT time I will be able to attend without mishap.

Sincerely yours,

Betty Murph Timmerman

Mrs. Harold L. Timmerman, President
United Church Women of South Carolina

Declined

United Church Women of Alabama

1509 29th Street, West
Birmingham 8, Alabama
October 18, 1961

Mrs. M.E.Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Declined

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am so sorry I was not able to get in touch wilth you in Miami Beach last week. However, I did get to talk with Miss French. Something has come up that prevents my attending the meeting in Atlanta on November 6 - 8th. I am sending Mrs. L.L.Jackson in my place. She is the 1st Vice-President of United Church Women of Alabama and was voted as the Alabama Representative on the Board of Managers of the National United Church Women. She will stay for the President's meeting following the Southern Regional Meeting.

Miss French asked me about Mrs. Foster from Tuskegee. I think she would be fine to be fine to represent the negro women. So far as I know there are 3 or 4 Negro Councils in Alabama. I have the name and address of only one President - Mrs. F.S.Simpson, 1009 20th Street, Ensley, Birmingham 8, Ala. May your meeting be most successful.

Sincerely,

Dorothea S. Elly

Mrs. Robert D.Elly, President

Mrs. L. L. Jackson
1413 Cleburn Ave. S.W.
Birmingham 11, Ala.

MEL 10-23-61

The Women of the Church
Synod of Virginia
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U. S.

MRS. R. K. M. PATTERSON, PRESIDENT • 5100 RIVERSIDE DRIVE • RICHMOND 25, VIRGINIA

October 22, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsythe Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Please forgive my delay in answering your letters but I was out of the city. I shall be glad to serve as a Group Leader if you still need me, and can leave Richmond on Saturday evening, November 4th, arriving in Atlanta at 7:45 A.M. Sunday morning.

I am not familiar with Atlanta so I have no preference as to where I would like to stay. It would be nice if the Synodical Presidents could be together, for we see so little of each other, however I realize this may not be feasible.

Just let me know where I shall be expected to check in, and if there is anything else I can be doing in the mean time.

I am looking forward to meeting you and being present at the Workshop.

Most cordially,

May Patterson

Mrs. R. K. M. Patterson

October 24, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Mrs. J. H. Price, Jr. (Friedman), Magnolia, Miss. and Mrs. C.C. Alford, 714 North President St., Jackson, Miss. plan to attend the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned and the UCW meeting which will follow. We plan to arrive on Sunday and would like to stay at Atlanta University.

Eleanor French talked to me in Miami about a representative from the Negro women of our state, and I believe there are two or three well qualified women who would like to come. 1. 2. } A.U.

Mrs. Clare Collins Harvey was to let me know definitely about these names tomorrow. I am writing Eleanor French also tonight, so that they may be included in the UCW meeting.

Mrs. Price and Mrs. Alford will represent the UCW of Mississippi, substituting for the President

and Chairman of Christian Social Relations who are unable to attend.

I will furnish you with information about the negro delegates as soon as possible. I hope not later than tomorrow.

We had a wonderful conference at Wanland, and feel that we made real progress.

Sincerely yours,

Jane Schutt
(Mrs. W. S.)
935 Pecan Boulevard
Jackson 3, Miss.

united church women

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

mrs. william sale terrell
chairman

mrs. w. murdoch macleod
general director

October 24, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your letter with the information you promised during our breakfast conversation at Miami Beach.

I have written or spoken to our state presidents about a third person to attend the meetings following the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I have suggested to them that if the person they appoint has not already been invited by you to come to the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned, they are to find out from her whether she would be free to come and if so, to write you at once to see if there would be room for her to be housed. We are arranging for the travel expenses to be carried by UCW unless there is some good reason for you to want to provide it in certain individual instances.

I have heard from Mrs. Elly, UCW president of Alabama, today that since she cannot come, she has arranged to have Mrs. L. L. Jackson, the first vice president, attend. Mrs. Jackson will come for your meeting, and will remain for ours.

I shall be at the Sheraton Cleveland from Tuesday through Friday noon of this week in case you need me and at The Inn at Buck Hill Falls from Monday afternoon through Wednesday afternoon of the week of October 30.

I shall arrive in Atlanta for meeting at 2:00 P.M. on Sunday.

Cordially,

Eleanor (S)

Eleanor French
Director
Christian Social Relations

EF:as

christian social relations

miss margaret kuhn, philadelphia, penna., chairman • mrs. d. ellwood williams, jr., annapolis, maryland, may fellowship day
eleanor french, director

Board of Women's Work

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A PONCE DE LEON AVENUE, N.E., ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

EVELYN L. GREEN, *Executive Secretary*

October 25, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

In our conversation the other day you gave me the names of six Presbyterian women who are planning to come to the Fellowship of the Concerned. The six women are:

Mrs. Smith - - - Texas	Mrs. Baldridge - - - Kentucky
Mrs. Freeman - - Tennessee	Mrs. Conrad - - - - Louisiana
Mrs. Patterson - Virginia	Mrs. Irvin - - - - - North Carolina

In a letter of October 14 from Mrs. Arthur Plunkett, Jr. Ft. Smith, Arkansas, she said she had written you that she would be able to attend the meeting, so if your names check with my information that makes seven Presbyterian women who have accepted your invitation.

Last year we did not let you know the names of our office Staff who would attend the meeting, so they did not receive packets and were disappointed. I would like to give you now the names of our Staff members who are planning to attend this year's Fellowship of the Concerned. They are: Mrs. H. Q. Huie, Mrs. J. G. Walsh, Mrs. H. Kerr Taylor, Miss Elizabeth Lollar and Mrs. Mable C. Morley.

With every good wish to you,

Yours sincerely,

Mable Morley

Mrs. Mable C. Morley, Director
Leadership Education Department

MCM/s

united church women

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y. Riverside 9-2200

Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg, President Rev. Roy G. Ross, General Secretary

Mrs. William Sale Terrell
Chairman

Mrs. W. Murdoch Mac Leod
General Director

October 26, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Just a word to say we very much hope you can be present for the meeting of state presidents and Christian Social Relations chairmen following your meeting. Your wisdom would add so very much to our thinking. We shall spend our time primarily on seeing how we can best help each other, as a group of states, carry out Assignment: RACE.

We shall begin at 3:00 P.M. on Tuesday and continue through the evening and perhaps through the first part of Wednesday morning.

We know how busy you are and that you may have other commitments, but we do so hope that if it is possible you will be with us as we begin the implementation of the program and of so much that will have come out of the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Affectionately,

Eleanor (A)

Eleanor French
Director
Christian Social Relations

EF:as

Christian Social Relations

Miss Margaret Kuhn, Philadelphia, Penna., Chairman • Mrs. D. Ellwood Williams, Jr., Annapolis, Maryland, May Fellowship Day
Eleanor French, Director

Women of the Church

Synod of Arkansas

Presbyterian Church
in the United States

Fort Smith, Arkansas.
October 27, 1961.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Since writing you October 11, I have made my plane reservations, and will have to be in Atlanta the nite of Nov. 5th as well as the nite of the 6th. I wonder if this is going to be all right? Will you be able to make reservations for that nite also?

Will you let me know where I am to stay, and anything else I need to know. I will arrive in Atlanta Sunday nite at 8:08 P.M. and will be lost and acared if you do not tell me what, when, and where. Maybe not quite that bad, but I have never been to Atlanta before, and do need a little help.

Thanks, and will see you Nov. 6th.

Sincerely,
Julia Plunkett
Mrs. Arthur Plunkett, Jr.,
Synodical President.

P. S.
Mrs. Mable Morley has reservations for me at the Piedmont Hotel for the nites of Nov. 7 and 8, for another meeting I have to attend. Just wondered if this would have anything to do with my reservations for your meeting?

Mrs. Plunkett

United Church Women of Kentucky

766 Covington Ave.
Bowling Green, Ky.
October 27, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

This is to confirm my telephone conversation with your Secretary this morning, relative to Kentucky having another negro representative at the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Mrs. Thos. P. Green and Mrs. Evabell Daniels, both of Louisville are to be present at the Fellowship of the Concerned. But neither of them can remain over for the sessions to follow with United Church Women. And word from the New York office of UCW urged that we have someone present in those sessions if at all possible.

I have the consent of Mrs. John Young, First St., Hopkinsville, Ky. to go to both meetings if there is still an opening in the Fellowship of the Concerned. She is one of our fine negro women and has served on the State level in several capacities. Of course there is great value in having someone who can be present for the Fellowship of the Concerned for the meeting of UCW to follow. And she is available as I have just talked with her this morning.

Nettie Alice Green was our first choice but she cannot remain away from her job longer and the same thing is true with Mrs. Damiels. So Mrs. Young is our next choice if we can get her in. We can have her come for the sessions of the UCW alone but if she has the background of the other one first she will be able to make a better contribution and have a better understanding of everything it seems to me.

She was at the National Assembly of UCW in Miami Beach, paying most of her own expenses. So she knows something of the plans for the race emphasis for this triennium.

I shall look forward to hearing from you Monday morning as was agreed upon by your Secretary. I trust you can call me before 11 oclock since I will be away in a Day-Apart for the Week of Prayer observance in my own church.

Thanking you for whatever you are able to do in this situation and assuring you of my understanding if your reservation list is already full.

Sincerely,

Ruth L. Johnson

Mrs. A. C. Johnson, President

United Church Women of Kentucky

united church women

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. Riverside 9-2200

REV. EDWIN T. DAHLBERG, PRESIDENT REV. ROY G. ROSS, GENERAL SECRETARY

MRS. WILLIAM SALE TERRELL
CHAIRMAN

MRS. W. MURDOCH MACLEOD
GENERAL DIRECTOR

Oct 29

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Just to tell you that after all, I am coming next week and very happy about it. However, because I'm speaking late in Berea, Ky. on Sunday night, I won't be in until late Mon. morning or early afternoon. Sorry.

Sincerely
Helen E. Baker

THE CHURCH WOMAN

MRS. M. C. LEONARD, LINCOLN, NEBRASKA, CHAIRMAN • MRS. DAVID D. BAKER, EDITOR • FANNIE P. BYRD, ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR

November 1, 1961

Mrs. H. Olin Troy
3709 Mayfield Drive
Knoxville 18, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Troy:

I regret very much to tell you that not only are funds not available - but room isn't either. Atlanta University has its largest enrollment this year and every space has al= ready been given to those who answered earlier.

So, you see there is no place for Mrs. Daves, nor Mrs. Callier, unless they want to come just for Miss Frendh's meeting - and that is out of my jurisdiction.

Regretfully yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

United Church Women of Tennessee

3709 Mayfield Drive
Knoxville 18, Tenn.
October 25, 1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am writing to you today upon receiving a letter from Miss Eleanor French in which she expressed again our mutual concern that the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned and the UCW. sessions following would be made up so largely of Caucasians. She and I did not have an opportunity to discuss this at Miami, which I regret, but I do hope that it is not too late for something to be done for our Tennessee representation.

She mentioned the name of Mrs. E.D. Willis which had come up in a conversation with you as being a possible third person from our state. Has Mrs. Willis been invited ...or could she be invited ? She is not now a member of our State Board, since she does not hold the office of President of the Tennessee Conference WSCS, Central Jursidiction, but that would not change her acceptability as a person. AS a denominational representative she never came under the category of being on state board expense.

The only two Negro members of our Board whom I would suggest (we have other members, but I am thinking of the " right person ") are: Mrs. J.H. Daves, 1805 Brandau Ave., Knoxville 21, Tenn.
Mrs. N.B. Callier, 850 Fortwood Street, Chattanooga, Tenn.

Mrs. Daves is Chairman of Church Woman for the State, wife of TVA official in charge of all Negro work with TVA, a highly educated , fine but rather quiet person, also secretary of Knoxville UCW, so quite experienced . Mrs. Callier , Fellowship Fund Interpreter is new to the Board and to me, but a well-educated , charming person..both of these are mature women, in the 50-60 age group.

The State Board has no funds allocated to this kind of project at present, and no time to consider ahead. If one of the three I mention could be invited to Fellowship of Concerned, she probably would care for extra day and meals as Mrs. Russell and I will be doing. We can ask the Board at the next meeting (Nov. 16 and 17) but I hesitate to count on it .

I shall appreciate hearing from you immediately so that I may let Miss French know if there is a possibility of a third person..and I understand you will extend the invitation to the person, if it is given.

I would not want to suggest one person above another among these three. I do not know Mrs. Willis personally at all, but she must offer excellent leadership to her own group, to have held the office of Conference president for four years. Perhaps she should come first.

It was so nice to be with you at Miami and to share the train ride home. I have never experienced a week which did so much for me.. the Assembly was truly a spiritual feast .

Looking froward to November 6,

cordially,

Jean Troy

Mrs. H.Olin Troy

cc. Miss Eleanor French

Mrs. E.D. Wills
430 E. State St
Murfreesboro, Tenn.

November 1, 1961

Mrs. Carl L. Moser
President
The Va. Council of UCW
Route 2, Box 46-3
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Moser:

I regret very much to tell you that not only are funds not available - but room isn't either. Atlanta University has its largest enrollment this year and every space has already been given to those who answered earlier.

So, you see there is no place for Mrs. A. L. Wilkerson, unless she wants to come just for Miss French's meeting - and that is out of my jurisdiction.

Regretfully yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

The Virginia Council of United Church Women

A Department of The Virginia Council of Churches

MRS. CARL L. MOSER, *President*
Route 2, Box 46-3
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

October 30, 1961

Dear Miss Tilly:

Miss Eleanor French of the General Department of United Church Women has asked me to see if I could secure a third woman, a negro, to attend the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta, Nov. 6-7, representing the United Church Women Of Virginia.

I have succeeded in securing Mrs. A. L. Wilkerson, 621 Overbrook Rd., Richmond. She has acted as assistant director of our Church Women's Leadership School in Richmond for many years. I feel she will have much to contribute to your meeting and will follow through and interpret the discussions with others in our state.

In regard to her expenses, she may be able to secure a railroad pass altho it usually takes two weeks. If she secures the pass she will only need meals and overnight hospitality, if you can provide them.

In event she cannot secure the pass, is there any possibility that her travel expenses as well could be taken care of by your organization?

She will stay over for the meeting of U.C.W. the afternoon of the 7th and evening of same and the morning of the 8th, at her own expense.

If no help can be provided by the Southern Regional Council, could she still attend and we will try and raise the funds through some other source.

Yours truly,
Constance H. Moser
Constance H. Moser

cc Miss French
Mrs. Wilkerson

united church women

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

Mrs. Theodore F. Wallace
chairman

mrs. w. murdoch mac leod
general director

mrs. james d. wyker
special representative
meadowlark
berea, kentucky

November 1, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am so very sorry but because of schedule I am having to cancel my reservation for your meeting. The New York girls were quite anxious to have me come and I would so much have liked to do so. Perhaps in another year I can have the dates long enough ahead of time to save them. This will give someone else the room I might have used.

Best wishes for a wonderful meeting. There has never been anything like you and the debt we all owe you can never be paid.

Sincerely yours,

Mossie Allison Wyker

Mrs. James D. Wyker

MAW:rmr

715 Furnace Rd.
Harrisonburg, Va.

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia.

accept

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your letter of the 15th. In July, Mrs. Moser told me I might substitute for Mrs. Leatherman of Winchester who had the misfortune to break a hip. She is the Social Relations Chairman of our Virginia Council of United Church Women.

While I am distressed that Mrs. Leatherman cannot accept the invitation, I shall be delighted to accept as her substitute. I have arranged for vacation on November the 6th& 7th and plan to vote by mail. It is unfortunate that we will be away from our homes on election day but we can vote before we leave if we use the post office.

It sounds like an interesting and worthwhile project and I am eagerly looking forward to the experience of attending the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned. I gladly accept the opportunity. I appreciate the invitation.

Sincerely yours,

Charlotte Crawley

(Miss) Charlotte Crawley,
First Vice President,
Virginia Council of United
Church Women.

New Address:
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Friend:

You have had the first notice of the south-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned which is to be held here in Atlanta at Clark College, November 6 and 7.

It is time now to be hearing from you.

First, will you attend? Did you know your expense of travel and entertainment will be taken care of?

If you are not coming, we need to know so someone else may be invited in your place.

Second, what in your opinion should be the theme of our Workshop--in light of the problems of today?

Please answer the two questions, and we would appreciate hearing from you quickly.

Sincerely,

Dorothy Tilly /!

MET/jf

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

Yes, I plan to attend.
We need to be concerned with the problems and the issues of today as our concern for this day in which we live and our tomorrows.
Pardon this written reply but this came just as I was leaving for the Ecumenical Institute here at Blue Ridge.
(over)

Mrs W. W. Thrasher, President U. D. W. of Florida
10 S. W. 12th street
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

accept

824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee
May 15, 1961

Dear Mrs. T illy:

I shall plan to attend the Fellowship of Concerned meeting this fall unless unseen complications arise.

I have written twice about our list. Right now all of our staff is involved in our General Assembly. This is also the year of our Triennial Women's meeting which has everybody going. However, I shall keep pushing in the hope of getting our list very shortly.

Love,

Jean Russell

Accept

Women of the Church

Synod of Tennessee

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

June 10, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I will not be able to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned-Southern Women Concerned About the South in Atlanta November 6 and 7.

As Synodical President of the Women of Tennessee my term of office expires September 29. My successor has not been elected yet but I will be glad to pass on to her the information you have sent me if you want me to or if you feel that you can wait until she has been named?

Thank you for your kind and gracious invitation.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Robt. Ruffin Jr.

Mrs. Robert Ruffin, Jr.
Synodical President

Declined

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
613
WITHERSPOON BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.
Telephone: PENNYPACKER 5-6722

June 21, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

It is at the suggestion of Mrs. Ben Russell that we are sending you a list of United Presbyterian women who should be invited to the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta on November 6 and 7.

The names were suggested by the area secretaries, and include the secretaries for social education and action in the synodicals and presbyterials in the southern area.

With all good wishes to you in the workshop plans you are developing, I am

Cordially yours,

Margaret E. Kuhn

Margaret E. Kuhn

MEK:lm

Office of Church and Society

Enc.

CC to Mrs. Ben Russell

38

Lilienthal
Wm Geo -
Reading Road

Mrs. Russell States ala Tenn Invited 6/23/61 S.C. ga N.C. miss Fla Ky

follow-up letter sent 7-13-61

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN WOMEN LEADERS
suggested for attendance at
Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned
Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia, November 6-7,'61

Mrs. Russell Reeves
12719 Speedway Overlook Road
Cleveland 12, Ohio

✓ Mrs. Robert Elly (a)
1509 - 29th Street West
Birmingham, Alabama

✓ Mrs. Herbert Pinkney
2508 Shreeve Lane
Nashville, Tennessee

✓ Mrs. Harold Tolliver
3204 Iowa Street
Pittsburgh 19, Pa.

✓ Mrs. Frank Gordon
1101 East Main Street
Knoxville, Tennessee

✓ Mrs. Ben Russell Dup a
824 Tusculum Blvd.
Greeneville, Tennessee

✓ Mrs. T. L. Illery
Atlantic Synodical SEA Secretary
Route 5, Box 111
Sumter, South Carolina (a) RB

✓ Mrs. Willa Chisolm
Atlantic Presbyterial SEA Secretary
P. O. Box
Walterboro, South Carolina (a)

✓ Mrs. Darcuita Chestune
Hodge-Knox Presbyterial SEA Secretary
515 West 17th Avenue
Cordale, Georgia

✓ Miss Daisey Johnson
Fairfield-McClelland Presbyterial
SEA Secretary
344 Lige Street
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Mrs. Thomas A. Jenkins
✓ Catawba Synodical SEA Secretary
317 Carmel Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

✓ Mrs. Martha McNair
Cape Fear Presbyterial SEA Secretary
Route 2, Box 82
Red Springs, North Carolina

✓ Mrs. F. J. McGill a
Catawba Presbyterial SEA Secretary
2424 Statesville Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina ✓ formal sent 10-9-61

✓ Mrs. Mary Wynn (a)
Yadkin Presbyterial SEA Secretary
801 Benbow Road
Greensboro, North Carolina

✓ Mrs. B. Y. Spare (D)
Florida Synodical SEA Secretary
340 South Ridgewood
Daytona Beach, Florida

✓ Miss Ruby O'Dell
Northern Florida Presbyterial SEA Secretary
135 Washington Street
St. Augustine, Florida declined

✓ Mrs. William D. Lanier (D)
Southeast Florida Presbyterial SEA Secretary
Route 1, Box 156A
Vero Beach, Florida

✓ Miss Mary C. Willis c/o 6/27 (a)
Southwest Florida Presbyterial SEA Secretary
2170 - 3rd Avenue North Send her materials
St. Petersburg, Florida

✓ Mrs. J. M. Cochran Mrs. W. K. Mullins
Kentucky Synodical SEA Secretary
1637 East Second Street
Maysville, Kentucky

✓ Mrs. Robert McClure
Ebenezer Presbyterial SEA Secretary
Buckhorn, Kentucky

✓ Mrs. Coy Arnold
Transylvania Presbyterial SEA Secretery
Lancaster, Kentucky

✓ Mrs. Robert A. Orr
Western Presbyterial SEA Secretary
632 South Third Street
Mayfield, Kentucky Declined

declined

Mrs. R. A. Brewer
Mid-South Synodical SEA Secretary
Olive Branch, Mississippi

Mrs. Burney F. Acton
Birmingham "A" Presbyterial SEA Secy.
2620 Lee Avenue, S. W.
Birmingham 11, Ala.

Mrs. L. G. Parham
Chattanooga Presbyterial SEA Secretary
812 Cardova Drive
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Clyde Bease D
Cumberland Mountain Presbyterial SEA
Secretary
Allardt, Tennessee

Mrs. Floyd Dearstone
Holston Presbyterial SEA Secretary
Route 1, Greeneville, Tenn.

Mrs. R. F. Vandiver
Huntsville Presbyterial SEA Secretary
New Market, Alabama

Mrs. Ira H. Sadler
Nashville Presbyterial SEA Secretary
McMurray Drive, Route #4
Nashville, Tennessee

Mrs. G. D. Perrin
Union Presbyterial SEA Secretary
2407 Emoriland Blvd.
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mrs. K. A. Patrick
West Tennessee Presbyterial
SEA Secretary
1821 Maple Street
Humboldt, Tennessee

Mrs. Katie Bridges
Birmingham Presbyterial SEA Secretary
Ethel, Mississippi.

Mrs. J. L. Daniel
Oklahoma Synodical SEA Secretary
1919 East 45th Place
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Mrs. Hugh Wilder
Arkansas Valley Presbyterial SEA Secy.
2300 South M Street
Fort Smith, Arkansas

Mrs. R. R. Smith
Cimmaron Presbyterial SEA Secretary
Alva, Oklahoma

Mrs. Ralph F. Rauch
Tulsa Presbyterial SEA Secretary
120 South Adair
Vinita, Oklahoma

Mrs. Clarence Roberts
2230 Belleview Terrace
Washita Presbyterial SEA Secretary
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Mrs. Ronald Hubbard
Texas Synodical SEA Secretary
515 North Gray Street
Pampa, Texas

Mrs. Carroll Ford
Brazos Presbyterial SEA Secretary
1204 West Wheeler
Breckenridge, Texas

Mrs. Claude Buchanan
Plains Presbyterial SEA Secretary
415 West Powell
Brownfield, Texas

Mrs. Roy Arrington
Alamo Presbyterial SEA Secretary
1301 Larkwood
Austin, Texas

Mrs. Roy Pedicord
Brownwood Presbyterial SEA Secretary
119 North Madison
San Angelo, Texas

Mrs. Wofford Thompson
Trinity Presbyterial SEA Secretary
304 South Wadill
McKinney, Texas

Mrs. J. H. Cross
El Paso Presbyterial SEA Secretary
Marfa, Texas

Mrs. F. E. Amman
Houston Presbyterial SEA Secretary
911 Avenue K
Rosenberg, Texas

Mrs. W. R. Shelton
Big Bend Presbyterial SEA Secretary
Monahans, Texas

2170- 32nd Ave. N.
St. Petersburg 13, Fla.
June 27, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

6/27

Accept

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

I had not heard of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. It sounds very worthwhile and along the lines of my church job as sec'y of Social Education and Action of the SW Presbyterial of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

Your letter accompanying the information about the S K C, inc. was a form letter so I am not quite sure what you wanted. You said you would appreciate hearing from me. You spoke of funds for travel and entertainment as though it could be an invitation to attend Nov. 6th & 7th mtg. but I wasn't sure.

I am leaving here July 11th until Oct. 6th.

Sincerely,
Mary C. Willis

2170 - 32nd Ave. N.
St. Petersburg, 13, Fla.
July 3, 1961

Miss Janet Feagans
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Miss Feagans:

Thank you for the prompt, courteous reply to my letter.

I am glad to accept the invitation to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned. There is an if that must of necessity go with my acceptance. I need to work

when I can to help supplement my meager income, and there is a possibility of a part time job opening in Oct. It may not of course, but if it does I can't afford to turn it down. In fact I have already told one person concerned that I am committed to three days and would have to be allowed to go. That is to our SW Presbyterial workshops. I am Secretary for Social Education and Action, and must seize this opportunity to put

before the workers the projects, materials etc. for 1961-1962.

I am leaving here on July 11th for various places, visiting and vacationing until Sept. 6th. Mail will be forwarded to me.

Sincerely,
Mary C. Willis

P.S. If job opens I will let you know as early as possible so someone else may be invited in my place.

Mrs. F. J. McGill
2424 Statesville Ave.
Charlotte 6, N.C.
July 13 1961

What TP?

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Your letter was received
I shall be happy to attend
the meeting Nov. 6 & 7
The meeting was very helpfull
last year. I was helped in
many ways.
The information and inspiration
I received
we hope to see you in
Nov.

Sincerely Yours.
Mrs. F. J. McGill

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 15, 1961

Declined

Mrs. Robert A. Orr
Western Presbyterial
SEA Secretary
632 South Third Street
Mayfield, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Orr:

Some weeks ago we sent you an invitation to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held at Clark College, Atlanta, on November 6th and 7th.

Because we want you to be with us, we are reminding you of the invitation and hope to receive an acceptance reply.

Your reply is important, because, if you find it impossible to be with us, someone else will be given the opportunity.

There are funds available for your travel and entertainment.

We would appreciate an early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Tilly
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Sorry I will not be able to attend.
GEO _

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 15, 1961

Mrs. Floyd Dearstone
Holston Presbyterial SEA Secretary
Route 1,
Greenville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Dearstone:

Some weeks ago we sent you an invitation to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held at Clark College, Atlanta, on November 6th and 7th.

Because we want you to be with us, we are reminding you of the invitation and hope to receive an acceptance reply.

Your reply is important, because, if you find it impossible to be with us, someone else will be given the opportunity.

There are funds available for your travel and entertainment.

We would appreciate an early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Tilly
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

I thank you for the invitation to attend the work shop - I am most sure I would enjoy it and receive much help - but it will be impossible for me to attend - Thanks again —

yours in His work

Mrs Floyd Starstone
SEA sec.

Declined

R. F. D. 5 Box 111
Sumter, S. C.
Sept. 22, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Atlanta, Ga.

Accept

Dear Madam:

I was away all summer and just returned a few days ago, so I am replying at once.

I will plan to be with you all on the 6th and 7th of Nov. 1961 at 10:00 a.m.

Will I find board and lodging at Clark College also? Please let me know this at once. Thanks.

Respectfully yours
(Mrs.) T. L. Alleny

Box 326
Walterboro, S.C.
September 25, 1961

Dear Mrs. Silly:

I received your invitation to attend the Sept. Laity workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on November 6 and 7. I am delighted and will be very happy to attend. I will arrive sometime Sunday evening November 5.

Yours truly,
Willie S. Chisholm

810 Benbow Road
Greensboro, North Carolina
September 25, 1961

Accept

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Tilly,

I am accepting your kind invitation to attend the Southwide workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held at Clark College, Atlanta, on November 6th and 7th.

Thank you for the invitation.

Yours very truly,
Mrs. Mary W. Wynn
(Mrs.) Mary W. Wynn

September 25, 1961

Mrs. F. M. Blakely
Secretary to
Rev. H. R. Pinkney
2508 Shreeve Lane
Nashville 7, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Blakely:

I am terribly sorry if I have mis-led you in any way. The letter to which you are referring, dated September 15th, was intended for Mrs. Herbert Pinkney.

Please see that Mrs. Pinkney receives the letter, and ask her to send us her reply at her earliest convenienve.

I appreciate your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. A.
NATIONAL MISSIONS AND SUNDAY SCHOOL MISSIONS
SYNOD OF MID-SOUTH

THE REVEREND HERBERT R. PINKNEY
FIELD ASSISTANT

2508 SHREEVE LANE NASHVILLE 7, TENNESSEE

September 21, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlenta, Georgia

Mrs. Herbert Pinkney

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 15, 1961.

Rev. Pinkney is away on a field trip and when he returns

I will bring your letter to his attention.

Sincerely yours,

Fonkie

F. M. Blakely (Mrs.)
Secretary to
The Rev. H. R. Pinkney

2508 Shreeve Lane
Nashville, Tenn

I am here for another week.

53 Hazen St
Hilton N. Y.
Sept 25, 61

Mrs M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
5 Forsyth St N.W. Atlanta 3 Ga

Dear Mrs Tilly:

I'm sorry that I seem to have failed to receive notice of the meeting at Atlanta Nov. 6, 7. Perhaps its due to traveling about the country.

I'm now planning a quick trip to Europe. Will return late in Oct. Might be able to go to Atlanta but cant tell. Therefore, I'd better say "No" so that someone else may have a chance. Am so sorry. Would like to be with you.

Sincerely yours
(Miss) Ruby M. Odell

Olive Branch, Miss
Sept. 25, 1961

Dear Mrs Tilly,

Regarding your letter inviting me to attend the South-wide workshop to be held in Atlanta November 6th, I'm afraid it will be impossible for me to attend, although I'm sure it would be a wonderful experience

Sincerely,

Velma Brewer

Mrs. R. A. Brewer

7

6169 Fishburn Ave
Huntington Park Calif.
Sept 25, 1961

Dear Mrs Tilly:

Thank you so much for your letter received today.

We have spent the summer here in Calif. and I have so much wanted to attend the meeting Nov 6-7 in Atlanta, but I was not sure when we would return to Fla. so I have not written to you.

Our plans are still indefinate as to the date of departure, but it will probably be around Oct 20. I would only be home a short time until I would have to leave again to go to the meeting so I think it best not to accept at this time.

I am sorry not to be able to be there.

Sincerely;
Ruth Lanier (Mrs Wm D.)

340 So. Ridgewood Ave
Daytona Beach, Florida.
Sept. 26th. 1961.

Southern Regional Council Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I returned late last week after an extended vacation in the North hence the delay in answering your letter inviting me to come and attend the Workshop of the Fellowship Concerned.

I deeply regret that a series of meetings in my Church and Presbyterial deters me from accepting your invitation.

With all good wishes for a helpful and stimulating experience in your Workshop.

Sincerely Yours,
Katherine W. Spare
Mrs. Bernard Y. Spare

WOMEN'S SYNODICAL SOCIETY
SYNOD OF KENTUCKY
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN U. S. A.
1110 High
Bowling Green, Kentucky

September 26, 1961

Mrs M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs Tilly,

This is to thank you for your invitation to attend the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned; however, no one will be attending from our Synodical this year.

If it is possible, we would like to have a report of what is done in this workshop. I am thinking that a report may be mimeographed and if so we would certainly appreciate receiving a copy.

For your records Mrs W. K. Mullins, 1110 High Street, Bowling Green, Kentucky is now the Kentucky Synodical S.E.& A. secretary.

Sincerely,

Mrs W. K. Mullins

Mrs W. K. Mullins

Declined

United Presbyterian Church U.S.A.
"A NEW CHURCH FOR A NEW AREA"
548 McMurray Drive
Nashville 11, Tennessee

Mrs. IRA H. SADLER
ORGANIZING MINISTER
PHONE VE 2-6138

Sept. 28, 1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director women's work
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3. Ga.

7

Dear Mrs. Tilly -

I am truly sorry not to be able to take advantage of this wonderful opportunity to attend the meeting of the South-wide workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned. I have been considering the possibility for some time, but the answer was late coming; only yesterday I was able to see that the way was not clear for me to make the trip. I do hope it's not too late for someone else to have this privilege. I shall be thinking about the meeting and will be concerned that it will be a rewarding experience for all who are fortunate enough to attend.

Sincerely,

Alberta H. Sadler
Mrs. Ira H. Sadler
Nashville Presbyterial SEA Secretary

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

546A EST OCT 10 61 AA164

PA049 P PGA112 NL PD PITTSBURGH PENN 9

MRS M E TILLY

5 FORSYTH ST S W ATLA

WILL BE PLEASED TO ACCEPT YOUR INVITATION TO ATTEND SOUTH WIDE WORKSHOP OF FELLOWSHIP OF CONCERN IF OFFER STILL STANDS PLEASE PARDON DELAY IN MY REPLY WILL AWAIT FURTHER WORD

MRS HAROLD R TOLLIVER 3204 IOWA ST PITTSBURGH 19 PA.

October 18, 1961

Mrs. Harold Tolliver
3204 Iowa Street
Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Tolliver:

Unfortunately, I have been out of the office a great deal because of the serious illness and passing of my husband, a few weeks ago.

The funds we have for travel will be used entirely for Southern participants, so I regret to tell you that we have no funds for travel for anyone out of the South.

If you can come we can certainly give you board and meals.

Best wishes to you in your work, and we shall await hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

Women of the Church
Synod of Arkansas
Presbyterian Church
in the United States

Mrs. Arthur Plunkett, Jr.
2801 Charlotte Lane
Fort Smith, Arkansas

Women of the Church

Synod of Arkansas

Presbyterian Church
in the United States

Fort Smith, Ark.
October 11, 1961.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I'm sorry that I have been so long in writing to you, but many things have kept me from doing so. And I was not sure that I would be able to attend the Fellowship of the Concerned meeting, November 6-7 in Atlanta. Having a family, it is sometimes hard to make plans too far ahead sometimes. But I do plan to attend this meeting.

I suppose you make the reservations as to where we are to stay overnite. I plan to come by plane.

Looking forward to meeting you.

Sincerely,
Julia Plunkett
Mrs. Arthur Plunkett Jr.

Accept

Gh 8-1663
Mr. Bowen

406 East Street
Kosciusko, Mississippi
October 16, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly,
I have just returned home from Inkster, Michigan where I have been for some time with my sister who is ill.
Since my return, I have been suffering with neuralgia in my shoulder.

Yours truly,
Katie Bridges

P.S. Old address Route 2 Box 14 Ethel, Miss.
New address above.

Jul 10, 19, 61

Telephone: RIVERSIDE 9-2200 *Cable:* "INCULCATE, NEW YORK"

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

COMMISSION ON ECUMENICAL MISSION AND RELATIONS

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

October 17, 1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

It was a great privilege to come to know you at Miami Beach, and I was looking forward with great anticipation to attending the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta on November 6 and 7. However, upon returning to the office, I discovered that there is a meeting in Philadelphia on November 6 which I am obligated to attend. This is a real disappointment to me. I hope perhaps some other time I can be a part of this group.

My personal conviction is that one of the issues on which God is really testing his Church in our day is that of the relationship between the races in our country. Therefore, it would mean much to meet with a group of women who are concerned about this question.

May God richly bless you in your courageous Christian witness.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy C. Wagner

Dorothy C. Wagner
Commission Representative
in the Eastern Area

Declined

DCW:cr
cc: Miss Evelyn Green

Dear Mrs. Silly -

I would like very much to attend the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta on November 6 and 7.

I will be coming from a staff retreat with the staff of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. in Montreat on Sunday.

Would you make a reservation for me either at the college or hotel - whichever might be available Sunday night.

I will take care of all expenses involved.

It has meant much to meet you here.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Wagner
Room 942B
475 Riverside Drive
New York City 27

Coming at
own Expense
will stay at
A U -

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

May 30, 1961

Mrs. Florence C. Harris, Correlator
National Board, YWCA
Southern Region
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Harris:

We would appreciate it if you would send us a list of those to be invited to the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned which will be held November 6 and 7.

We have funds for travel and entertainment for two from each of the southern states. However, we wish you would send at least four names from each state and mark your first and second choice.

Thanking you.

Sincerely,

MET/jf

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

YWCA

National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N. Y.

MRS. ROBERT E. SPEER
Honorary President

MISS LILACE REID BARNES
President

MRS. PAUL MCCLELLAN JONES
Vice President

MRS. EARL CRANSTON
Vice President at Large

MRS. ARCHIE D. MARVEL
Vice President,
Chairman, Central Region

MRS. EDWIN E. AUBREY
Vice President,
Chairman, Eastern Region

MRS. JOHN F. WELBORN, JR.
Vice President,
Chairman, Southern Region

MRS. EVERETT S. CALHOUN
Vice President,
Chairman, Western Region

MRS. HOWARD STONE ANDERSON
Secretary

MRS. WANDELL M. MOONEY
Treasurer

MRS. ARTHUR LORD NASH
Assistant Treasurer

MISS EDITH M. LERRIGO
General Secretary

National Board, YWCA
Southern Region
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Suite 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 5-2381

Declined

September 20, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I regret very much that I have commited myself to attend the meeting of the Southern Interagency Meeting on Thursday afternoon and will be unable to meet with you for planning for the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I had hoped to talk with you today and was sorry to learn that you are not feeling well and were not in the office today. I had wanted to talk with you about a plan that we might follow this year which is different from the plan which we have followed in previous years.

I think you know that on September 1st I mailed a memo to selected Associations in the southeast, giving them information about the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned this year, November 6 and 7, and enclosed copies that you sent us which give some of the history and description of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I have had some returns from this communication to local Associations and a number of people have expressed interest in attending but will need to have expenses paid in order to attend.

My proposal to you is that I carry the correspondence with the people who have indicated that they would like to come, enclosing the material from you about the meeting and giving them information about the possibility of their expenses being paid.

Whenever it is possible for us to get together to discuss this, I would like to do it, because I would like to get word to them as soon as possible concerning the expenses

YWCA

for the meeting.

I will be out of the office from September 25 through October 4. I would like to have an opportunity to talk with you about this on Friday afternoon after I get back to the office from the meeting of the Southern Interagency group and will telephone you to see whether or not this would be possible for you.

Do take care of yourself. I am looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Florence

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c

1218 Myrtle Avenue
Danville, Virginia
September 27, 1961.

yw

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
5 Forsyth Street
Room 201,
Atlanta, Georgia

Accept

My dear Mrs. Tilley:

I am now in Paducah, Kentucky en route to Kansas City to attend the International Convention of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ). Just before leaving Danville yesterday I received a letter from Florence Harris indicating that I may attend the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta on

November 6th. God is good! I am so grateful that I am to have this high privilege. Miss Harris suggests that I get in touch with you to secure further information regarding arrangements and registration. I feel that I should get in touch with you immediately and not wait until my return to Danville on October 9.

I shall be ready to follow your suggestions on this matter.

Gratefully yours

(Mrs) Clara L. Woodruff

September 28, 1961

Mrs. Henry McDowell
c/o Miss Gladys Panton
Y.W.C.A.
114 S. E. 4th Street
Miami, Florida

Dear Mrs. McDowell:

I was glad to hear that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly for information about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is : 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta, Georgia.

I regret very much that I will not be able to attend this meeting. I will be in New York for the National Board meetings and other meetings during this period. However, we are hoping that two members of our national staff based in Atlanta will be in the meeting - Mi s Hattie Droll and Mrs. Laura Fox.

Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
cc-Mrs. M. E.Tilly
Miss Gladys Panton, Executive Director
Miami YWCA

MRS. M. E. TILLY

September 28, 1961

Mrs. L. B.Moseley
841 N. Grandview Avenue
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mrs. Moseley:

I was glad to hear that you might be interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly for information about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is: 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta, Georgia.

I regret very much that I will not be able to attend this meeting. I will be in New York for the National Board meetings and other meetings during this period. However, we are hoping that two members of our national staff based in Atlanta will be in the meeting - Miss Hattie Droll and Mrs. Laura Fox.

Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C.Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
CC-Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Miss Helen Edmiston, Executive Director
Daytona Beach YWCA

MRS. TILLY

September 28, 1961

Mrs. E. L. Simon
67 Ashby Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Simon:

I was glad to have the card indicating that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that she will look forward to seeing you.

I regret very much that I will not be able to attend this meeting. I will be in New York for the National Board meetings and other meetings during this period. However, we are hoping that two members of our national staff based in Atlanta will be in the meeting - Miss Hattie Droll and Mrs. Laura Fox.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly about arrangements and registration. Her address is: 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta, Georgia.

Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
cc-Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Miss Eunice Brunson, Executive Director, Atlanta YWCA
Mrs. Sujette F. Crank, Executive Atlanta Branch YWCA

YWCA
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.
600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N.Y.

National Board, YWCA
Southern Region
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Suite 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 5-2381

October 2, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Your letter to Miss Harris, dated October 2, was received this morning. She does not return to the city until the latter part of the week and will get in touch with you then.

In the meantime, should she call the office, I will read your letter to her and call you if she has any message.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Edna Comfort

Edna Comfort, Secretary
to Florence C. Harris

October 2, 1961

Mrs. Florence C. Harris
Correlator, Southern Region
National Board
Y. W. C. A.
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Harris:

I hope there isn't any mis-understanding about the number of Y.W.C.A. representatives in the Fellowship of the Concerned.

In the beginning I told Grace Hamilton that we would be responsible for travel and entertainment expenses for two representatives from each state. I think you know all about funds being limited and accommodations even more so.

So far only one of the suggested persons has accepted Mrs. Harold Woodruff, of Danville, Virginia, but I have the copies of the letters from the other eleven, however, it is possible that their replies could be negative, and may just about equal out to the two from each state, as I previously mentioned.

At any rate, I would like to talk with you on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

YWCA

National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N. Y.

MRS. ROBERT E. SPEER
Honorary President

MISS LILACE REID BARNES
President

MRS. PAUL MCCLELLAN JONES
Vice President

MRS. EARL CRANSTON
Vice President at Large

MRS. ARCHIE D. MARVEL
Vice President,
Chairman, Central Region

MRS. EDWIN E. AUBREY
Vice President,
Chairman, Eastern Region

MRS. JOHN F. WELBORN, JR.
Vice President,
Chairman, Southern Region

MRS. EVERETT S. CALHOUN
Vice President,
Chairman, Western Region

MRS. HOWARD STONE ANDERSON
Secretary

MRS. WANDELL M. MOONEY
Treasurer

MRS. ARTHUR LORD NASH
Assistant Treasurer

MISS EDITH M. LERRIGO
General Secretary

National Board, YWCA
Southern Region
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Suite 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 5-2381

September 25, 1961
(Dictated September 22)

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I was glad to have the opportunity to talk with you today about the prospective participants in the Fellowship of the Concerned from YWCAs. I am enclosing the complete list of names with their addresses that I have written to and you will see in the copy of a letter which was sent to all of these women that I have told them you would cover the expenses for travel and for living in Atlanta and suggested that each of them write directly to you for information about arrangements and registration.

We are hoping that the schedules of Mrs. Laura Fox and Miss Hattie Droll will be such that they will be in Atlanta and can participate in this meeting with you and I am sure they would be willing to carry whatever responsibilities you would like to call on them for.

I regret very much that I will not be able to be with you. My best wishes to you in the leadership which you are giving to this area.

Sincerely,

Florence Harris

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
Enc.

YWCA

YWCA PEOPLE INDICATING INTEREST IN MEETING OF FELLOWSHIP OF CONCERNED

Atlanta, Georgia November 6-7, 1961

Florida - Daytona Beach	Mrs. Robert H. Palmer ? 1020 Flomich Avenue Holly Hill, Florida	President YWCA Board
Miami - 1	(Names to be sent later)	
Kentucky - Louisville	Mrs. Donald L. Hectorne 2316 Village Drive ? Louisville, Kentucky	President YWCA Board
"	(a) Mrs. Elouise W. Alston 1016 S. 43rd Street Louisville, Kentucky	Chairman Committee on Administration, Branch
North Carolina - Asheville	Mrs. Charles Lloyd ? Christ School Road Arden, North Carolina	President YWCA Board
"	Miss Elma Rai Dennis 57 Argyle Lane ? Asheville, N. Carolina	Chairman, Committee on Administration, Branch Public Affairs Committee
"	Mrs. Helen James V. A. Hospital Oteen, N. Carolina	Chairman Committee on Administration, Branch
Charlotte - 2	(Names to be sent later)	
Winston-Salem	Miss Lola Jean Yoder c/o YWCA (D) 1201 Glade Street Winston-Salem, N. C.	Vice-President YWCA Board Chairman World Fellowship Committee
	Mrs. J. D. Ashley 1712 E. First St. (D) Winston-Salem, N. C.	Chairman, Committee on Administration, Branch Chairman World Fellowship Committee
South Carolina - Charleston	Mrs. Newton Hancock 9 Belvedere Lane (D) Charleston, S.C.	Vice-Pres. YWCA Board Finance Chairman
Tennessee - Memphis	Mrs. J. L. McMillan 3679 Poplar Ave. (D) Memphis 11, Tennessee	Vice-President Board

YWCA People indicating interest in
meeting of Fellowship of Concerned - 2

Virginia	Danville	Mrs. Harold Woodruff 1218 Myrtle Avenue Danville, Virginia	YWCA Board Member Membership Chairman
	"	Mrs. L. Wilson York 341 Ross Street Danville, Virginia	Member Branch YWCA

FCH:c
9/26/61

CC-Mrs.M. E. Tilly
Mary Jane Willett
Hattie Droll
Laura Fox

NOTE: Attached letter of 9/25/61 from Florence Harris will be sent to the two people from Charlotte, North Carolina and the one from Miami, Florida as soon as names are received from the Associations.

September 25, 1961

Mrs. Robert Palmer
1020 Flomich Avenue
Holly Hill, Florida

Dear Mrs. Palmer:

I was glad to have the card indicating that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly for information about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is: 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta, Georgia.

I regret very much that I will not be able to attend this meeting. I will be in New York for the National Board meetings and other meetings during this period. However, we are hoping that two members of our national staff based in Atlanta will be in the meeting - Miss Hattie Droll and Mrs. Laura Fox.

Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
CC-Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Blind copies - Ralph Middleton, Executive Director
Hattie Droll Daytona Beach YWCA
Laura Fox

September 25, 1961

Mrs. Ronald L. Hectorne
2316 Village Drive
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Hectorne:

I was glad to have the card indicating that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned. Your expenses will be covered in a downtown hotel. Mrs. Tilly's organization uses the Piedmont and it will be fine if you and your husband plan to stay there.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly forinformation about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta, Georgia.

I regret very much that I will not be able to attend this meeting. I will be in New York for the National Board meetings and other meetings during this period. However, we are hoping that two members of our national staff based in Atlanta will be in the meeting - Miss Hattie Droll and Mrs. LauraFox.

Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
CC-Mrs. M. E. Milly
Miss Lola Buchanan, Executive Director YWCA

Blind copy - Mary Jane Willett
Hattie Droll
Laura Fox

September 25, 1961

Mrs. Eloise Alston
Chairman, Branch Committee on Administration
1016 S. 43rd Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Alston:

I was glad to have the card indicating that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly for information about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is: 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta, Georgia.

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Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
co-Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Miss Lola Buchanan, Louisville YWCA
Mrs. Gladys Carter, Executive Phyllis Wheatley Branch

Blind - M. J.Willett
H. Droll
L. Fox

September 25, 1961

Mrs. Charles H. Lloyd
Christ School Road
Asheville, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Lloyd:

I was glad to have the card indicating that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly for information about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is: 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta, Georgia.

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Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
CC-Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Miss Mildred Parker, Executive Director
Asheville YWCA

Blind copy - M. J. Willett
Hattie Droll
Laura Fox

September 25, 1961

Miss Elma Rai Dennis
57 Argyle Lane
Asheville, N. Carolina

Dear Miss Dennis:

I was glad to have the card indicating that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly for information about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is: 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta, Georgia.

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Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
cc-Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Miss Mildred Parker, Executive Director, Asheville YWCA
Mrs. Thelma Caldwell, Executive Phyllis Wheatley YWCA, Asheville

Blind copy - M. J. Willett
Hattie Droll
Laura Fox

September 25, 1961

Mrs. Helen James
V. A. Hospital
Oteen, N. Carolina

Dear Mrs. James:

I was glad to have the card indicating that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

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Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
cc-Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Miss Mildred Parker, Executive Director YWCA
Mrs. Thelma Caldwell, Executive Branch

Blind copy - Mary Jane Willett
Hattie Droll
Laura Fox

September 25, 1961

Miss Lola Jean Yoder
c/o YWCA
1201 Glade Street
Winston Salem 5, N. Carolina

Dear Miss Yoder:

I was glad to have the card indicating that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly for information about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is: 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta, Georgia.

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Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
cc-Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Miss Kathaleen Carpenter, Executive Director
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Blind copy - Mary Jane Willett
Hattie Droll
Laura Fox

September 25, 1961

Mrs. J. D. Ashley
1712 E. First Street
Winston-Salem, N. Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ashley:

I was glad to have the card indicating that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly for information about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is:
5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta, Georgia.

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Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
CC-Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Miss Kathaleen Carpenter, Executive Director YWCA

Blind copy - Mary Jane Willett
Hattie Droll
Laura Fox

September 25, 1961

Mrs. Newton Hancock
9 Belvedere Lane
Charleston, S. Carolina

Dear Mrs. Hancock:

I was glad to have the card indicating that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly for information about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is: 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta, Georgia.

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Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
CC-Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Miss Virginia Prouty, Executive Director
Charleston YWCA

Blind copy - M. J. Willett
H. Droll
L. Fox

September 25, 1961

Mrs. J. L. McMillin
3679 Poplar
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. McMillin:

I was glad to have the card indicating that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly for information about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is: 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta, Georgia.

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Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
CC-Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Miss Mary Frances Lacey, Executive Director
Memphis YWCA

Blind - Mary Jane Willett
Hattie Droll
Laura Fox

September 25, 1961

Mrs. Harold Woodruff
1218 Myrtle Avenue
Danville, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Woodruff:

I was glad to have the card indicating that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to attend and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly for information about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is: 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta, Georgia.

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Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
CC-Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Mrs. J. Nelson Benton, Executive Director
Danville YWCA

Blind copy - Mary Jane Willett
Hattie Droll
Laura Fox

September 25, 1961

Mrs. L. Wilson York
341 Ross Street
Danville, Virginia

Dear Mrs. York:

I was glad to have the card indicating that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly for information about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is: 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta, Georgia.

I regret very much that I will not be able to attend this meeting. I will be in New York for the National Board meetings and other meetings during this period. However, we are hoping that two members of our national staff based in Atlanta will be in the meeting - Miss Hattie Droll and Mrs. Laura Fox.

Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
cc-Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Mrs. J. Nelson, Benton, Executive Director Danville YWCA
Mrs. Thomasine D. Wilson, Danville Branch

Blind copy - Mary Jane Willett
Hattie Droll
Laura Fox

✓ YW

1712 East First Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina
October 3, 1961

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street
Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

In a letter from Miss Florence Harris of the National Board (YWCA), I was advised to write you concerning information with regard to arrangements and registration for the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned on November 6 and 7 in Atlanta.

I am looking forward to the meeting with great expectancy. Whatever information you feel essential to my attendance, I will appreciate your sending me at your convenience.

Yours very truly,

Gwendolyn H. Ashley

Mrs. J.D. Ashley

accept

Memphis, Tennessee
October 3, 1961.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Accept

Dear Mrs. Tilly:-

I believe Miss Lacey, director of the Memphis Y.W.C.A. has written you of my plans to attend the Fellowship of the Concerned meeting in Atlanta November 6, 7. Also, Miss Florence Harris; and a letter from her suggested that I write you for in-

formation about arrangements and registration.

Thanking you in advance.

Sincerely,

Margaret McMullin
(Mrs. Joseph T. McMullin)
3674 Poplar Avenue.
Memphis 11, Tennessee

October 6, 1961

Mrs. Oze Horton
1960 Walthall Drive, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bess:

I was glad to hear that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly for information about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta, Georgia.

I regret very much that I will not be able to attend this meeting. I will be in New York for the National Board meetings and other meetings during this period. However, we are hoping that two members of our national staff based in Atlanta will be in the meeting - Miss Hattie Droll and Mrs. Laura Fox.

Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
CC-Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Miss Eunice Brunson, Executive Atlanta YWCA

Mrs. Tilly

October 6, 1961

Miss Eulalie Ginn
1210 Miller Drive
Coral Gables 14, Florida

Dear Miss Ginn:

I was glad to hear that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly for information about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta, Georgia.

I regret very much that I will not be able to attend this meeting. I will be in New York for the National Board meetings and other meetings during this period. However, we are hoping that two members of our national staff based in Atlanta will be in the meeting - Miss Hattie Droll and Mrs. Laura Fox.

Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
CC-Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Miss Gladys Panton, Executive Miami YWCA

Mrs. Tilly

October 6, 1961

Mrs. J. R. Bracewell
151 Ozark Road
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Bracewell:

I was glad to have the card indicating that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly for information about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is: 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta, Georgia.

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Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
CC-Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Miss Mary Robert Allen, Executive Chattanooga YWCA

accept

1016 S. 43rd. St.,
Louisville, 11, Ky.;
Oct. 8, 1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

I recently received a letter from Mrs. Harris Correlator, Southern Region of Y. W. C. A. referring me to you for information about the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I would like to travel by plane to and from the meeting. Shall I expect the traveling expenses to be sent to me before I leave Louisville? Will the living expenses include the evening of Nov. 5, time of my arrival in Atlanta and the morning of Nov. 8, time of my departure?

If you have a printed program of the meeting would you kindly send me a copy. As a teacher in the Louisville Public School System I have to secure permission for my

attendance from Supt. Roe and my school principal. A program would assist me greatly in doing this.

I am looking forward to attending the meeting and seeing you in November.

Sincerely Yours,

(Mrs) Eloise H. Alston

Mrs. M. E. Tilley

October 10, 1961

Mrs. John H. Lovington
c/o YWCA, First and
Franklin Road
Roanoke, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Lovington:

I was glad to hear that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly for information about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

I regret very much that I will not be able to attend this meeting. I will be in New York for the National Board meetings and other meetings during this period. However, we are hoping that two members of our national staff based in Atlanta will be in the meeting - Miss Hattie Droll and Mrs. Laura Fox.

Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c:sd
CC-Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Miss Anne C. Willis, Executive Director, Roanoke YWCA

✓ yes

341 Ross Street
Danville, Virginia
October 10, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Recently, I received a letter from Mrs. Florence C. Harris, stating that you are aware of my interest in the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held in Atlanta, November 6 and 7.

Mrs. Harris suggested I contact you about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Harris, also informed me that my expenses will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Any information you can give me concerning the group and the meeting will be greatly appreciated.

I am looking forward to the pleasure of meeting you in November.

Very truly yours,

Hazel C. York

(Mrs.) Hazel C. York

accept

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Same letter to: Mrs. Gayle Rogers
2234 Westminster Place
Charlotte, N.C.

October 11, 1961

Mrs. James A. Alexander
255 Colville Road
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Alexander:

I was glad to hear that you are interested in attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta November 6 and 7. I have talked with Mrs. Tilly about your coming and she is delighted that you will be able to come and has asked me to say that your travel and living expenses in Atlanta will be paid by the Fellowship of the Concerned.

I suggest that you write Mrs. Tilly for information about arrangements and registration. Mrs. Tilly's address is 5 Forsyth Street, Room 201, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

I regret very much that I will not be able to attend this meeting. I will be in New York for the National Board meetings and other meetings during this period. However, we are hoping that two members of our national staff based in Atlanta will be in the meeting - Miss Hattie Droll and Mrs. Laura Fox.

Please let me know if there is any other information which I can give you concerning your attendance.

Sincerely,

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:s:sd

CC-Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Miss Charlis L. Clarke, Executive Director

Young Women's Christian Association
194 ASHELAND AVENUE
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

A Member of
THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

October 16, 1961

Fwd 10-1861

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

The Asheville Association has requested me to write you concerning the possibility of attending the Fellowship Of The Concerned, Nov. 6th and 7th. If registrations are not already filled, I would be able to come in the place of our chairman of the Committee On Administration, Mrs. H.W. James.

In order to expedite time, if this can be arranged I will come by plane and plan to arrive on the evening of November 5th - 6:05 p.m. As to hotel accomodations, I would prefer staying at the shortest distance to the place where the meetings will be held.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ernest B. Caldwell

Mrs. Ernest B. Caldwell

Young Women's Christian Association

PHYLLIS WHEATLEY BRANCH
400 S. DAVIDSON ST.
CHARLOTTE 6, N. C.

CENTRAL BUILDING & RESIDENCE
418 EAST TRADE ST.
CHARLOTTE 2, N. C.

October 20,1961

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Mrs. James M. Alexander,Mrs. Monroe T. Gilmour,and I will be in Atlanta the week-end of November 4,5 attending Investiture Ceremonies at Agnes Scott College where our daughters are Seniors.

We are planning to remain in Atlanta Monday and Tuesday for the Fellowship of the Concerned and will be at the opening session. However,since we will be settled in rooms at Alumnae House near Agnes Scott for the week-end,we prefer to remain there Sunday and Monday night also.We will also be close to our daughters and can see a little more of them.We will have our car and can get in to Clark College with no trouble.

We are looking forward to meeting you and other friends at the meeting.We appreciate your offer of accomodations at Piedmont Hotel and Atlanta University,but believe it will be easier to stay where we are.

Sincerely yours,

May Lebby Rogers

(Mrs. Gayle) May Lebby Rogers
President,Charlotte YWCA

UNITED FUND AGENCY

Write

October 24, 1961

Miss Hattie Droll
YWCA, National Board
Southern Region
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Droll:

I am delighted that you are going to be with us at the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on November 6-7, and I am asking you if you will please serve as a Group Leader.

We are having a special meeting on Sunday, November 5th, at Atlanta University women's dormitory, 50 Chestnut Street at 2:00 P. M. for the Group Leaders.

I am enclosing a postal card so that you can let me know if you will be able to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm
Enclosure

YWCA

National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N. Y.

National Board, YWCA
Southern Region
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Suite 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 5-2381

MRS. ROBERT E. SPEER
Honorary President

MISS LILACE REID BARNES
President

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Vice President

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MRS. JOHN F. WELBORN, JR.
Vice President,
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MRS. EVERETT S. CALHOUN
Vice President,
Chairman, Western Region

MRS. HOWARD STONE ANDERSON
Secretary

MRS. WANDELL M. MOONEY
Treasurer

MRS. ARTHUR LORD NASH
Assistant Treasurer

MISS EDITH M. LERRIGO
General Secretary

October 23, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am extremely sorry to have to tell you that due to an unexpected change in our regional schedule, Mrs. Fox will be in Texas November 6 and 7. She has enjoyed working with you and both of us look forward to her participation with you in the meetings of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Miss Hattie Droll will be with you in the meeting as originally planned. Miss Droll is out of the city at present but will be in town on November 3 and will be in touch with you on that day. You can count on her to pick up on any of the leadership which you had counted on the YWCA to do. If, by any chance, you are not in the office on November 3, please leave a message in your office for Miss Droll.

My best wishes to you for the best yet of the annual meetings of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Sincerely,

Florence Harris

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
(Signed in Miss Harris' absence.)
CC-Mrs. Laura Fox
Miss Hattie Droll

YWCA

AAUN news

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345 East 46th Street • New York 17, N. Y.

VOL. 34, No. 2 426 MARCH 1962

Steinkraus Outlines Purposes of Twelfth Annual Conference of Nat'l Organizations

The Twelfth Annual Conference of National Organizations which will be held in Washington, D.C., March 11 through 13 under the auspices of the AAUN will be an attempt to explain the issues and encourage nationwide support for President Kennedy's proposals for the United Nation's Decade of Development.

Herman W. Steinkraus, president of the association, said today, "The feat of Lt. Col. John H. Glenn, Jr. in orbiting three times around the earth highlights President Kennedy's proposal to the Sixteenth General Assembly of the United Nations.

"The President proposed the extension of the UN Charter to the limits of man's exploration in the universe and a vast program of international cooperation in outer space. This was only one of a number of far-reaching proposals with which the President challenged the United Nations and which the UN endorsed almost unanimously.

"President Kennedy's proposals for the UN Decade of Development are an effort to bring the world up to date with the scientific development of this decade. If this effort fails, we may not live to see the end of the decade.

"These goals are very comprehensive. These goals are attainable. We believe that people will support them."

Mr. Steinkraus who was formerly a president of the United States Chamber of Commerce and Chairman of the Board of Bridgeport Brass, stated, "People today are supporting the United Nations in its immediate crisis. They will continue to support the UN. In addition, people wish to look ahead. They wish to see in the immediate future positive achievements which the United Nations can undertake to eliminate crises and to develop a world of freedom under law.

"This is the subject of the Twelfth Annual Conference of National Organizations called by the AAUN. Many of the speakers have helped prepare plans to implement our government's proposals. Members of the conference will wish to pledge their support to this vast program.

"The achievement of the goals of the UN Decade of Development will require great courage, dedication

(Continued on Page 8)

Gallup Poll Reveals 83 Per Cent of U.S. Gives UN Support for 2nd Straight Year

The United Nations has won a big vote of confidence from a great majority of Americans who feel that: (1) It is very important for the United States to try to make the UN a success, (2) the UN is doing a good job, and (3) the United States should not give up its membership in the world organization.

This display of U.S. citizen support for the United Nations has been revealed in a recent Gallup Poll. This survey taken since the Indian invasion of Goa is a repeat of a similar survey taken a year ago — before the Soviet demands for a "troika" and the death of Dag Hammarskjold. The two surveys show that just as many Americans, 83 per cent, believe it is important that the United States work toward making the world body a success.

Gallup Poll reporters asked this question:

"How important do you think it is that we try to make the United Nations a success — very important,

(Continued on Page 8)

ASSEMBLY RECESSES

The Sixteenth Session of the UN General Assembly recessed Friday, February 23, 1962 but will reconvene for a third part of the session in June to consider the report of the five member UN Commission for Ruandi-Urundi, and subject to Assembly approval, to envisage setting 1 July 1962 as the date for terminating the trusteeship in Ruandi-Urundi.

AAUN NEWS published monthly except July-August and December-January when bi-monthly by the American Association for the United Nations, Inc., 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y. Volume 34, No. 2, March 1962.

The UN Is My Beat

By CLARK M. EICHELBERGER

To the general public, Andrew W. Cordier is the large man who calls the roll and counts the votes in the General Assembly with his left forefinger, for he is as left-handed as Warren Spahn. So accurate is his eye that no one has ever challenged his count of the vote even with a 104-member roll call. But to many others — his co-workers in the Secretariat, delegates from other countries and students — he is the stalwart figure, never excited, always moving deliberately — the Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General.

I first met Andrew Cordier in Indianapolis. I was introduced to him by some students. This was way back in the twenties. I was making a speech about the League of Nations. He was teaching at Manchester College. We were campaigning for the League of Nations — campaigning against the unbelievable isolationist inertia. Little did we realize that the League was doomed to failure because of the absence of the United States; that there would be a Second World War; and that years after Cordier would be a top figure in the United Nations and I would be directing the work of the AAUN, with an office across the street from his.

Cordier's career is one of those rare examples in history of where the job seeks the man. He was a teacher of history and political science at Manchester College. Few people know that he made himself the political boss of his Congressional District in order to demonstrate to the students that students could dominate politics.

Almost by accident, he was asked to get a leave of absence to go to Washington to assist in the preparation of the Charter to be submitted to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. He was at the San Francisco Conference. He was at the preparatory meeting in London. There his qualities as parliamentarian were noted. He first became the assistant to Paul-Henri Spaak, first President of the General Assembly. From that moment on, he was to be assistant to two Secretaries-General. He is known for a rare combination of qualities.

He has the capacity of detail without losing the larger view. He is one of the few people who can see both the forest and the trees.

He is known for his phenomenal memory.

He is known for his capacity for hard work. On a number of occasions, the General Assembly or the Security Council would meet until early morning. As the delegates made their way to their homes for a few hours' sleep, Dag Hammarskjold, Andrew Cordier, and Ralph Bunche would go to the thirty-eighth floor to implement the decision of the Council immediately, possibly the sending of an international army.

Cordier has enhanced the morale of the delegates and the staff. Yet his moods could be sensed. One of the permanent Secretariat members, usually stationed as a receptionist in the lounge, said that she could tell how things were going by the way Cordier walked through the lounge.

He had great patience. He was never flustered.

And, of course, he is highly intelligent.

Andrew Cordier saw the United Nations in many locations — first, the improvised school buildings of Hunter College in The Bronx — then the Secretariat in the factory at Lake Success and the Assembly in an improvised building in Flushing Meadows. On two occasions, the General Assembly met in Paris. And it must be because of the shortness of days that I always associate those meetings in the Palais de Chaillot with the light burning late.

Now Cordier retires at the age of sixty. One of the dis-services of modern industry is the retirement system. Instead of an individual looking forward to a long life of service, he is now tempted to plan for retirement at sixty. Cordier retires with such vigor that he may look forward to almost another generation of hard work. He will have a great opportunity at Columbia University as Dean of the Graduate School of International Affairs. He will be close to the United Nations. We are pleased that he has joined the Board of Directors of the AAUN. Cordier knows, as well as do his associates, that no work can ever hold the drama of the United Nations in its formative days. It is of the utmost importance that he write his memoirs, even if they cannot be published for some years to come. The record of events as he remembers them must be preserved for posterity. He can remember some things that no one else can possibly remember.

Frequently, in the tough days of Suez and the Congo, a handful of men working very closely with Dag Hammarskjold had lunch together. On Saturdays they frequently could be found in a French restaurant a few blocks from the United Nations. There were Dag Hammarskjold, Andrew Cordier, Ralph Bunche, Heinrich Wieschhoff, and George Ivan Smith. Of these five, two — Hammarskjold and Wieschhoff — lost their lives in the plane crash in Northern Rhodesia last September.

(Continued on Page 8)

Dag Hammarskjold Foundation Set Up

The first meeting of the U.S. Committee of the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation met at UN Headquarters on February 21 to elect officers. Following the death of Dag Hammarskjold, Americans from coast to coast expressed their desire to participate in a living memorial to the late UN Secretary-General.

This American foundation represents an organized effort to make possible the widest public participation in efforts to honor the memory of the late Secretary-General through performance of tasks which corresponded with his deepest concerns, one which was his interest in the education and training of individuals and nations — particularly from new member nations of the United Nations — requiring competence in the fields of governmental administration, diplomatic service and economic management and planning.

This program of training and education will take place both within the countries and regions directly concerned, as well as in other areas where universities and governmental ministries will assist in the program.

Elected officers were Andrew Cordier, chairman of the board; Ernest A. Gross, secretary; and Jacob Blaustein, treasurer. Mr. Blaustein is a member of the Executive Committee of the AAUN.

Of the 34 man board of directors of the Committee for the Hammarskjold Foundations the following are also members of the board of the AAUN: Robert Benjamin, Ralph J. Bunche, Clark M. Eichelberger, Paul G. Hoffman, Walter Reuther, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Irving Salomon and the Honorable James J. Wadsworth.

The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation will be headquartered in Stockholm and will have an international Board of Trustees upon which there will be some Americans.

Second Bomb Attack On West Coast

Bombs damaged the homes of two Protestant ministers on the evening of Feb. 1st as they spoke in a Los Angeles synagogue. Police reports said the capped pipe and powder bombs appeared to be identical with the one that failed to explode last Dec. 7th at the Los Angeles headquarters of the AAUN.

The bombs occurred within 30 minutes of one another. Fortunately there were no injuries in either case although the wife and children of each of the ministers were at home at the time of the blasts.

One of the victims of the attack, Rev. John G. Simmons, pastor of St. Matthew's Lutheran Church of North Hollywood, was formerly a president of the San Fernando Valley Chapter of the AAUN. The second attack was made on the home of Rev. Brooks R. Walker, minister of a Unitarian church. A third member of the panel speaking at the synagogue was movie actress Marsha Hunt, President of the San Fernando AAUN. Miss Hunt's home escaped bombing.

The three UN supporters were speaking under the auspices of the Los Angeles Chapter of the American Jewish Congress on the subject "The Extreme Right—Threat to Democracy."

"My views on the subject are quite well known—I'm what is called controversial," Rev. Simmons said. "We had all been critical of the right wing. I said, for example, that it represents a small minority of fundamentalist Protestants, with a proportion of known anti-Semites, that is fear-ridden, anxiety-ridden, anti-intellectual, authoritarian, and basically doesn't trust American institutions."

Miss Hunt said, "We were defending their (the right wingers) right of free speech at the same time they were bombing our homes."

Commission Urges Strong, Neutral UN Secretary-General

Will the world face another Soviet attempt next year to destroy the effectiveness of the United Nations executive power? This will be one of the major questions that will consume the attention of the world's diplomats during the next 15 months when the term of Acting Secretary-General U Thant is due to expire.

The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, the research affiliate of the American Association for the United Nations, has long been studying the problem of how to strengthen the Office of UN Secretary-General. Recently the CSOP released its Fourteenth Report, "The UN Secretary-General: His Role in World Politics." (Price—75 cents). The report should be of interest to everyone concerned with the development of the world organization as an effective organ for world peace.

In the Foreword, Arthur N. Holcombe, Professor Emeritus, Department of Government, Harvard, and chairman of the Commission, states, "We do not doubt that the UN Secretary-General may well be trusted with a broader discretion and graver responsibilities than those of a mere administrative chief of a secretarial staff charged with no more than routine operations of a strictly clerical nature."

The Commission study deals with the problems faced by the dual nature of the Office of the Secretary-General; Hammarskjold's views of his office; the development of executive leadership as experienced in the agencies of the United Nations and in the League of Nations; the problems of organizing and staffing the Secretariat; and concludes with a number of recommendations proposed by the Commission for building a stronger executive branch of the UN.

The United Nations and the Winds of Change

Excerpts from an Address Given by Dr. Andrew W. Cordier, Under-Secretary for General Assembly and Related Affairs before the United Nations Association in Canada, Toronto Branch, recently.

Hurricanes of social and political change are sweeping across the earth. The forces are so powerful and so widespread on the whole planet as to be beyond the capacity of any one nation or organization to control them. In that sense world leadership belongs to no one. It is not a monopoly of any one great power or any combination of powers, whether inside or outside of the United Nations.

There are those who long for things as they used to be—for the good old days—but we live solidly in a new era when our eyes must be turned to the future and when efforts must be made not to control the revolutionary forces that exist—which is impossible—but to give them through collective effort such a sense of direction as to provide for peoples, maximum stability, maximum prospects for growth and development, and maximum benefit from the human rights to which they are entitled.

These objectives for mankind must always remain clear, both as objectives and as a basis for day to day action, planning, and tactics. Means should not be allowed to destroy ends. The conduct of international relations, the definition and implementation of foreign policy, should always be in terms of sound, ultimate objectives.

The immensity of the change in our generation can be seen in the fact that, for example, the number of Members of the United Nations has more than doubled since the Charter was ratified. In sixteen short years great empires have been dissolved, new nations have emerged and taken their place in the world community. Africa and Asia have today become definite and solid realities in the world political scene. As new nations many of them are groping for a sense of direction. Many of them do not have adequate personnel, trained either in government or in the management of the economy. Most of them do not have political traditions to chart their way. Most of them are struggling with serious economic problems and all of them have taken on the cloak of nationalism as a natural psychological corollary to their independence. All of them are under pressures from the outside—from the East and from the West and from other quarters. Hence many of them have given evidence of great bewilderment of policy, sometimes expressed in contradictory directions, such as frustration and aggressiveness.

They have been aided, and can be aided, in the early years of their national development by the resources and advice provided to them by the United Nations programs of technical assistance, aid from the United Nations Special Fund, programs of community development, assistance granted by the Specialized Agencies, and by the United Nations Children's Fund—all of these are available to the new countries that might wish for such assistance. Furthermore, aid can and is provided in the form of high level experts who assist in the management of government and who train personnel for senior posts in government. United Nations assistance has the great advantage of being objective and impartial and does not in any sense provide roots for entrenchment in the national life of the country served. The United Nations thus remains for these new countries an institution of vital importance to their life and growth. In addition the United Nations gives to the new countries a platform in which they can express their views and influence decisions with ultimate significance for themselves on such great issues as disarmament and nuclear control.

Klutznick Talks On UN Bond Issue

The great debate on the UN Bond issue continues on Capital Hill and in many communities around the nation. President Kennedy has asked Congress to authorize the purchase of one-half of the $200 million in bonds offered for sale by the United Nations to enable the world organization to finance its peace-keeping operations in the Congo and the Near East. (See UN Finances, page 7).

The crucial question is not the life or death of the UN but whether or not the United Nations can and should continue to enforce peace. The UN can maintain its normal operations on its regular budget but it cannot finance its peace-keeping operations in this budget. The deficit, which the proposed bond issue is to cover, has nothing to do with the regular operations of the UN. The deficit arises wholly from these two highly controversial peace-keeping operations.

In a recent exclusive AAUN interview Amb. Philip M. Klutznick, U.S. Representative to the UN Economic and Social Council, stated, "The United Nations is doing a lot of things but its ability to operate efficiently is dependent on its ability to pay its bills, to keep its staff operating and to maintain its forces in the field."

The Ambassador explained that the UN's present financial difficulties started in 1956 when the UN sent its emergency force into the Gaza area and became most significant in mid-summer of 1960 when the UN forces were sent into the Congo.

Mr. Klutznick pointed out that UN forces in the Gaza were costing about $20 million a year and UN operations in the Congo were running at approximately $120 million annually.

"We have now gone through 16

(Continued on Next Page)

KLUTZNICK

(Continued from Page 4)

(United Nations) budgets. The record of collecton is remarkably good," Mr. Klutznick said. Of the 16 regular UN budgets, all but the last two years show that collections have reached 100 per cent. The 1960 budget has now been paid up to 95 per cent with the balance expected to be paid before the end of this year, while collections on the 1961 budget have now reached close to 90 per cent.

"The regular UN budget has never been a problem. The UN can be proud of its record of collection," the Ambassador stated.

The United States enjoys a benefit in UN payments toward the regular budget that no other nation can claim. Mr. Klutznick pointed out that the U.S. was the only nation who benefitted from the ceiling placed on UN assessments. "Without this ceiling we would normally be paying approximately 40 per cent of the entire UN budget rather than the present 32.2 per cent."

The Ambassador pointed out that the United States was currently paying about 50 per cent of the peacekeeping budget of the United Nations. If the United States government purchases the $100 million in Bonds the President has requested, our share of these extraordinary UN expenses will automatically be reduced to our regular 32 per cent of UN costs.

He said that the U.S. purchase of the bonds would also make it possible for the smaller states to pay their share of these costs.

Mr. Klutznick stated that this was not the first time the UN had floated a bond issue. "The first UN Bond issue was in 1948 when the United States purchased $65 million 30 year, interest-free bonds to build the UN Headquarters. The UN has already made 11 regular payments and no one has ever raised a question about it."

CCUN Appoints New Rocky Mt. Director

Jon West, a Junior at the University of Utah, has been appointed as the Rocky Mountain Regional Director for the Collegiate Council for the United Nations. West who is president of the student council at the University will serve CCUN interests in Colorado, New Mexico, Wyoming and Utah.

Joan Clark, CCUN Director, who announced the new appointment, said "Those on American campuses who see the international picture in its true light are becoming more vociferous in their support of the United Nations." In support of this argument, Miss Clark pointed to the many U. S. colleges and universities that will be participating in Model UN Assemblies during 1962.

Exam Registration Shows Giant Gain

Registration for the annual AAUN High School Examination on the United Nations closed with a record number of contestants, according to Mrs. Judith Sullivan, Education Dept. director.

The number of schools participating has risen from approximately 3,000 to more than 4,000 while the number of students taking the exam has been on the upgrade. This year more than 67,600 examination papers were distributed as against 40,000 the year before.

Entering the contest for the first time were high schools in Alaska and the island of Truk in the Caroline Islands, a U.S. trust territory. Approximately 225 schools in the state of California and 135 in Ohio participated in the contest this year.

UN Repays UNICEF

Last fall when many American children in communities throughout the nation were collecting "Trick or Treat" funds for donation to The United Nations Children's Fund there arose a rash of charges against UNICEF for having lent funds to help finance the UN Congo operation. At that time we explained that not one cent of the money contributed by individuals was ever used for purposes other than the humanitarian work of UNICEF and that only the money pledged by the U. S. government had been lent to the world organization for the Congo operation. The U. S. had pledged $12 million to UNICEF providing that other governments would ante up an additional $13 million. The goal was reached and on December 27, 1961 the UN repaid its $10 million loan from UNICEF and on the same day the Children's Fund received the $12 million pledged by the United States to help fight the war against worldwide misery, hunger, malnutrition and disease.

Last year, UNICEF fed emergency milk rations to 5 million children in the underprivileged nations, treated 1 million victims of leprosy and in all some 56 million children and mothers benefited from UNICEF in 1961.

Over the years since its inception, UNICEF has vaccinated 130 million children with BCG, an anti-tuberculosis agent, which has upped prevention rates to 80 per cent in some backward countries. More than 15 million children had been given penicillin treatment for yaws, 6 and one-half million for trachoma. "The statistics in its battle against malaria are too astronomical to pin down, for they involve the spraying with DDT of countless entire villages in some of the remotest lands on earth.

UN BRIEFS

The Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) issued a series of stamps as a memorial to Dag Hammarskjold on January 20th. The stamps were issued in eight denominations. On the first day of issue, hundreds of philatelists jammed the large hallway of the post office and the police had to be called to restore order. Two hours after the sales began, no more complete series were available.

LETTERS TO OUR MEMBERS

To All AAUN Members East of The Mississippi:

A concentrated membership campaign between now and the time of our Biennial Convention in November has been organized by our Membership Chairman, York Langton. Two divisions of our chapters have been made: the western sector of the U. S. to be headed by the Chairman of our Board, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and the eastern sector to be headed by me. Our goal is to increase our membership from about 50,000 to 65,000 by November.

Think of the tremendous importance of the United Nations in this troubled world and then think of the many millions of Americans who want to do something to help bring world peace with freedom. You then must realize that the American Association for the United Nations is the principal organization in our country whose high purpose is to develop better understanding of the United Nations so that the American people still solidly support this greatest effort in world history to bring about lasting peace.

So I urge every member of my team to take upon yourself the responsibility of asking at least ten people to join the AAUN in your area. Contrary to some statements we read, I believe that the UN is doing the best work it has ever done. The growing realization of many of the newer and small nations that the United Nations is their greatest guarantee is increasingly evident here in New York as the General Assembly meets.

While I realize that all of us are busy people, I am sure that each one can find a profitable investment of some hours to work for this great purpose.

While of course I wish the members of Mrs. Roosevelt's team every success I hope that members of my team will set such a fast pace of bringing in new members that the combined results will be a great victory for the AAUN. We have already added this year quite a number of new chapters in various sections of the country. Our regional program has made substantial progress. Every week we get reports of new chapters being formed and new members being signed up. So let's increase the tempo between now and November when the reports of results will be made.

HERMAN W. STEINKRAUS
President

To All AAUN Members West of The Mississippi:

I have always believed that membership expansion is one of the most important functions of the AAUN. Today it has reached an importance that is self-evident. The support we, as an organization, can give the United Nations and President Kennedy in his UN proposals is dependent upon the number of fellow Americans we can enroll as fellow-members of the American Association for the United Nations.

The National Membership Chairman of the AAUN, Mr. York Langton, has organized a national membership campaign in which all AAUN chapters and members are being urged to participate. I am actively engaging in this campaign myself as captain of all AAUN chapters and members in states west of the Mississippi. A goal was set by the last Biennial Convention of a national AAUN membership of 65,000 by November of 1962. This means approximately a thirty-five per cent increase in our chapter membership. I am sure you feel as I do, that our goal and potential could be one million AAUN members.

Fredric March is pinned by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt in New York where the veteran actor is starring in the current Broadway hit, "Gideon." Mr. March jumped the gun on the national membership drive of the AAUN by filing his membership application with Mrs. Roosevelt prior to her departure for Europe, Feb. 14th.

Probably at no time since the beginning of the United Nations have feelings been so strong, both for and against the United Nations. There is a strong and very vocal opposition to the UN and to the United States support of it. On the other hand all national polls indicate that the great majority of Americans look to the UN as the only certain way of keeping our world on the road to peace. It is to that great majority of believing Americans that we must direct our efforts. Our job as AAUN chapters and members is to help them to translate their belief into action through membership in the AAUN.

I believe that our entire UN program for the coming year can be summed up in a few short words: "Support the UN—Join the AAUN"

MRS. F. D. ROOSEVELT
Chairman of the Board

* * *

Rene Maheu, Acting Director General of UNESCO has said, "In ten years, mankind could practically wipe out illiteracy — which now stands at 45 per cent — if it wished to do so." This means that, by 1972, UNESCO could accomplish one of its basic tasks if each of its 102 Member States were really to make the effort needed on the national and international level.

UN NEWS SUMMARY

SECURITY COUNCIL—CONGO

The USSR requested a meeting of the Security Council to meet January 30 to consider the question of implementation of the Council's resolution of Nov. 24 in the Congo —specifically, its request that secessionist activities carried out in Katanga with the aid of outside resources and foreign mercenaries should "cease forthwith."

The Council met but adopted a motion to adjourn before discussing the issue when the United States requested that the Acting Secretary-General and the UN Command in the Congo "be left alone" to fulfill its mandate. Premier Adoula of the Congo and the meeting of African statesmen at Lagos also cabled objections to the USSR's proposal for the Security Council meeting.

UN CONGO COMMAND

President of Katanga Province, Moise Tshombe, has informed the UN Command in the Congo that his government was determined to expel mercenaries still in Katanga "within a month," would submit a list of all mercenaries who had been in Katanga, suggested a joint Katanga-UN commission to supervise action against the mercenaries and asked that ONUC free military camps and industrial establishments in the province.

CONGO'S PRIME MINISTER

Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula of the Republic of the Congo returned home after a six day visit to the U.S. during which time he talked with Pres. Kennedy, Acting Secretary-General U Thant, the heads of several Missions to the UN and addressed the UN General Assembly. In his speech to the UN, Mr. Adoula launched a plea for Congo unity—the first concern of his government. He said the Congo had advanced from what seemed to be a "hopeless situation," and much progress was being made in many directions. Mr. Adoula paid tribute to the UN operation in the Congo and to the countries participating in that effort.

UN FINANCES

Acting Secretary-General U Thant has been holding a series of meetings with several delegations to the UN on the subject of the UN bond issue and has been urging representatives of member governments to take steps to assure prompt settlement of outstanding contributions to the UN regular budget and to UN operations in the Congo and the Near East. At the beginning of the current year, unpaid contributions totalled some $93 million—$13 million in assessments for the regular budget, $54 million for the Congo budget and $26 million for the UN Emergency Force in the Middle East.

Promises of bond purchases, pending national legislative action where necessary, had come from thirteen nations as of Feb. 23, and one official said that 60 to 70 nations were expected to buy the bonds.

DISCRIMINATION

The UN Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities has ended its 14th session after approving a whole set of 15 general principles on freedom and nondiscrimination in the field of political rights, including "discrimination in respect of the right of everyone to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."

KASHMIR DEBATE

For the first time in over four years, the Security Council returned on Feb. 1 to consider the 14-year-old dispute between India and Pakistan regarding the status of Kashmir. After hearing statements by the representatives of India and Pakistan, the Council deferred further consideration of the matter until a later date thus giving India time to hold her forthcoming general elections and form a new government before discussing the issue further. Probable date: "after the first of March."

ANGOLA

The General Assembly reaffirmed "the inalienable right of the Angolan people to self-determination and independence" and urged the Government of Portugal to undertake reforms in the territory without delay, with a view to transfer of power to the people of Angola. It asked member states to "use their influence" to secure the compliance of Portugal with the resolution and that they "deny to Portugal any support and assistance which may be used by it for the suppression of the people of Angola." The vote—99 to 2, with 1 abstention and two delegates absent. The resolution was sponsored by 45 Asian and African countries.

UN BRIEFS

Tanganyika has joined the International Labor Organization to become the ILO's 102nd member.

As a result of a UNESCO sponsored meeting of press experts in Bangkok, a group of Asian news agencies have formed an organization to assure the wider dissemination of news in the region.

The Food and Agriculture Organization has announced that the German Evangelical Churches had agreed to give $100,000 to help improve rice production in Liberia and that Sweden had offered to give advanced training in the control of animal diseases to 10 senior veterinarians from Latin America, the Near East and Asia.

African press experts have outlined a long-range plan for the development of press, radio, film and television in Africa. The meeting was sponsored by UNESCO.

A third air-lift got underway speeding emergency anti-cholera drugs provided by UNICEF from Japan to the Philippines to fight an epidemic raging in the islands.

Dr. Sture Linner of Sweden has asked to be relieved of the responsibility as Officer-in-Charge of UN

(Continued on Next Page)

operations in the Congo. He will be succeeded for the time being by Robert K. A. Gardiner of Ghana. Mr. Gardiner is slated to take over as Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa after fulfilling his temporary assignment in the Congo.

STEINKRAUS

(Continued from Page 1)

and effort on the part of peoples, governments and the United Nations. The program of the AAUN will be directed to this effort in the years remaining within this decade. We ask those organizations that wish to and will be represented at this conference to join with us in this great adventure," the AAUN president said.

Mr. Steinkraus listed the goals of the UN Decade of Development as the extension of world law; complete disarmament with adequate safeguards under law; a strengthening of the peace-keeping activities of the United Nations; the extension of the UN Charter to outer space; the peaceful, expeditious movement of nations from the status of colonies to the partnership of equals; and a vast program of economic and social cooperation for the less-developed lands to enable all nations to become in fact as well as in law both free and equal.

GALLUP POLL

(Continued from Page 1)

fairly important, or not so important?"

The current vote:

Very important	83%
Fairly important	9
Not so important	4
No opinion	4

Gallup Pollsters asked the public to rate the job the UN has been doing in trying to solve the problems it has had to face:

The results:

Good or fair job	78%
Poor job	12
No opinion	10

In the 1961 survey the results were 80%, 9% and 11% respectively.

In the current survey, Americans were asked to volunteer what, in their opinion, were the UN's good and bad points.

To an overwhelming degree, the UN's outstanding good point is that it has "kept the peace" — no matter how uneasy that peace may be.

The public sees as one of the UN's weak points the fact that lack of cooperation and wrangling between member nations has often brought a proposed UN action to a standstill. Others feel that even when the world body has reached a decision, it has lacked the machinery to carry out the UN's mandate.

The Gallup reporters also asked:

"Do you think the United States should give up its membership in the United Nations or not?"

The results:

Should not	90%
Should	5
No opinion	5

Results of the surveys show that the American people are ready to give a resounding "yes" to the critic's question — "Is the UN worth saving?"

EDITORIAL

(Continued from Page 2)

George Ivan Smith was almost beaten to death by Katangese soldiers, but has recovered, his sense of humor restored, and is on a mission in Tanganyika. Cordier retires, leaving Ralph Bunche to carry on the tradition of the five.

Of course, in government life goes on, institutions grow, and new men are always found. But the world will owe a very great deal to these five, only one of whom is left in the United Nations. Cordier and his many friends know that in some way as a private citizen he will be serving the United Nations which he served officially for sixteen years.

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Senate Okay Given UN Bond Purchase; House Gets Bill

The United States Senate acting on a bi-partisan compromise bill has given the United Nations bond proposal a vote large enough to demonstrate to the world that there is strong support for the UN in the United States.

The bill was approved in the Senate by 22 Republicans and 48 Democrats, following the defeat of five separate amendments. The bill as passed by the Senate authorizes President Kennedy to purchase $25 million of the bonds outright and authorizes the "matching" of purchases by other countries up to an additional total of $75 million, or to make a loan to the UN on the same dollar for dollar "matched-loan" basis.

It is now anticipated that the bond issue will come before the House of Representatives on May 15th.

Clark M. Eichelberger, AAUN Executive Director, commenting on the Senate vote said, "The very large vote in favor of the bonds in the Senate and the nonpartisan character of the vote presages a favorable result in the House. In the long run, the House would be expected to pass the Senate version of the bond bill thus giving President Kennedy the authority to either purchase the bonds or make a loan to the United Nations.

US To Offer Plan To Strengthen UN

For the first time people are seriously questioning the value of this country's membership in the United Nations but "based on the record, our membership in the UN is justified." These were the words of Richard N. Gardner, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, in a recent speech in Toledo, Ohio.

The State Dept. official said that when the UN General Assembly met again next fall the U.S. would offer a four-point plan aimed at strengthening the United Nations and the office of the Secretary-General. In outlining the program, Mr. Gardner said that this country "is not wholly satisfied with the operations of the UN."

The new U.S. plan would incorporate the following points:

— Strengthen the financing of the peace-making machinery of the United Nations to assure it of adequate funds when it attempts to settle a dispute by armed intervention.

— Provide better co-ordination of economic programs and agencies to make certain that all UN agencies such as WHO, FAO, UNESCO and the like, operating in a country, work together.

— Improve the fact-finding and mediation procedures in the Secretary-General's office to give that office more authority to mediate and settle disputes.

— Provide more orderly procedures in the operation of the General Assembly.

The State Dept. official did not reveal any of the details of the new UN plan.

U Thant Details Dangers to UN

A powerful nation could bankrupt the United Nations by withholding its dues out of dislike for a UN peace-keeping operation, Acting Secretary-General U Thant warned the world in a TV program recently.

The peace-keeping operations in the Congo and the Middle East are currently costing the UN $11,800,000 per month and up to the end of 1961, member countries had paid only 65 and 73 per cent respectively of what they owed toward those two operations.

"The United Nations depends on three M's for the peace-keeping operations," he said, "money, men, and materials. If we do not get these three M's, I think the future of the United Nations is, if I may say so, quite gloomy."

The Acting Secretary-General said the UN was solvent on its normal activities and was running behind only on the Congo and Middle East forces. The pending $200 million UN Bond issue is the most sensible

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The UN Is My Beat

By CLARK M. EICHELBERGER

"I for one believe that a very solid case can be made to the effect that the United Nations today is serving a more important role than even its founders envisioned for it when it was first brought to birth in 1945."

This was the concluding paragraph of an address made by Congressman John V. Lindsay of New York in the House of Representatives on April fourth. Congressman Lindsay is well informed about the United Nations. It was out of Congressional District that the United Nations headquarters site was carved. This forthright statement is a welcome relief from the somewhat apologetic tone of some of the supporters of the United Nations. These apologists frequently say that, of course, the United Nations has not achieved all of the dreams of its founders but nevertheless it is important and should be preserved.

While Congressman Lindsay did not spell out his reason for believing that the United Nations is serving a more important role than its founders envisaged, the implication is clear. When the framers of the Charter were meeting at San Francisco they could little anticipate the tremendous developments of the postwar world. If anyone at San Francisco knew that we were about to enter the atomic age, he could not impart a military secret. At that moment, only a little boy with a space helmet and a comic book took outer space travel seriously. It is true that the framers of the Charter anticipated self-government or independence for many colonial peoples. But as a consultant to the United States Delegation at San Francisco, I can testify to the fact that no one anticipated that by 1962 all but two per cent of the colonial peoples would have achieved self-government or independence.

While the Soviet rigidity at San Francisco was disturbingly evident, the phrase "cold war" was not used until some years after the organization was set up. Few in 1945 could have predicted the bipolarization of the world that was to come about a decade later. Accompanying the revolt of the colonial peoples was the revolt against hunger and misery. Again, the fulfillment of the promise of the Charter for economic and social justice has been demanded in greater measure than was anticipated.

The fact that the United Nations has been meeting the challenges of these unexpected developments has made the difference between the uneasy peace in which we have lived and a third world war. The statement of Congressman Lindsay is certainly justified— " . . . the United Nations today is serving a more important role than even its founders envisioned for it when it was first brought to birth in 1945."

It is well for us to list the ways in which the American people sense that the United Nations is vital to their self-interest. Despite a few loud voices crying in the wilderness of reaction, this country is moving forward to give leadership in the UN for the establishment of peace on earth and for cooperation to explore the heavens. Instinctively, the American peoplle feel that the United Nations is essential to their self-interest. Instinctively, it is an expression of their highest idealism.

And so often in history the most practical self-interest and highest idealism coincide and when they do nothing can stand in the way of progress.

It is well to review the reasons why the UN is vital to American self-interest. In the first place, the UN represents the legal and moral structure of the postwar world community. The world has reached the stage where treaties and alliances and arbitration are not enough. It must have a world of law and the institutions of peace. If the United Nations should fail, the whole legal and moral structure of the postwar world which, despite all trials and tribulations of the times, has prevented a third world war, would disappear and anarchy, catastrophe and war would be the result. In fact, the United Nations has prevented war, has settled disputes, or at least arrested them, and it has prevented the spread of the cold war.

Let us begin with the Congo, which is the United Nations' most expensive and most controversial operation. What the UN has done in the Congo may well have saved the American people from having to invest many millions of dollars in troops and material in Africa. When the Belgians freed the Congo without having prepared the people for independence, and when lawlessness broke out, the Congo was ripe for big power penetration. And Premier Krushchev reacted against the UN because the world organization frustrated Soviet ambitions in the Congo. The United Nations army has helped stabilize the country, has prevented the Congo from being torn apart by Gizenga on the extreme left and Tshombe on the extreme right.

What the United Nations has done in the Congo is a more dramatic illustration of what it has been able to do in other troubled areas. Its truce teams guarding the frontiers between Israel and her Arab neighbors and the UN police force that took over when the fighting stopped in Suez

(Continued on Next Page)

and that now stands guard between Israel and Saudi Arabia are preventing war and possibly great power involvement in the Middle East.

Sometimes a single person, a representative of the Secretary-General, called a UN "presence," serving as a symbolic representative of the United Nations, helps preserve the peace. It is almost forgotten that such presences have been in Jordan. It is almost forgotten that a team of UN military observers stand between the Indian and the Pakistani armies in Kashmir. These are a few of what are called the "peace-keeping" activities of the UN. Their success lessens the danger of the cold war coming to these areas and lessens the danger of great power penetration, and at very small cost.

In the second place, the United Nations has made possible the orderly liquidation of the colonial system.

It helped some nations to independence. It supervised elections in the trust areas and certified that these areas were ready for independence. The new nations have rushed to join the UN because it gives them equality in the family of nations, an opportunity for self-expression and a security and help in building the attributes of a state which they could receive in no other way. Few people would deny that the entrance of so many new states has not made problems for the United Nations and for older members of the UN, but think of what the world might be like without the UN with so many states trying to achieve freedom and secure their own protection. It would have meant anarchy and extreme rivalry for their allegiance by the great powers. The UN has adjusted the world to a grave revolution and, except for Algeria and Angola, two tragic spots, it has been an almost bloodless revolution.

Thirdly, the United Nations has helped give expression to the desire of the underdeveloped parts of the world for relief from hunger and misery. The UN and its specialized agencies and the economic commissions have a continuous program to give these people a decent life. But they have made it clear many times that they would rather receive help from the United Nations family because they are members of this family, they participate in the controls, and they feel it is not necessary for them to choose sides in the cold war. The technical assistance program of the United States has been very important to the stability of the world. I would hope that in the future a greater part of this program might be expressed through the United Nations.

Fourth, the United Nations, provides a place where the statesmen may cooperate in meeting the scientific revolution. The United States and the Soviet Union have been in a race to place satellites in space and to photograph the moon. Communication with celestial bodies is contemplated. The Sixteenth General Assembly of the United Nations accepted the challenge of President Kennedy that UN law be extended to the frontier of outer space and that no nation should be allowed to annex a celestial body. A ray of hope for cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States was found in Premier Krushchev's acceptance of the suggestion of President Kennedy that the two nations study cooperation between them and others in outer space experiments, presumably through the United Nations.

This brings me to my fifth point, in which the United Nations fulfills a dual role which is and will be of great importance to American self-interest. The United Nations provides simultaneous means by which the position of the United States in world affairs may be tested against the position of the Soviet Union or any other nation, but at the same time provides a means by which adjustments can be made and the cold war reduced whenever the nations are ready to do so.

Predictions that the United States could not hold its own in a General Assembly in which there were so many uncommitted states have not been borne out. The results of the last General Assembly, in which the membership of the UN had grown to 104, shows how clearly can be the leadership of the United States when its positions are bold, such as those announced by the President in his speech before the Sixteenth General Assembly and are carried out by such men as Adlai Stevenson. The new states do not wish to choose between either power in the cold war. They will throw their weight, however, on the side of those with ideals and who wish to develop international cooperation.

The problems of disarmament and nuclear testing are among the most critical and seemingly the most insoluble at the present time. The United Nations can provide both the means for the antagonists to talk and the influence of other states to be brought to bear for a final disarmament agreement.

Beardsley Ruml, an American financier, in 1945 said, "At the end of five years you'll think the UN is the greatest vision ever realized by man. At the end of ten years you'll find doubts — within yourselves and all through the world. At the end of fifteen years, you'll believe the UN cannot succeed. You'll be certain that all the odds are against its ultimate life and success. It will only be when the United Nations is twenty years old that you will revere and laud the dedication of those who devoted their energies to it through its turbulent course. For by then we will know that the UN is the only alternative to the demolition of the world."

* * *

Acting Secretary-General U Thant has announced plans to visit Ireland, the United Kingdom, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and the USSR this summer.

Dr. Linner Tells of UN Role in the Congo

Dr. Sture Linner, Former Officer-in-Charge of UN Operations in the Congo and currently assigned as Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General in Brussels in connection with Congo matters, addressed a luncheon meeting at the 12th Annual Conference of National Organizations, sponsored by the AAUN. Excerpts from that speech follow.

When we came down (to Leopoldville) at the beginning of July, 1960, the picture that met us was a dismal one indeed. The army mutinied a few days after our arrival and the whole thing, the whole country in a matter of days was just on the brink of disaster. Everything, very quickly, came to a standstill. The shipping port was dead, the railroad system didn't work, civil aviation didn't function, hospitals were abandoned; hundreds and hundreds of doctors fled. We found in some instances patients still tied up on the operation tables — completely helpless.

Starvation broke out, there was no means of geting foodstuff from one part of the country to the other and you had the uncanny feeling of tribal war being on the point of breaking out all over.

What I want to bring out is that at the time of independence, there were seventeen Congolese that had got some kind of higher education and those chaps had to deal with a country of forty million people; four times as large as France and with enormous problems coming one over the other.

I mention this as an example of the kind of surroundings we sort of happened to come into. So the first part of our action had to center on civilian operations in the sense that we were obliged to establish a series of emergency actions; this paralleled with putting together a force on twenty-four hour notice. We had ten troops from ten nations rushing into the Congo and you can imagine the mess and confusion all this work carried along with it.

We had to, first of all, prevent starvation. The most dramatic example of that is, I believe, the operation in South Kasai where, I think I may state, that without our cooperation with the Congolese, some 300,000 people most certainly would have died. It was an operation, incidently , which we would never have been able to carry through if it hadn't been for the simply splendid support of the American Air Force; and let me say once and for all, that we are enormously grateful down there for the unfailing support we have gotten from the very beginning in all possible forms from the United States Government and people.

Other than emergency actions, there were the restoration of railroad communications, harbor facilities and telecommunications and all this sort of thing. Unemployment loomed large. We had in Leopoldville alone, over 100,000 unemployed at the beginning who were prepared to start looting and burning right in the capital.

Reconstruction

Now, that was staved off and we slowly went over into another more constructive phase or another, perhaps, more long-range phase and that was operational assistance. The Congolese were left completely without any sort of deep knowledge of what they had been working on.

The whole case was the establishing of procedures and policies in the departments. No one had the slightest idea of how the department should work; no files or very few files were left, no secretaries, no assistants, no staff, no precedents to fall back on.

The next phase was the training program to be established and carried out and I think that in a sense is the most important part of our civilian activities down there.

And let me say that we come upon some rather encouraging figures. I mentioned the 17 that were there at the time of the independence with some degree of high training. This year alone (1962), not counting what was done in '60 and '61, some 2,300 Congolese are being given the very highest education available down in the Congo through scholarships from our side and also I think are being sent abroad to foreign universities.

It is very easy to ridicule and satirize the Congolese and to paint them as a sort of wild, primitive crowd with no stability and administrative talents whatsoever. I think that is wrong and I think it is unfair. The Congolese give extremely encouraging signs for their future potentialities. They have a starvation for education which they share with so many other Africans. There are thousands and thousands of Congolese today engaged in extremely hard and serious work to get ahead in their respective fields. They are intelligent, quick and they have the knack for adapting themselves to new situations; I will venture the prophecy that in a very few years from now — I will give them ten years without being dragged into the cold war — and you will find the Congolese right at the top amongst the African peoples exerting the leadership they might be very proud of and for which we should be very grateful.

Let us never forget this historical background that never having been out of their own country, never having any national contacts, never having any national contacts, never having had a chance to broaden their views and minds and let their achievements be seen in that light and you will be surprised.

Time and time again the government failed and in a sort of desperation towards the end of '60 a government of students was established and was that a sight which filled us with fear and anguish; to see young boys getting into these chairs of ministers and trying to run the country.

Most of them had to interrupt their studies in the evenings and daytime to act as ministers and there

again let me say it was a wonderful surprise how quickly they matured into real statesmanship and responsibility.

So the day came when the Prime Minister should be elected and who would it be? At that time Pres. Kasavubu played a very cautious and discreet part in politics. He still does it. He didn't want to engage himself too actively, but finally he was persuaded to go out to the University and talk with each leader and see if they couldn't agree on selecting Adoula. And why Adoula? Because he was more or less the only one who had sort of kept himself removed from the political maneuvering and clean from any kind of too radical a commitment.

I am happy to say that during all those months I have been working day and night with the Prime Minister (Adoula). I have been impressed with his outstanding personality, his honesty, his faculties, his decency and his maturity.

I think we are very lucky, those of us who cherish the kind of system that this country (America) represents, to have in the Congo a man at the helm of his calibre.

The Katanga Affair

The impression that has been built up in some quarters abroad about the Katanga as a peaceful garden of prosperity, where calm and security reigned and where the bulwark against all sorts of nefarious inferences was established is slightly inaccurate.

To begin with, there are hardly any provinces in the Congo where so much massacres, looting, burning or ruthless persecution of political opponents as has taken place in the Katanga Province. The northern half of it is completely, and has been so for a long time, outside of Mr. Tshombe's control; and as far as the famous claim for independence is concerned, it might be worth repeating that there is nowhere on record any vote, any majority vote for the independence of Katanga.

As late as February 1960, there was a provincial assembly meeting where Tshombe's party won 25 seats out of 60 in the provincial election. The Baluba cult and allies who opposed secession got close to 135,000 votes to 91,000 for the Conakatan allies who favored the secession.

It also runs fairly ill, I think, to talk about standing up for democracy and maintaining western values in Katanga when for a long time, fairly recently, mortars were fired into the refugee camps where Tshombe's political opponents had taken flight; completely defenseless people were ruthlessly shot at and killed by Tshombe's men.

Every side has made mistakes. Tshombe said he made traumatic and tragic mistakes on his side.

Let us also be careful about the assessment of broken words and pledges. A written agreement is more often than not of much less worth in the Congo and amongst Africans on the whole than the spoken word and, therefore, when we talk about agreements, pacts and signatures and that sort of thing, it's something that the westerners make a lot of fuss about, but which the Congolese really are not too keen on.

I think there will be many temporary setbacks and many unpleasant surprises yet in the future, but that the tide is too strong to be counteracted.

Hope for Peace

The financial, agronomic and industrial interests in the Katanga show many signs of being more willing than in the past to consider the rightful claims of the central government and to share the revenues with them, revenues which legally were theirs anyway ever since the independence.

I also believe that the population as a whole, and I mean both Katangese and white in Elizabethville and other places, is really rather fed up with all this talk about fighting and attacks and whatnot. They don't want any more trouble, if they can help it, and we on our side have really gone out of our way, and sometimes perhaps rather dangerously, to show them that we are bending over backwards to avoid any new military clashes.

Therefore, the feeling is being built up all over the place which is conducive to a peaceful settlement.

Communism

I am always asked the same question here since I came, what about communism in the Congo?

Now, I am a UN official and I obviously can't take sides one way or the other officially, but let me put it this way. I would be prepared to say that you wouldn't find one single Congolese today who had even the faintests notion what communism means nor what the capitalistic society means. They simply are not informed about party programs and doctrines on one side or the other and I think one should be careful and avoid the tagging of western labels either for or against communist on them too quickly.

I believe that the more and the longer we can avoid the fact that any great power or any outside power at all becomes too important a factor directly involved with the Congolese financially, commercially or politically, we find that the better it is for all parties concerned.

UN SECRETARY-GENERAL

When the 17th Session of the UN General Assembly meets this fall one of the major items on the agenda will be the election of a Permanent Secretary-General. Have you prepared yourself to knowledgably discuss this issue? If you want to know more about the issues involved read the 14th report of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace — The UN Secretary-General: His Role in World Politics. Copies are available through your national AAUN headquarters. Price 75 cents.

Five Out of Ten Sign With AAUN

Forty-eight hours before the official World Fair opening in Seattle and the premier of the AAUN sound-filmstrip, " . . . But What Can I Do?" the Minnesota Chapter held a "sneak preview" of the filmstrip in St. Paul, arranged by Minnesota Membership Chairman, Allen Moore.

There were ten guests in addition to state president Keith Stidd, his wife and a representative group of Minnesota AAUN board members. Of those ten guests, five joined the Minnesota Chapter that very evening — a 50% sign-up — and not one of them had been asked to join. They *volunteered* their membership.

This preview wasn't held for membership recruitment. It was to show the filmstrip. Yet the impact of the brief presentation was so great, that the president and secretary-treasurer of the 7th District Federal Intermediate Credit Bank, the credit manager of the Farmers Union Central Exchange, the advertising manager of The First National Bank of St. Paul, and a twenty-three year old office secretary all asked to join.

National AAUN Membership Chairman York Langton said, "We had hoped this sound-filmstrip would tell the AAUN membership story clearly and well. We are now convinced it will do more than that. It has already proved its strength and direct appeal to four men and one young woman who must have been asking themselves, " . . . But What Can I Do?"

The sound-filmstrip is now being run seven days a week as part of the Settle Chapter's attention-compelling AAUN exhibit at the Seattle World's Fair.

Producer of the new filmstrip was the EMC Corporation (Educational Materials Center) of St. Paul. EMC's Vice President Bee Baxter, who worked on the script, asked that the writing of the Group Discussion Guide which accompanies the sound-filmstrip, be accepted as her personal contribution to the project. She and her husband, M. N. Meyer of St. Paul, signed for an AAUN family membership during a Minnesota Board meeting. Miss Baxter said, "With three new AAUN members signed up at the EMC Corporation, EMC and its staff feel the sound-strip was literally a 'family affair.' "

GET THE FACTS

Have you heard that a Russian is in control of UN forces?

Were you told that your children's contributions to UNICEF were used for the UN Congo operation?

Have you read that UNESCO is foisting a treaty on the United States that will do away with our present school system?

Is there in your area a story going around to the effect that the Declaration of Human Rights is really a secret treaty that will take away our rights as citizens of the United States?

Get the true facts about these misstatements and attacks on the United Nations by sending for the "F1" series from AAUN national headquarters, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y., or from your AAUN chapter. The series of leaflets, which are ten cents per set, is written in simple language and gives facts and figures to refute the unfounded attacks on the UN.

Use the "F1" series to write letters to the editor of your newspaper; send them to friends, family and business colleagues who raise these questions; ask your friends in other organizations to use them as fact material.

Send to AAUN national headquarters examples of the attacks on the UN that you see in the newspapers or in leaflets, so additional brochures for the "F1" series can be prepared for your use.

Arizona Giving New Support to AAUN

April was unofficially AAUN month in the state of Arizona. Citizens of three areas in the state joined together to support the United Nations through the AAUN. Even the anti-UN'ers calmly set-aside a picket line to hear the facts on the United Nations.

During the week of April 15, the city of Tucson formed a new AAUN chapter under the presidency of Larry Walsh of that city and the Mayor proclaimed that week as United Nations Week in Tucson.

Phoenix also reorganized its chapter to play a more important community role in UN education under the temporary chairmanship of William Van Camp.

During the same week the citizens of the Mesa-Scottsdale-Tempe area a few miles east of Phoenix, formed a nw AAUN chapter with Dr. Bruce Meador as temporary chairman. The Tempe meeting was met by vociferous picketing against the United Nations during which the demonstrators trampled the UN flag and carried placards decrying U.S. participation in the world organization. The demonstrators disbursed upon the invitation of John Walsh, national AAUN field director, for the group to join the meeting with many of the picketers accepting the invitation.

Upon conclusion of the business meeting of the newly formed chapter a question period was held which Mr. Walsh characterized as "enlightening to the supporters of the UN . . . and it is hoped enlightening to the anti-UN demonstrators." He told the group that the opposition, while vociferous, was strictly a small minority in their state while at the same time indications were that this opposition was on the wane in that part of the country.

Mr. Dick Hall of Tucson has been active in the formation of these new Arizona chapters

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, INC.
(National Headquarters)
and
COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE
(Research Affiliate)

We certify that the accompanying balance sheet and statement of income and expenses, in our opinion, present fairly the financial condition of the American Association for the United Nations, Inc., at December 31, 1961, and the income, expenses and changes in the fund balance for the year then ended.

FREDERICK WM. GREENFIELD & CO.
Certified Public Accountants

March 16, 1962

BALANCE SHEET

DECEMBER 31, 1961

ASSETS

Cash — Bankers Trust Co.	$49,875.52		
Chase Manhattan Bank	11,946.39		
On Hand	301.25	$ 62,123.16	
Various Receivables		37,815.97	
Deposit Accounts		450.00	
Furniture and Fixtures		4,631.96	
Inventory Flags and Maps at Cost		5,992.47	
Total Assets		$111,013.56	
Deferred Charges		9,903.56	
Total Deferred Charges and Assets			$120,917.12

LIABILITIES

Accounts Payable		$ 53,424.56	
Payroll Taxes Payable		4,553.97	
Restricted Income		56,836.25	
Total Liabilities		$114,814.78	
Fund Surplus		6,102.34*	
Total Liabilities and Fund Surplus			$120,917.12

*Made Up As Follows —

Excess of Income over Expenses for the year ended December 31, 1961	$12,629.13
Add — Prior Year Adjustments	3,851.62
	$16,480.75
Less Fund Deficit January 1, 1961	10,378.41
	$ 6,102.34

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, INC.
(National Headquarters)
and
COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE
(Research Affiliate)

CONDENSED STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE
FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1961

INCOME

Contributions and Dues	$360,489.64	
Literature, Publications, Education and Speaker Services	64,463.69	
Commission to Study the Organization of Peace — Contributions, Royalties	4,139.30	
Flag Set Sales and Other Income	5,162.14	
Total Income		$434,254.77

EXPENSES

Program and Policy	44,287.05	
General Administration	65,445.18	
Publications	25,015.34	
Education	25,943.89	
Collegiate Council for the UN	28,968.69	
Field — Chapters and Region	50,850.27	
Washington Office	10,997.20	
Organization and Liaison	2,445.60	
Fund Raising	32,996.14	
Membership Services and AAUN News Publication	42,929.85	
Commission to Study the Organization of Peace	3,651.09	
Conventions — Conferences	11,353.46	
Public Relations	14,879.35	
Speaker Services	38,626.07	
Dues to WFUNA	11,505.00	
Payroll Taxes and Pension Provision	11,731.46	
Total Expense		$421,625.64
Excess Income Over Expense		$ 12,629.13

CCUN Institute

About 250 college students will once again wander about the ivy-clad halls of Sarah Lawrence College for one week this summer deeply immersed in thoughts and discussions on the United Nations as the seventh annual National Student Leadership Institute on the United Nations meets in Bronxville, New York, June 16-23.

This annual institute sponsored by the CCUN is devoted to seven days of concentrated study of UN problems with special briefings at UN headquarters, the U.S. Mission to the UN and foreign missions to the UN. It includes roundtable discussions, workshops and an opportunity for the students to meet with outstanding international figures and to exchange views on UN subjects.

DANGERS TO UN

(Continued from Page 1)

means of financing legitimate UN factions, he added.

U Thant said bitterness, intolerance and hysteria have been rampant in the world but this mood should be changed. He suggested that what the world needed today was a compromise between the Western concept of development of the intellect and the Eastern concept of moral and spiritual development.

"I feel very strongly," he declared, "that purely intellectual development, will lead us from one crisis to another."

In another address U Thant called for "temporary stand-still agreements" to insulate major world problems as far as possible from the risks of war, while an effort was made to build "a more permanent war-free international system."

AAUN'ers Work for Hammarskjold Fund

The United States Committee of the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation has opened a booth in the public lobby of the General Assembly Building at United Nations Headquarters for the receipt of voluntary contributions. The booth will be open from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. each day, and according to present arrangements will remain in the lobby for an indefinite period. The booth is being manned by volunteers from the AAUN.

The Foundation was set up to provide a "living memorial" to the late Secretary-General. It has headquarters in Stockholm and an international board of trustees. The various national committees, of which the U.S. Committee is one, are working in close coordination with the Foundation.

Eichelberger Book Now in Arabic

"UN: The First Fifteen Years," by Clark M. Eichelberger has been translated into Arabic under the United States Information Service's Damascus Book Translation program. Four thousand copies will be distributed by the USIS under the Arabic title: Hay'at Al Umam Al Muttahida.

Paperback editions of the English version of the book are still available to AAUN members through their national headquarters at 50 cents per copy.

Speaking of books, another new book on the United Nations has recently been published under the title, Pictorial History of the United Nations, by Jacob A. Rubin and published by Thomas Yoseloff. Although the large 310 page volume is studded throughout with pictures it also contains a large amount of editorial matter.

Remember This

"A pledge made in the name of 104 member nations (of the UN) cannot be lightly brushed aside . . . if you make a promise you must keep it." These were the words of Robert K. Gardiner, Chief of UN Operations in the Congo, addressed to the Congolese government when Congolese troops attempted to prevent Mr. Tshombe's plane from leaving Leopoldville recently.

* * *

The Soviet Union's 1961 grain production was 4 million tons below the 1958 record and Communist China was hit by increased food shortages, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) has reported. In a broad picture of the world commodity situation, FAO reported prices for agricultural products continued generally downward last year, some dropping to the lowest levels since World War II. Sugar prices hit a 25-year low.

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MRS M E TILLY
1013 HIGHLAND VIEW N E
ATLANTA 6 GA

President
Kennedy

TEXT OF MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT KENNEDY TO ACLU BIENNIAL CONFERENCE

June 22, 1962

The White House, Washington D.C., June 21, 1962

John deJ. Pemberton Jr., Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union

Please express to all of the participants of the Biennial Conference of the American Civil Liberties Union my best wishes for a constructive session. During the 43 [sic] years of its existence the American Civil Liberties Union has played a significant role in defending our basic democratic freedoms. Your voice has always been raised clearly and sharply when our liberties have been threatened. America is a stronger nation for your uncompromising efforts.

This country has passed through many periods of national peril. Now we are again in a period when risks are great, our burdens heavy, and our problems incapable of swift or easy solution.

It is in times such as these that many men, weak in courage and frail in nerve, develop the tendency to turn suspiciously on their neighbors and leaders. Unable to face up to the dangers from without, they become convinced that the real danger is from within. Our hard-won freedoms are frequently abandoned in an effort to escape the burdens of responsible citizenship. At this moment in our history, the energies of all patriotic Americans must be focused primarily on our vital central problems.

If we are to give the leadership the world requires of us, we must rededicate ourselves to the great principles of our constitution -- the very principles which distinguish us from our adversaries in the world. Our nation needs the services of organizations and citizens who will remain vigilant in the defense of these principles.

John F. Kennedy

ACLU Policy

American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

TEXT OF ACLU POLICY STATEMENTS ON MATTERS BEFORE 1962 BIENNIAL CONFERENCE AND RELATED ISSUES

I. CIVIL LIBERTIES AND THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX; RISE OF ULTRA-RIGHT ORGANIZATIONS

A.

1. There is no civil liberties issue raised by restrictions on the speech of military personnel to the extent necessary to prevent a mistaken belief that they are stating government policy.

2. The monitoring of speeches and articles of serving military officials on matters involving the formulation or execution of public policy does not present a civil liberties issue.

3. The memorandum of the Secretary of Defense of October 5, 1961 does not violate the civil liberties of Defense Department personnel and provides as adequately as is now possible for such civil liberties issues as have arisen in the relevant area.

4. Further legislation or regulation in this field is not presently practical or required. (Board statement, publicly released March 5, 1962.)

B.

1. The right of all groups to express their opinions must be defended regardless of the point of view they express.

2. The ACLU does not comment on any part of the content of these groups' (the ultra-right) programs which does not directly concern civil liberties, whether it be repeal of the income tax, the social security program, or removal of the UN from New York City.

3. However, when these groups espouse positions adversely affecting civil liberties, for example, efforts to remove a teacher for her "liberal" views, or attacks on librarians for refusing to take "Communist" books off library shelves, we should vigorously present our position (while defending their right to speak). We should also emphasize the point that the loose accusations of these groups can create an atmosphere of caution in which dissident views will not be expressed." (Office memorandum, December 8, 1961)

II. CHURCH-STATE ISSUES

A. Federal Aid to church elementary and secondary schools. Endorsed the President's declaration that such aid would be "unconstitutional." (Board resolution, March 6, 1961.)

B. College loans. Found "no constitutional bar to Federal building loans to church-controlled colleges provided (1) students and faculty members are not required to be adherents of the religious faith with which the college is linked; (2) indoctrination in the tenets of a particular faith is not a required part of the curriculum, and (3) determination of the instructional program is committed to the hands of those charged with educational rather than religious responsibilities." (Board resolution, March 20, 1961.)

C. Scholarships. Found no "constitutional objection in the proposal for scholarships...on a competitive basis as long as there is an objective merit test not determined by the specific institutions," provided "the institution concerned is educational and not religious in the terms" outlined above. (Board resolution, March 20, 1961.)

D. Proposed Expansion of National Defense Education Act.

1. Disapproved "as violative of the principle of separation of church and state any financial aid provided directly or indirectly to religious elementary and secondary schools for either general or special purpose." (Board resolution, March 5, 1961.)

2. Approved testing services: "If testing services are provided by a public administration for the benefit of children generally, the utilization of those services by children enrolled in religious schools is not objectionable." (Board resolution, March 5, 1961.)

3. Disapproved "stipends to teachers from religious schools for attending language institutes." (Board resolution, March 5, 1961 .)

4. Refused to approve "50% loan forgiveness for recipients of NDEA loans who later take positions in religious schools." (Board resolution, March 5, 1961.)

5. Voted to oppose present provision of Act under which graduate fellowships have been given to students at schools of theology. (Board resolution, March 5, 1961.)

E. Religious Holiday Observances.

The American Civil Liberties Union believes that any program of religious indoctrination -- direct or indirect -- in the public schools or with public resources is a violation of the constitutional principle of separation of church and state and should be opposed.

We believe the observance in public schools and on public property of such occasions as Christmas, Channukah, and Easter as religious holidays to be contrary to the separation principle.

II. Church-State Issues (cont.)

Whether each and every observance that is believed to be in violation merits ACLU intervention depends upon the factors governing our participation in all classes of civil liberties matters. These include: (1) other civil liberties pressures commanding our attention -- including other church-state matters, (2) our judgment of the general significance of the particular instance, and (3) the limit of our resources which are available at the particular time and place.

Whenever the ACLU, through its national organization or an affiliate, does undertake to intervene in a religious holiday observance case, a clear-cut separation-of-church-and-state position should be taken, guided by the following considerations:

1. The teaching of religion in the public schools is barred by the Constitution.

2. The practice of regular Bible reading and organized prayers represents a form of indoctrination which should also be barred.

3. The teaching of religion should be distinguished from teaching factually about religion as, for example, an element of world history or of social sciences. Even in teaching about religion, the younger the child, the more wary the teacher must be of indoctrination. Certainly, public schools may explain the meaning of a religious holiday, as viewed by adherents of the religion of which it is a part, but may not seek to foster a religious view in the classroom or otherwise.

4. In cases where even non-religious attributes of a religious holiday (there are always borderline cases) may offend individual students, their privilege not to participate in such non-religious celebrations should be respected.

5. The use of public funds or public property for the display of religious symbolism should be opposed as a governmental endorsement of religion. (Board resolution, April 30, 1962.)

F. Bus Transportation. Rejected Church-State Committee's resolution that "provision of such services to children attending church schools is a legislative matter, not a civil liberties issue," and reaffirmed position the Union took in the Everson case: "The child benefit theory is not only unsound and devious, but is extremely dangerous....The constitutional policy of our country has decreed the absolute separation of church and state, not only in governmental matters but in educational ones as well. Public money, coming from taxpayers of every denomination, may not be used for the help of any religious sect in education or otherwise." (Board resolution, April 30, 1962.)

G. Textbooks. Rejected Church-State Committee position that the furnishing of free textbooks to students in parochial schools is not a violation of the principle of separation, and reaffirmed position taken January 5, 1959, when the Board voted to support the Oregon textbook case, in which the Union held: "A government committed to the separation of church and state, we submit, may not finance such religious schools either directly through a grant of money, or indirectly through a grant of textbooks or other supplies." (Board resolution, April 30, 1962.)

II. Church-State Issues (cont.)

H. Medical and Dental Care. Agreed that "the making available of public health services on an administratively feasible basis to all children regardless of the school attended does not violate the principle of separation of church and state." (Board resolution, April 30, 1962.)

I. Hot Lunches. Agreed that "the making available by the Federal government on an administratively feasible basis of foods for hot lunches for pupils, regardless of the school attended, does not violate the principle of separation of church and state." (Board resolution, April 30, 1962.)

III. CENSORSHIP

A. The Regulatory Power of the Federal Communications Commission

NOTE: The words in the Communications Act of 1934, lifted from the 1927 Radio Act,-- which require the licensee "to serve the public interest, convenience and necessity" -- have been held by the courts to cover program content. The U.S. Supreme Court, in its 1943 decision in the NBC case, said:

> The Act does not restrict the Commission merely to supervision of the traffic. It puts upon the Commission the burden of determining the composition of that traffic.

Following the publication of the Federal Communications Commission's so-called "Blue-Book," in 1946, the Board, in a letter to the FCC declared:

> The main impact of the present proposals will be to increase freedom of access to the air, to bring about more adequate presentation of public questions, and to raise program standards generally...

Answering industry leaders who claimed that we were "condoning" censorship, the ACLU stated:

> We have always opposed censorship by the FCC. We have always supported the so-called American system of private ownership of radio, but we have also supported for over ten years the principle that radio stations owe the public in return for their licenses which they do not own, a reasonable contribution to public education and enlightenment. We have always insisted on the right of access to the air by all elements of the population. ...There is no implication in the (Commission's) report that the character of programs will in any way be controlled. The report is based solely upon a balanced use of time, and the standards proposed are largely quantitative rather than qualitative. The proposal maintains freedom of speech on the air by preserving the right of broadcasters now as heretofore, to have complete authority and responsibility for deciding what shall or shall not go into their programs... (Board statement publicly released, May 3, 1946.)

III. Censorship (cont.)

In testimony approved by the Board for presentation to the FCC in 1959, the Union said:

(I) To avoid censorship, the Commission should continue its admirable adherence to Section 326 of the Federal Communications Act of 1934, which prohibits censorship by the Commission; and Section 315, which prohibits a radio or television station from censoring political-campaign broadcasts.

(II) To promote range and balance in over-all programming:

(A) The Commission should make an explicit and widely-publicized announcement that it is firmly committed to giving real effect to its existing power and responsibility to evaluate a station's over-all programming, under Sections 303 and 312 of the Act; and:

1. To aid in such evaluation, the Commission should:

a) Continue the use of the Program Service from (on which a station reports its actual and intended programming) and improve its value by -- for example, requiring the reporting of actual times as well as total hours of public-service programs.

b) Issue an up-to-date revision of the Blue Book of 1946, to provide skeletal guidance for stations on the Commission's policy on over-all programming, in applying the Act's standard of "public interest, convenience or necessity" to original licensing, to renewals and to transfers of ownership.

2. To aid in making meaningful the Commission's power and responsibility to license or not to license, having evaluated a station's over-all programming by the Act's standard and Commission policy thereunder, the Commission should:

a) Require a station, on applying for license renewal, to broadcast -- each day of the week following such application, in prime evening time -- the obligation of the station under the Act, the date of the license's expiration and the fact that anyone may write the Commission in Washington in support of or opposition to renewal.

b) Notify anyone who has during the license period written to the Commission about the station, and whom the Commission deems to be responsible, of the application for renewal, the date of the license's expiration and the fact that anyone may write the Commission in support of or opposition to renewal.

c) If the Commission decides it to be warranted, hold a public hearing on the application for renewal, in the city where the station is located -- invitations being extended by the Commission to anyone who it believes should be heard.

d) During the license period, when anyone deemed by the Commission to be responsible has complained to the Commission about a station, the Commission should immediately consider the complaint -- holding,

III. Censorship (cont.)

if the Commission decides it to be warranted, a hearing as indicated above -- and take such action as it decides to be needed, possibly even prompt revocation of the license.

(B) The Commission should give increased support to the present investigation by Congress of the desirability of expanding and re-allocating the television spectrum so as to provide more channels and expand diversity, with emphasis on the use by non-profit educational enterprises, as well as by experimental subscription-television enterprises -- with safeguards designed to insure that the additional channels should serve the purpose, not of duplicating the programming of existing stations, but of increasing the range and balance in subject-matter and treatment offered to the viewing public.

(C) The Commission should propose to Congress that the Federal Communications Act should be amended to provide the Commission with power and responsibility directly to regulate the over-all programming of networks themselves, not only indirectly through individual stations as at present. (Board statement publicly released, December 10, 1959.)

B. Local Official and Private Group Control of Alleged Obscenity

1. The ACLU believes that the constitutional guarantees of free speech and press apply to all expression and that all limitations of expression on the ground of obscenity are unconstitutional. If, notwithstanding the ACLU's opinion, such statutes are held to be constitutional, then we submit that they must comply with the following conditions: any governmental restriction or punishment of any form of expression on the ground of obscenity must require proof beyond a reasonable doubt that such an expression would directly and substantially cause in a normal adult behavior which has validly been made criminal by statute, subject only to the following exception: when there is proof beyond a reasonable doubt that the target group of the particular distribution charged to be obscene is composed of other than average adults (e.g., children or savants) then the test is the foregoing effect established beyond a reasonable doubt on that group.

This standard should apply at the Federal, State and local levels; to laws, regulations and injunctions; to censoring, licensing, in rem proceedings, prosecutions and any other means of governmental restriction or punishment.

2. The ACLU opposes any governmental restriction or punishment, prior to publication or exhibition, of any form of expression on the ground of obscenity, even with the proof prescribed above.

3. The ACLU believes that any governmental restriction or punishment, after publication or exhibition, of any form of expression on the ground of obscenity, even with the proof prescribed above, must also meet all other applicable constitutional requirements, including a clear statutory definition of the offense, the right to counsel, the right to a prompt and fair public trial by jury, and the right to appeal; and that no action should be directed against persons who are without knowing and substantial responsibility for the creation or distribution of the material in question. Indeed we prefer the use of in rem proceedings against material alleged to be obscene -- with a right to defend the material being

III. Censorship (cont.)

afforded the publisher, distributor, retailer, etc. -- as a prerequisite to any criminal prosecution of any person for publishing, distributing, or selling such material thereafter. If an adverse determination is made in such a proceeding, based on the exception in Paragraph 1, the judgment should be limited to that "target group," so as not to affect other groups in subsequent proceedings. Also, a) in any criminal prosecution, knowledge of any prior in rem finding of obscenity should be required; b) in any criminal prosecution following an in rem finding of obscenity a trial de novo on the question of obscenity should be required; c) any party in interest should be permitted to reopen an in rem finding of obscenity after the passage of a reasonable period of time. The statute should define such a period as within five years, but should not bar subsequent action. (Board resolution, April 16, 1962.)

4. The Union defends, as being within both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, any simple expression by any individual or group of disapproval of the contents of any book, etc., or any attempt simply to dissuade others from buying it. It recognizes as far as legal right is concerned, the use of such orderly and lawful means as peaceful and unobstructive picketing and the organization of a specific and primary boycott, even when they imply some degree of coercion. However, in view of the fact that the field of communication differs significantly from the general field of industry and commerce, the Union actively opposes, as being especially contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, the use of such means in the following ways: (1) as pressure, or explicit threat thereof, at any time prior to the actual offering of a motion picture, etc. to the public; and (2) even after the actual offering to the public, in the form of a general or secondary boycott-- designed, for example, to close a theatre entirely or to close other theatres whose proprietors ally themselves with the proprietor of the first theatre. (Board resolution, November, 1951.)

5. Freedom in the trade of ideas may be limited by law, as through censors, by pressure group action, as through boycotts or intimidation, and as well by industry agreements or practice. The latter, generally called codes, are agreements undertaken by industry members of a media of communication, which are intended to set standards of propriety. Ostensibly, codes have been instituted in the motion picture and radio-television media to ward off threatened governmental censorship.

Insofar as codes set forth limitations on what may be said or done, they are restraints upon freedom of expression. Where as in the motion picture industry the major producers have combined to prohibit the use of certain subject matter in motion picture scripts, there is an effective restraint of trade in ideas. The ACLU's interest is involved because this code, in effect, covers practically the entire industry and has made practically impossible the distribution or exhibition of any U.S. made motion picture not produced in compliance with code standards or requirements.

In the radio and television field, a code is even more vulnerable from a civil liberties standpoint because the subscribers to a code are operating their business on a franchise obtained from the public domain. We support the statement of the chairman of the Radio Committee and the director of the ACLU to Mr. Paul A. Walker, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, of June 2, 1952.

The ACLU, therefore, opposes the Motion Picture Production Code and the Radio-TV Code insofar as they restrict freedom of expression. (Board resolution, January 28, 1952.)

IV. DUE PROCESS

Problems of Administrative Agencies with Emphasis on the State and Local Levels.

No special policy statements have been adopted.

V. EQUALITY

A. Racial Discrimination in Housing

1. The American Civil Liberties Union is opposed to all housing discrimination based on race, creed, color, national origin or political affiliation.

It is so opposed because one of the great principles of civil liberty--ranking with due process, freedom of speech and religion, and reserved private rights such as freedom of association or non-association -- is that every person should be treated as a person, on the basis of his individual worth and not on the basis of any group classification. This non-discriminatory treatment is most of all necessary in meeting the basic needs of food, clothing and shelter; and, with regard to shelter, that necessity is growing as population - particularly in urban and suburban areas - rapidly increases in mobility, and thus the frequency of sales and rentals causes housing increasingly to resemble other commodities handled by organized market operations.

2. Such discrimination in any housing in whose provision or financing any government participates in any way should be legally prohibited.

The right to equal protection of the laws, included in the federal and State constitutions (e.g., the 14th Amendment of the former), makes such prohibition of such discrimination not only desirable but constitutionally necessary, by federal, State or local action -- legislative, executive or judicial.

3. Toward removing such discrimination from private housing, the degree of public interest at stake requires -- in addition to education -- that State or local governments should legally prohibit such discrimination in the sale or rental of private housing. But groups established in good faith for non-housing purposes -- e.g., religious bodies or fraternal orders -- should be permitted in good faith to limit to their members the sale or rental of housing accommodations provided specifically for their members. (Neither the Union's national office nor any affiliate need oppose, or refrain from supporting, legislation prohibiting discrimination in private housing merely because it contains other exceptions; but may ask the Board for action thereon.)

V. Equality (cont.)

The question of method in removing discrimination from completely private housing, in which no governmental agency participates at all, involves more considerations than in the case of government-assisted housing. Such private housing is not within federal jurisdiction; legal action to remove discrimination from such housing is in the province of State or local governments. Moreover, the federal Constitution's 14th Amendment provision for equal protection of the laws does not require such legal action by State or local governments to remove discrimination from such private housing. Most important, there are other provisions in the federal and State constitutions, protecting reserved private rights such as freedom of association or non-association, which must be taken into account when even State or local governments contemplate restricting private decision. Wherever a conflict occurs between one civil-liberty principle such as free association or non-association and another civil-liberty principle such as non-discrimination, the conflict cannot be avoided and should be explicitly recognized; the question then becomes one of balance, and choice. The ACLU, choosing on balance, believes that the degree of public interest at stake in removing discrimination from private housing is now large enough to demand its legal prohibition by State or local governments. The Union will take action on specific legislative proposals within the guidelines set forth above. (Board resolution, June 3, 1959.)

B. Racial Discrimination in Labor Unions

No labor organization shall discriminate unfairly in its representation of all employees in the negotiation and administration of collective bargaining agreements, or refuse membership, segregate or expel any person on the grounds of race, religion, color, sex, national origin, opinion or lack of United States citizenship. No labor organization shall deny to a member equal rights within the union and the protection of the union's law. (Board resolution, March 21, 1958.)

Military Library In-
dusries Complies

TEXT OF ADDRESS

by

ALAN BARTH

Editorial Writer, Washington Post,
Member, ACLU National Committee

on

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX--
The Threat of the 'Garrison State'
Including the Rise of the Ultra-Right Organizations

Before
ACLU Biennial Conference

I have to begin with a disclaimer -- a disclaimer of all responsibility for being here in the first place and of all pretense to authority concerning the subject I am to discuss in the second. To support the disclaimer, I have to be autobiographical.

About six months ago, an essay of mine called "Report on the Rampageous Right" appeared in the New York Times Magazine. It offered some generalizations and conjectures concerning those people who believe that the cold war can be won forthwith if we but have the will to win it and if we will simply impeach Earl Warren and cleanse the government of such minions of Moscow as John F. Kennedy.

I can't recall anything I have written which has had such a response as this article. Letters fluttered down upon me like confetti at a reception for John Glenn. Four publishers proposed books on the subject of the rampageous right -- to be produced in the twinkling of an eye, of course. A literary agent approached me with a similar proposition. And I was flatteringly invited to speak in a variety of places as an authority on extremism.

I tell you about this for two reasons. One is that I think the extremely widespread interest and concern regarding the far right is significant. It indicates a reassuring awareness of the dangers inherent in such fanaticism. I think the country learned something from its bout with mccarthyism; that experience operated like an inoculation to give the American body politic a measure of immunity or at least of sophistication, to scattergun accusations of disloyalty.

Second, I tell you about the response I got because I want you to know that, although indolence may have entered into it unconsciously, I had the simple mother wit to turn down every one of these invitations without so much as a backward glance. I turned them down for a very good reason -- because I had no more knowledge, nor even any additional opinions, to offer about the far Right.

Now, you may well ask, then, what I am doing here as a speaker this morning. There is simply no good answer to that question. Whether I was overcome

"Progressive"

Cal. ~~big issue~~ - ~~Political~~
needed a political reply

Journalists best
political debaters.

5

Transcript
Cal. leg. relations
amendment

TEXT OF ADDRESS

by

ALAN BARTH

Editorial Writer, Washington Post,
Member, ACLU National Committee

on

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX--
The Threat of the Garrison State,
Including the Risk of Electronic-Night Surveillance

Before

ACLU Annual Conference

I have to begin with a disclaimer -- I disclaim any of all responsibility for being here in the first place and of all pretensions to authority concerning the subject I am to address. I am also second: To support the disclaimer, I have to be autobiographical.

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A year's worth of speaking and have written which has had such a response as this article. Publication dropped upon me like lightning as a reception for Government, publishers proposed books on the subject of the consequences right now to be produced on the building of an epoch occurred. A literary agent approached me with a similar proposition. And I unhesitatingly invited to speak in a variety of places on an authority on subject.

I tell you about this for two reasons. One reason I think the extremely widespread interest and concern regarding the far right is significant. It indicates a reassuring awareness of the dangers inherent in such fanaticism. I think the country has seized something from its tumultuous recent history that experience operated like an inoculation to give the American body politic a measure of immunity or at least of nonhysteria, to certain accusations of disloyalty.

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Now, you may wait ask, then, what I am doing here as a speaker this morning. There is simply no good answer to that question. Whatever overcome

by the compliment of being offered a place on so distinguished a program or by a sense of disciplined deference to the commands of Jack Pemberton, the plain fact is that I haven't done the kind of homework that ought to be done before speaking to people who know at least as much as I do about the matter in hand.

I want to be quite candid about it. I haven't seen these rightist groups operate at first hand as some of you have done. I haven't interviewed their leaders or studied their programs in detail -- if they have any programs. I am conscious of the fact that a great deal has been said and written about the extreme Right in recent months -- none of it more apt or discerning than the March 21, 1962 report prepared for the ACLU Board by Alan Reitman.

So I am fearful that I have nothing new to offer. I can only present some observations as a starting point for discussion -- and then let you supplement, refine, refute, challenge or even, if anyone is so insensate as to attempt it, contradict what I say at your pleasure.

Well, let me begin by trying to define what I am going to talk about. The term "ultra right" which Jack Pemberton has fixed for me is obviously loaded, tendentious and pejorative. Let me say as explicitly as I can that I am not going to talk about conservatives. But neither do I mean to exclude automatically from the ultra right category everyone who chooses to disguise himself in conservative clothing.

The most common grievance I encountered in connection with my Sunday Times article was that it lumped conservatives and fanatics together -- although I had taken pains to say that I considered them altogether different. This complaint usually came from correspondents who said they never read the New York Times -- that filthy, radical rag -- but had just happened to see my article and then went on to say that they did not subscribe to the view that President Eisenhower is a conscious Communist; they simply think that the government in general is overrun with unnamed traitors.

Well, I <u>am</u> talking about these people. My friend Herblock drew a cartoon not long ago which summed this situation up graphically and illuminatingly, as his cartoons so often do. The cartoon shkws two men standing with arms round each other's shoulders. One of them, labeled "Birchers", carries a placard which reads, "The Government is full of Communists!" The other, labeled "Goldwater", carries a placard which reads, "The Government is full of dangerous left-wing extremists!" A rather perplexed and startled looking ordinary citizen is looking at the pair. Above the cartoon is a caption which says: "Mind You, I Don't Put It Exactly That Way."

For my part, I do not think that all Birchites are necessarily card-carrying members of the John Birch Society. I think that the ultra right has to be distinguished not by its professions of belief but by its bent of mind, not so much by what it says as by what it does, not so much by its opinions as by its attitudes.

It seems to me that the ultra Right can be characterized by three tendencies: First, the tendency to see great and complex social and global issues in terms of simplistic choices -- "either-or," "black or white," "total victory or

total surrender." Second, the tendency to claim a patent on patriotism -- if you differ from them about anything, you're just not with it, that's all -- and to attribute every setback and frustration to betrayal by traitors and Communists. Third, the tendency to distrust the democratic process and both the loyalty and good sense of most of their fellow-Americans.

This last tendency finds expression most commonly in the redundant assertion by these people -- as though they had discovered a vast and vital distinction -- that the founders of the United States called it a Republic rather than a democracy.

The bona fide, true-blue ultra-Rightist distrusts not only the democratic process and seeks constantly to shortcircuit it but distrusts along with it every sort of diversity. Conformity is his watchword.

What are the dimensions of the ultra-Right movement in the United States today? We have lately had some roughly reliable indications of the answer to this question in the California primary election returns of a fortnight ago. It was said from the beginning of the California campaign that Mr. Nixon would encounter formidable opposition within his own party from his right-wing opponent, Joseph Shell.

Nixon came through as we all know -- and pretty decisively, with a two to one margin. But the rightists managed to roll up 33.4 percent of the GOP vote against a former Vice-President of the United States not celebrated for liberalism.

Given the preponderance of Democrats in California, I suppose that one-third of the Republican vote can be said to represent approximately 15 percent of the total California electorate. And when you come to think about it, that is really not so impressive or formidable a showing as the Right would have liked and as many of us had feared.

That 15 percent of the whole California electorate is the most that can reasonably be claimed by the ultra-Right is made even more clear by looking at the votes garnered by Senator Tom Kuchel's opponents in the Republican senatorial primary. Senator Kuchel is a man toward whom there is not a great deal of opposition on any save political grounds. I mean to say that people may disagree with him politically but few, I think, dislike him personally. The same cannot be said with equal confidence concerning Mr. Nixon. Some of the votes that went to Mr. Shell may have been prompted by personal rather than strictly political considerations; that is to say that some Republicans who let themselves be recorded as ultra-Rightist may have been only anti-Nixon.

Tom Kuchel's three opponents -- two of them avowed Rightists -- got only 26.4 percent of the Republican votes -- which could suggest that the ultra-Right strength in the whole of the California electorate should be gauged at no more than about ten or twelve percent. Californians who are here today will forgive me, I hope, if I say this is rather surprisingly small in a state notorious for its nuttiness. Although I confess I haven't looked up the figures, I'll take a chance on asserting that Upton Sinclair did a lot better than this a few decades ago with his EPIC program -- End Poverty in California.

This impression that the ultra-Right is by no means a dominant political force in the United States gets reinforced when you look at the latest Gallup poll figures on presidential preferences among Republicans nationally. When asked to

choose among a list of men mentioned as possibilities for the GOP nomination in 1964, 23 percent picked Sen. Barry Goldwater, as compared with 32 percent for Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. Among voters who classified themselves as Independents, only 17 percent were for Goldwater, as against 33 percent for Rockefeller.

Well, I don't mean to make too much of polling statistics that can be used, I suppose, to prove a variety of points. I should think it fair to say, however, on the basis of these figures that the ultra-Right does not now seem at all likely to gain control of the Republican Party; and in the Democratic Party I take it to be without significant influence, although the White Citizens Council in the South have a close kinship to the Right. The Rightists can be, as they always have been, a restraining influence on the Republicans; they will probably again, as they have done before, keep the GOP from becoming a genuinely progressive party or nominating a genuinely progressive candidate. But they will not govern the Party. This conclusion is fortified when one recalls that Rightist strength appears to be concentrated in the South and the Southwest.

But of course the political parties are not the only channels of political influence. And also, of course, as has been observed regarding the extreme Left, numbers do not afford a satisfactory index to political power.

Money is a major factor, too. And there is ample evidence to suggest that the ultra-Right has lots of it. However potty the programs of the Right-wing groups, their methods of operation are highly pragmatic. Their meetings are shrewdly organized by professionals. They are very definitely "in business."

The most disquieting aspect of the ultra-Right movement in the United States is the fact that it apparently draws a great deal of financial support and encouragement from big business corporations and executives. No paradox is more perplexing to my mind than the extraordinary gullibility of hard-headed businessmen. The industrialists who backed Hitler in Germany three decades ago have their lineal descendants in the United States today.

Here, obviously, is where the real strength of the ultra-Right lies; here and in the military establishment. And of course industry and the military establishment are tied closely together through defense contracts. It was against the power of this combination that President Eisenhower wisely warned when he was about to leave the presidency. And it is properly upon this military-industrial complex that the attention of this conference is focused.

Military men have never before in the history of the United States exercised so powerful an influence upon the national economy as they do today. A defense budget of 50 billion dollars is a potent force. Those who dispense it are not to be ignored.

In that remarkable letter which General Edwin A. Walker sent to the Senate Armed Services Committee just after he resigned from the Army, he observed that "our defense is based on the concept of a civilian military establishment with regular Army support" and added that "to presume a military coup by such an army is patently preposterous." So it has always been in this country. But when one reflects upon the conduct of General Salan in France, one can hardly feel wholly comfortable about military officers who denounce civilian leaders as corrupt and treasonable and who work hand-in-hand with Rightist organizations which have utterly rejected democracy.

At present, the real force of the ultra-Right is felt less on the national level than in local affairs. It is in the particular areas where the Rightist organizations have managed to gain a good deal of strength that they have been most inclined to throw their weight around and that they have operated most balefully. Any group, unrestrained by scruples, can throw a ruinous monkey wrench into the machinery of the democratic process. The end justifies the means for the ultra-Right as well as for the ultra-Left.

Patently copying the organization of the Communist Party, Robert Welch has declared that "the John Birch Society is to be a monolithic body", that "democracy is merely a deceptive phrase, a weapon of demagoguery," that "the John Birch Society will operate under completely authoritative control at all levels." And, with an ominous implication that he might in the future be quite willing to seek overthrow of the government by force and violence, he asserted that his organization could not rely on "politicians, political leadership or even political action."

So, in many communities, reportedly, the John Birchers and other rightist groups have resorted to intimidation and pressure tactics of a very rough order -- character assassination, threatening and harassing telephone calls, the breaking up of meetings by heckling and interference, the coercion of local boards and officers. The New York Times not long ago carried an illustrative account of how a couple of bully-boy right-wingers from the group calling itself Young Americans for Freedom managed by sheer chicanery to get the student body of the University of Oklahoma to disaffiliate from the National Student Association.

City councils, city managers, school boards and library boards are peculiarly susceptible to pressure tactics. Made up of men and women inexperienced in politics and unsophisticated about the seamier side of political in-fighting, they often find themselves divided and frightened by the ruthlessness of the Right. And so they are pushed at times into actions which seriously violate the civil liberties of individuals and minority groups in their communities.

It is in this area that the ultra-Right's gravest threat lies. And it is in this area that the affiliates of American Civil Liberties Union must exercise their traditional influence in behalf of public understanding and fair play.

It would be a presumptuous carrying of verbal coals to Newcastle for me to try to tell this conference how the ACLU ought to function in this situation. Let me simply add my hearty endorsement to the recommendations of the Greenwich Conference reported by Alan Reitman. I should like, in particular, to underscore the injunction that the ACLU's primary role is to focus attention on the ultra-Right's "threat to civil liberties -- the democratic process -- rather than the content of the ultra-Right programs."

Obviously, there are going to be developments in which the ACLU will be called upon to uphold freedom of expression for some extremely unpleasant exploiters of it -- that amiable character, George Lincoln Rockwell for example. The ugliness and intemperance of the Rightists will now and then lead well-meaning people to try to shut them up summarily. The ACLU will be obliged, as always, to protect civil liberty for its own sake, whether on behalf of the right, the left or the center.

And of course we must do what we can to protect the rights of those whom the Rightists would push around -- in short, to protect the integrity of the democratic process.

For it is in the democratic process that our faith lies. If we keep it working -- if we give truth a fair chance in the field against ignorance and error -- we need have no doubt of the outcome. I believe the American Civil Liberties Union has never been more needed than now.

Federal Aid
Church Inst.

Page 2

FEDERAL AID TO CHURCH RELATED COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Delivered at the ACLU biennial convention
Friday, June 22, 1962

Summary of preliminary remarks by
Ralph S. Brown, Jr., National Board Member

I. The Administration Position

The 1961 proposals for loans or grants to institutions of higher education did not make any exceptions because of church-state difficulties. This position was supported in the HEW memorandum on "The Impact of the First Amendment to the Constitution Upon Federal Aid to Education" on the rationale that college students make a mature choice of what kind of institution they wish to attend, so that the setting is entirely different from that of the schools.

> "We are not, at the college level, dealing with a system of universal, free, compulsory education available to all students. The process is more selective, the education more specialized, and the role of private institutions vastly more important. There are obvious limitations upon what the Government can hope to accomplish by way of expanding public or other secular educational facilities. If the public purpose is to be achieved at all, it can only be achieved by a general expansion of private as well as public colleges, of sectarian as well as secular ones."

The memorandum concluded "that the administration's proposals for higher education are within constitutional limits."

Comment on Administration Position:

This analysis seems to overlook the fairly clear infringement of the establishment clause resulting from aid to institutions that are church-controlled and overtly maintained for the purpose of promoting a particular faith.

II. Position of Pending Legislation

H. R. 8900 and S. 1241 (as amended) passed their respective houses early in this session. The Senate bill contains extensive provisions for scholarships which the House refused to include. The bills are at present buried in the House Rules Committee. They both contain, with respect to loans or grants for construction of educational facilities (the only form of aid included in the House bill) the following limitations, in § 122(a)

> "(2) The term 'academic facilities' shall not include... (B) any facility used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place for religious worship, or (C) any facility which (although not a facility described in the preceding clause) is used or to be used primarily in connection with any part of the

program of a school or department of divinity. For the purposes of this subparagraph, the term 'school or department of divinity' means an institution, or a department or branch of an institution, whose program is specifically for the education of students to prepare them to become ministers of religion or to enter upon some other religious vocation or to prepare them to teach theological subjects."

Comments on the Pending Legislation:

The exclusion of divinity schools is clearly necessary and requires no discussion. So also for the exclusion of churches or chapels. The exclusion of a building "used for sectarian instruction" seems rather artificial. The exclusion of departments of religion from government financed classroom buildings would probably be put forward as sufficient compliance.

The attempt to make a sort of physical separation of religious and non-religicus facilities is in any event inadequate. Again, it seems to be a clear violation if the establishment clause to provide substantial direct aid to an institution that is church-controlled and that has religious purposes.

III. The Present ACLU Criteria

These were adopted by the Board on March 20, 1961, and stated as follows in Mr. Malin's testimony before a Senate committee on August 21, 1961:

"As compared with church-controlled elementary and secondary schools, church-related colleges and universities may in some instances be sufficiently different in degree to be different in kind. Institutions of higher education may be distinguished from the typical church-controlled lower school if (a) students and faculty members are not required to be adherents of the religious group with which the institution is linked; (b) indoctrination in the tenets of a particular faith is not a required part of the curriculum; and (c) determination of the instructional program is committed to the hands of those charged with educational rather than religious responsibilities. An institution that unconditionally meets those minimal standards may properly be characterized as educational, whether or not it was founded by or is now governed or financed (in whole or in part) by a religious group.

It is the union's view that Federal aid to institutions of higher education which truly meet the above criteria, even though conducted by religious groups, would not be contrary to the separation mandate of the first amendment, whereas Federal aid to institutions which place the inculcation of religious doctrine over and above the demands and standards of higher education should clearly be denied such aid on constitutional grounds."

Comments on the Board Position:

The Board was apparently concerned to identify significant differences between church schools and some church-related colleges. It may be questioned whether the criteria are wholly adequate to distinguish among colleges with varying degrees of church dependence or independence. The first criterion (no requirement of adherence to the religious group by students and faculty members) would have very limited application. Even colleges that are overwhelmingly identified with one faith usually profess to welcome students of other faiths. Thus, Catholic universities will include 5-10% non-Catholic students. So also Protestant church-connected colleges may have a few Jewish students, etc. Leading Catholic Universities do not even have all-Catholic faculties. On the other hand, it is common for Protestant colleges to require that faculty members be "Christians" -- though not necessarily associated with the particular denomination. Query if this would be disqualifying under the Board criterion?

The second criterion, that "indoctrination in the tenets of a particular faith" not be a required part of the curriculum has a much broader reach. Of one interpretes this criterion to apply even though a small minority of other students are excused from religious instruction required of students belonging to the church with which the institution is connected, then this criterion would exclude from aid all Catholic colleges, and a large number of Protestant colleges that have compulsory courses in religion or Bible, or compulsory chapel or church services. This is probably the most effective test for determining whether an institution is effectively a religious one. It is probably not, however, sufficient for all cases (an institute could avoid overt compulsion and yet be predominantly religious in character).

The third criterion relating to "determination of the instructional program" is not very clear, and would require difficult examination of both the formal and factual power structure of an institution.

IV. Alternative Formulations

A. Professor Hacker's proposals to the National Board.

Professor Hacker submitted the following criteria in a memorandum of April 3, 1961:

"An institution of higher learning is under religious direction

1. When it is organically associated with a specific church or religious denomination. This association may take the form of financial support, control of the governing body and representation in whole or in part on boards of trustees and/or lay governing bodies.

2. When religious worship and instruction (in the religious sense) are required of all the students of the faith whose church supports the institution. This commitment may take the form of compulsory attendance of chapel or church for purposes of worship or when the explicit statement is made that such worship is an 'essential part of the educational program.'

3. When courses in theology are stated to be 'the chief subject of study' or 'basic to the whole educational program' or at the heart of the 'creation of the Christain man.' Also, when such courses in theology specify a sequence of them laid out and when they are required of all students of the faith supporting the institution.

4. When faculty members who give these courses in theology or in religion are chosen from the faith supporting the institution. Courses in philosophy and the social sciences -- when the preponderant part of the faculty giving such courses comes from the faith supporting the institution -- may be regarded also as having a religion-orientation rather than an educational one."

Comments on the Hacker Proposals:

No. 1 is perhaps unduly rigorous in that some support and some representation on a governing board may well persist because of historical connections between a college and church, even though the college is no longer religious in character. No. 2 and 3 are clearly pertinent. If failure to avoid either criterion is disqualifying, then the first part of No. 4 seems unnecessary. The second part of No. 4 is pertinent to the problem, but difficult to administer.

B. Illinois C.L.U. Proposal

The Illinois C.L.U. has under consideration the following proposal from its church-state committee:

"...Governmental aid to private colleges and universities, other than theological seminaries, does not violate the principle of Church-State separation if the private institution does not engage in any activity which would not be constitutionally permissible in state colleges or universities."

Comment:

This is an ingenious formula except that it is not clear what is "constitutionally permissible in state colleges or universities". It was reported as of 1940 that "30% of state unstitutions has departments of religion" (V. Corwin, "Teaching of Religion" in reference 6, below, p. 169). Two state universities have Departments of Religion in which faculty members' salaries are paid by denominations, with the university exercising supervision and providing facilities. (Ibid. 172) Is this constitutionally permissible? Are state colleges and universities held to the same standards as public schools, or have they, in view of the interests of their students, more leeway in offering instruction in religion? If so, what kind of instruction?

C. Other Affiliate Proposals.

Other offiliates, specifically Florida, Kansas City and Southern Cal-

ifornia have objected to the criteria adopted by the National Board and offer a variety of general statements excluding aid for church-related colleges. With respect, I omit these proposals as insufficently specific to meet the variety of practices in Protestant and independent colleges discussed below.

D. Exclusion of all Private Colleges from Federal Aid.

Senator Ervin proposed an amendment to S.1241 which would have confined aid to public institutions on the ground that a very large proportion of private institutions are either church-owned or controlled and blended s cular and religious teachings. This amendment was defeated 72-18. Congressional Quarterly Weekly, Feb. 9, 1962.

Comment:

This proposal settles the issue by avoiding it; it is perhaps unnecessarily sweeping. There are approximately 375 institutions offering the bachelor's degree which describe themselves as independent, 385 under Protestant control, 260 Roman Catholic, and 21 controlled by other churches. These control categories are as reported by the institution in U.S. Office of Education, Education Directory 1961-62, (Part 3, p. 13).

V. Impact of ACLU, Hacker, and Illinois criteria.

Although there are significant marginal differences between the criteria that have been adopted or proposed within the ACLU family, it may be useful to suggest their practical impact.

All of them would exclude Roman Catholic institutions from federal aid. It is not necessary to document this conclusion extensively. It follows not from the fact of Catholic affiliation, but because the Roman Catholic Church is quite forthright in avowing primary religious aims in its institutions of higher learning as well as its parochial schools. Courses in theology are, I believe, required of all Catholic students at all Catholic colleges. Catholic colleges are unmistakably owned and controlled by the Church, either through the bishops or through the various teaching orders. Educational policy is ultimately determined by religious persons. A possible exception might exist for medical schools, although subject to possible challenge because of the birth-control issue.

Among Protestant church-related colleges the situation is much more confusing and difficult. These range all the way from institutions that are owned and controlled by a denomination, and that require teaching in the tenets of that denomination, to those which have only a lingering friendly relationship. Most of the private colleges in the United States were originally denominational. The shift to private control and in religious character is still continuing, as is the creation of new denominational colleges. The attitude of the various denominations has also been changing. In 1929, the Methodist position was reported to be as follows:

> "A Methodist Episcopal institution is one which, frankly declaring that it is under the auspices of the church and distinctly claiming that it aims to plan and conduct its work so as to serve the Kingdom of Christ as represented by the life of the Methodist Episcopal Church,

shall have the recognition and support of some Conference Mission Conference, or Mission, [and] the indorsement of the Board of Education." (Limbert, ref. 3 below, p. 8).

In 1955 this formulation was in use:

"We recognize as related to the Methodist Church all educational institutions which were founded under the auspices of the Church or by some agency or member thereof, or have come under the aegis of the Church through later agreement, and which have maintained a vital, organic or cooperative relation to the Church." (Snavely, ref. 5 below, p. 87).

Some colleges and universities that are now classified asindependent retain vestiges, but only vestiges, of their denominational origin. For example, at Kenyon College the (voluntary) chapel service is Protestant Episcopal in character; Yale has a "Church of Christ" in Yale University that is "in the Congregational tradition,, the present university chaplain is a Presbyterian. Yale, Harvard, and other universities usually considered independent of church control maintain Divinity Schools. Close examination of each denomination's policies, in addition to those of individual colleges, would be necessary in order to predict the outcome of many cases whatever formula was used.

Jewish institutions of higher education are very few in number and no examination of their policies has been made.

VI. Forms of Aid

The material above relates chiefly to "direct" grants - for buildings, equipment, books, operating expenses. No significant distinctions need to be made among these purposes. There is a weak argument that loans for building dormitories (a form of assistance that has been in effect for some years without any exclusion of church-controlled institutions) can be justified as a form of public housing. So it can, if the "public purpose" of such grants is called into question. But the "housing" label is hardly responsive to the church-state problem.

The material above also makes no distinctions between loans and grants. If loans are on terms more favorable than can be obtained from private sources they are clearly a form of aid. If they are not o favorable terms, there is no need for them.

B. Scholarships

The Union's position, as stated by Mr. Malin in the Senate hearings on August 21, 1961, is rather widely held. If a scholarship is awarded directly to the student on some basis of merit (or, as in veterans' benefits, for services rendered), then the student may use it at any kind of college. Even the Protestants and Others United accept this resolution.

Current practice in NDEA fellowships (as in important private programs) supplements scholarships with a "cost-of-education" grant directly to the chosen institution. Such a payment ($350 with each scholarship) is found in the scholarship provisions of S. 1241. It is surely objectionable as a direct payment to a church-controlled college; but it is also avoidable

by increasing the scholarship and permitting the institution to raise its charges to scholarship holders up to the actual cost of instruction. This simple device perhaps throws into doubt the whole rationale of accepting scholarships as a legitimate indirect source of funds to church institutions; and it is a rationale that we would doubtless reject if parochial schools were the ultimate recipients.

It should also be noted that there are serious differences among educators about the wisdom of centrally administered scholarship programs, as against letting the institutions make the choices. Our position necessarily comes down on the side of administration outside the college, whether or not this is educationally preferable.

C. Research grants.

No question, so far as I know, has been raised about the propriety of grants or contracts for scientific research to church-controlled institutions, if the principal investigators meet professional standards. One should note, however, that there is growing pressure for more "free money" to supplement grants that are said to be distorting university work toward certain fields and in favor of non-basic research. Here a policy desirable on intellectual grounds soon encroaches on the terrain of impermissible aid to religion unless (an approach this paper has implicitly rejected) it is feasible to carve up institutions of higher education into religious and non-religious sectors.

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No compendious survey of Catholic higher education has been discovered.

Use of Schools
Religious purposes

Sharing Time

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR ROBERT BIERSTEDT,
MEMBER ACLU BOARD OF DIRECTORS, ON "THE USE OF
PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR RELIGIOUS PURPOSES" BEFORE
ACLU BIENNIAL CONFERENCE, FRIDAY, JUNE 22,1962

Let me begin by recording an indebtedness to Joseph Tussman, of Syracuse University, and to the Oxford University Press, for publishing, quite recently, a book entitled The Supreme Court on Church and State. Those of us who are not constitutional lawyers have difficulty sometimes in keeping before us the arguments and the facts concerning the issues that come before the Courts. This book removes the difficulty in one important sector, the sector that engages our attention today; namely, the historic decisions on church-state relations. In it we find the meat of these great controversies, as they issue in majority and minority decisions, ranging from the case of Terrett v. Taylor in 1815, in which the Virginia Legislature asserted its right to expropriate the Protestant Episcopal Church in that state, to the case of Fowler v. Rhode Island in 1953, upholding the right of a Jehovah's Witness minister to preach a sermon in a public park in Pawtucket. In between, of course, we find all the important cases, including Everson, McCollum, and Zorach, which play so important a role in our current deliberations.

We owe Mr. Tussman, however, an additional debt -- a debt that accrues not to the collection itself but to two reminders, the first of which occurs in his Introduction and the second in his Preface. The former quotes the beginning of the First Amendment -- "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion" -- and reminds us that by these words the founding fathers "sought to avoid, not to borrow trouble." Almost exactly the contrary, of course, has happened in the years that have succeeded, although for us in ACLU the trouble has been a small price to pay for so important a principle. The latter is a quotation from Mr. Justice Frankfurter to the effect that "Preoccupation by our people with the constitutionality, instead of with the wisdom, of legislation or executive action is preoccupation with a false value." It is useful to remember, in short, that not everything that is constitutional is necessarily wise, and that not everything that is unconstitutional is on that account unwise; and it is especially useful to us, perhaps, in the kind of enterprise in which we are involved. It may be, of course, that I like this reminder only because it helps to conceal my own deficiencies -- because I am not a constitutional lawyer but belong instead to the maligned sect of sociologists. In any event I commend both of these quotations to your consideration as we proceed to our business, a business in which the Constitution is always present, but not, I trust, always paramount.

Mr. Justice Rutledge, in his dissent in Everson v. Board of Education, wrote as follows: "Two great drives are constantly in motion to abridge, in the name of education, the complete division of religion and civil authority which our forefathers made. One is to introduce religious education and observances into the public schools, the other is to obtain public funds for the aid and support of various private religious schools." It is my responsibility to report on the first of these abridgments and I shall do so by describing first the general situation as it obtains today, second the intrusion of religious influences into the public schools under such guises as holiday observances,

Bible distribution, the baccalaureate service, Bible-reading, and the school prayer, and third the hotly contested issues of released and shared time -- the last of which is offered as the solution to all of our problems.

1. The General Situation

The best recent description of the present situation is based upon 50% returns of the results of 4,000 questionnaires involving a proportional sampling of the four geographical divisions of the country - East, South, Midwest and West - and five population categories pertaining to size of place ranging from villages of 500-2500 to cities of over 100,000. It saves me time to quote the excellent summary of this study which appeared in our own Weekly Bulletin of May 14, as follows:

> "Half of the public school systems in the United States today hold homeroom devotional services in at least some of their schools. This was reported recently by R. B. Dierenfield, associate professor of education at Macalester College in St. Paul, in a survey published in the May-June 1961 issue of Religious Education on 'The Extent of Religious Influence in American Public Schools.'
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> This practice was true of eighty percent of the school systems in the East, only seven percent in the West, and twenty-six percent in the Midwest. But the inclusion of religious material in the public school environment is in general far more widespread in the South than elsewhere, particularly in the smaller communities.
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> Almost ninety-five percent of the southern systems report teaching 'spiritual values,' as distinct from 'moral values,' and almost two-thirds provide materials to teachers for this purpose. Regular chapel exercises are held in the schools in seventy percent of the southern systems, and Bible readings in three-fourths of them.
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> Two practices which the U.S. Supreme Court has already found permissable, those of released time and bus transportation for parochial school students, are especially common in the East. Only one-eighth of the schools have regular chapel exercises, but almost half have released time programs and over one-third provide transportation. However, in one-eighth of the nation's systems that provide released time programs, these classes are held in the school buildings.
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> As for actual religious observances, only fifteen percent of the school superintendents felt that they were not proper in the schools, and almost ninety percent reported activities to celebrate Christmas. Thanksgiving activities were reported in barely three-fourths. A few systems even reported holding classes in church buildings and allowing members of religious orders to teach in the public schools, but these practices were comparatively rare."

However unfortunate these facts may appear to us, there are those who greet them with equanimity and even with satisfaction. Professor Dierenfield suggests in his conclusion that many of these practices continue because of the time, money, and interest required to challenge them. A stronger statement of the case is made with apparent satisfaction by Arthur E. Sutherland of the Harvard Law School in an article entitled "Public Authority and Religious Education"

/published in Nicholas C. Brown, editor, The Study of Religion in the Public Schools, American Council on Education, Washington, 1958, pp.45-46/. Professor Sutherland writes as follows:

> "The great multitude of comparatively minor religious manifestations which obtain in many grade and high schools probably thrive on local public approval. Most of them escape official interference because of the sheer inertia of the legal machinery, which tends to discourage prosecution by disgruntled taxpayers and parents, of more than a few cases. No one should welcome judicial dely, expense, and uncertainty. Nevertheless, the difficulties met by citizens who start lawsuits on constitutional grounds to enjoin local authorities from conducting some minor religious observances in the public schools may have some good aspects. The practical impossibility of consistent and doctrinaire constitutional literalism in matters of church and state throughout our federal nation may be one of the curious benefits of the system. It seems to be one of those benigh paradoxes which permit an adjustment of localism to national policy, and so make life reasonably tolerable in our widespread and diverse nation."

This is Professor Sutherland's relaxed view -- not the ACLU's!

The fact is, of course, that although Protestants may be a minority in some of the larger metropolitan centers, this is still a Protestant culture and operates in all but strictly theological matters, on Protestant premises. Those of us who live in New York may forget this, but we need only reside for a while in Oklahoma, Nebraska, or Indiana -- to choose only three examples, -- to be reminded of it. Everett Hughes once remarked that the culture of the French is so Catholic that even the free-thinkers are Catholic. One may similarly say that the culture of the United States, in its economic ethic certainly, and in most of its customs, is Protestant.

The implication of these observations is that the inequity or the undesirability or -- much less -- the unconstitutionality of Bible-reading in the schools, say, or the singing of Christological carols in December, or giving thanks to God on Thanksgiving, simply does not occur to anyone in a local setting. In local as opposed to cosmopolitan cultures everyone is religious, everyone is a Christian, and with minor but growing exceptions, everyone is Protestant. One is reminded of primitive peoples throughout the world who are unable to comprehend the concept of people unlike themselves, who use the same word for themselves that they use for all mankind. One is similarly reminded of Warren Austin, ex-Senator and ex-Ambassador to the United Nations, who quite unconsciously proved this point by remarking that the Arabs and the Jews should settle their conflicts in accordance with Christian principles.

We live in a culture, in short in which the adjective "Christian" has two synonyms, one of which is "good" and the other is "religious". Anything that is good is both religious and Christian and anything that is religious is both good and Christian. Such notions as that there may be other religions, that these other religions may also be "good", or that, on the contrary, there may be in practice an incompatibility between religion and morality, or that religious freedom requires a prohibition upon saying the Lord's Prayer in the public school simply do not occur in the local cultures. It is only in these terms that we can explain the paradox that the Texas Baptists for example are formidable champions of the separation of church and state and refuse any and all public funds for their own use and at the same time support in Texas a public school system in which the schools take a religious census of their pupils, in which

the public school teachers on Monday check the attendance of their pupils at Sunday School the day before, and in which at least 30 public high schools with an attendance of more than 1600 students teach religion on public school property for academic credit. In that part of the country, and in the South generally, there is no taboo on one individual's asking another what his religious affiliation is, and the expected answer is Baptist, Methodist, or Presbyterian, not Catholic, Protestant, or Jew, and much less Christian, Moslem, or Jew. The American culture, in short, is a Protestant culture and its Protestant premises are reflected in the public schools.

It is time however, to come to cases, and I begin with the problem of holiday observances.

2. Holiday Observances.

The question of the observance in public schools and on public property of such religious holidays as Christmas, Easter, and Chanukah requires little discussion here perhaps because it has received so much by all of us in recent months. Prodded by the affiliates to modify various provisions of an earlier statement, the Board adopted on April 30, 1962 a final statement which emphasizes continued opposition to celebration of religious holidays as such in the public schools, distinguishes between teaching religion and teaching about religion, distinguishes in addition between explaining the meaning of religious holidays and fostering a religious view, and warns again that the privilege of individuals not to particpate even in the "non-religious attributes" of a religious holiday must be respected. The statement as amended suggests by strong implication, however, that other civil liberties pressures may be more important and that not every case of holiday observance can receive our attention.

3. Bible Distribution.

In various parts of the country including the states of Washington, Florida, California, Colorado, Ohio, New Jersey, New York, Minnesota, and possibly others, the Gideon Bible Society has sought to distribute Bibles through the public schools. In most of these states the practice has been declared in violation of both federal and state constitutions, on the ground that it is an establishment of religion and that, because the King James version is offensive to both Jews and Catholics, it gives preference to one religion over others. Indeed, in Tulare, California, the Reverend Janes Maloney, pastor of the St. Aloysius Catholic Church requested permission of the board of education in that community to distribute the Catholic version on the ground that "if one group have the privilege of distributing their Bible, all should have the same right." The request was withdrawn when the trustees, as the school board members are known, discontinued the distribution "until such time as the Supreme Court of California gives a decisive answer." The ACLU of Northern California, incidentally, was on the scene and was active in the case.

There is legal precedent for this prohibition. In Tudor v. Board of Education, a case involving the Gideon Society and the public schools of Rutherford, New Jersey (1953), the court announced its decision in ringing terms as follows:

> "We are here concerned with a vital question involving the very foundation of our civilization. Centuries ago our forefathers fought and died for the principles now contained in the Bill of Rights of the Federal and New Jersey Constitutions. It is our solemn duty to preserve these rights and to prohibit any encroachment upon them.

To permit the distribution of the King James version of the Bible in the public schools of this State would be to cast aside all the progress made in the United States and throughout New Jersey in the field of religious toleration and freedom. We would be renewing the ancient struggles among the various religious faiths to the detriment of all. This we must decline to do."

The unconstitutionality of the practice, in short, would seem to be clear.

It is known, however, that the distribution of Bibles to public school children continues. In February of this year the Greater Philadelphia Branch of the Union again intervened in Pennsylvania, where the Gideons planned to leave Bibles on tables in the assembly rooms of three elementary schools, one in Warminster and two in Southampton townships, where any child could take one but no child would be required to do so or be influenced in his decision. The Union called attention to a 1954 ruling of the Attorney General of that state affirming the illegality of the distribution and was promptly denounced by the attorney for the school district as "a very vocal and well-heeled minority trying to impose its own will." Although it is a comfort to learn that the Philadelphia affiliate is well-heeled, it is distressing to recognize that this particular battle seems to require fighting over and over again.

4. The Baccalaureate Service.

The question of the baccalaureate service commonly held in conjunction with graduation ceremonies in public schools came to a head in Portland, Maine in 1958 when The Most Reverend Daniel J. Feeney, Bishop of Portland, issued a pastoral letter prohibiting the attendance or participation of Catholic children in these exercises, whether held in a church or in a public hall. To this ban 31 Portland ministers responded in a statement affirming their belief in this"long established tradition" which gives recognition to the fact that both "education and democracy have their foundation in the Judaeo-Christian faith," deplored as divisive the disbarring of some children from ceremonies which "solemnize their educational achievement in a service of worship," and asserted their "pride in the long established tradition whereby the school recognizes that such a moving moment in the life of pupils is related to their highest faith." Patrick Murphy Malin addressed a letter to the Portland Press Herald calling attention to the fact that it is "unlawful and unconstitutional for the public authority to introduce elements of religious worship into any public exercise, even if attendance is completely voluntary," and to the additional fact that "constitutional prohibition operates even in the absence of a single objection."

It is impossible to know at the moment how widespread the practice of the baccalaureate service continues to be in this country, but I suspect that it is very widespread indeed. There were cases involving the Niagara Frontier Branch in 1960 and the Greater Philadelphia Branch in 1961. In the Miami case, which I shall turn to presently, a judge only last December upheld baccalaureate programs, whether addressed by priest, minister, or rabbi, if attendance is optional. Once more the question arises concerning the amount of time and energy we want to expend on this particular violation of the First Amendment.

5. Bible Reading

A. The Miami Case

The Miami case of 1961 involves a number of issues but is focussed on the Florida state law w hich requires Bible reading without sectarian comment in the

public schools. Suit was brought against the board of education of Dade County by a group of Jewish, Unitarian, and agnostic parents, represented by both the ACLU and the American Jewish Congress, contesting the Florida law and cognate religious practices in the schools. In his decision Judge J. Fritz Gordon prohibited school plays or pageants depicting the Nativity or the Crucifixion, the showing of religious movies, and the use of school facilities for religious classes by church groups. He upheld, however, the Bible reading without sectarian comment and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer. Recently the Florida Supreme Court upheld the entire decision of the Dade County Circuit Court. The ACLU and the American Jewish Congress have announced they will ask the U.S. Supreme Court to review those parts of the Florida decision which uphold Bible reading and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer in public schools.

The case has many interesting features on which one would like to dwell if time permitted. I shall confine myself to only one. One of the contentions of the plaintiffs was that religious observances and exercises in the schools, whatever their character, and whether voluntary or not, constituted psychological compulsion upon those who do not believe, that the choice involved is a relative thing, and that children who have to ask to be excused face social pressures more inimical to their welfare even than attendance. This contention, however, was disallowed by Judge Gordon who sustained the argument of the defense attorneys that, "The Constitution does not protect one from the embarrassment that always attends non-conformity, whether in religion, politics, behavior or dress."

B. The Schempp Case.

The issue of compulsion also arose in the case of Edward Schempp, a Unitarian, v. the School District of Abington Township in Pennsylvania. In the first of two suits filed in the Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, a section of the Pennsylvania Public School Act of 1949 was challenged. This section made the reading of ten verses from the Holy Bible without comment compulsory at the beginning of each school day for all children and provided that failure on the part of a teacher to cause the Bible to be read would be grounds for discharge. During the process of appeal by the School Board the Act was amended by the Legislature so as to remove the threat of discontinuance of contract from the teacher and to permit children to be excused from the Bible readings upon written request from their parents. Mr. Schempp reinstituted his suit however, and maintained that "Any child who left a class during Bible readings would be made to look like some sort of odd-ball in the eyes of his fellow pupils. This is still a form of compulsion even though the actual wording ... makes it appear not actually compulsory." This contention was supported by Spencer Coxe, Executive Director of the Greater Philadelphia Branch of the ACLU, who performed yeoman service in the case, and once again, on February 1, 1962, the same Court, remarking that no new issues had been presented by the amendment which would make the Education Act any less an establishment of religion, decreed that "Defendants are perpetually enjoined and restrained from reading and causing to be read, or permitting anyone subject to their control and direction to read, to students in the Abington Senior High School ... any work or book known as the Holy Bible ... in conjunction with, or not in conjunction with, the saying, the reciting, or the reading, of the Lord's Prayer; provided, that nothing herin shall be construed as interfering with or prohibiting the use of any books or works as educational, source, or reference material." The case has now been appealed by the Abington Township School Board and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court has also under consideration the NYCLU-sponsored case of the Regents' Prayer in the State of New York, to which I now turn. Before doing so, however, I cannot refrain

from saying that the brief prepared by the attorneys for Mr. Schempp, Wayland H. Esbree and Henry W. Sawyer, III, (in the first of these two suits; I haven't seen the second) is one of the most brilliant pieces of writing on this subject it has ever been my privilege to read.

6. The Regents' Prayer, State of New York

The best summary of the Regents' Prayer case is provided by our own weekly bulletin, and I quote the issue of April 2, 1962, in abbreviated form as follows:

The U.S. Supreme Court has agreed to review a decision by the New York State Court of Appeals upholding a daily prayer for use in the public schools at the school authorities' discretion, which was composed by the state Board of Regents. Five parents of school children in the New Hyde Park public schools, supported by the NYCLU, challenged their local school board's adoption of this prayer as a violation of the First Amendment.

The Regents' Prayer, composed by laymen in their official capacity as state officials, reads as follows: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy belessing upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our country."

In the lower New York state courts this prayer was held not to be sectarian, although it was found to conflict with some tenets of the petitioners' beliefs which included Judaism, Unitarianism, Ethical Culture, and non-belief. The Court of Appeals, in a 5-2 decision, upheld the use of the prayer as brief, simple, and consistent with the national heritage.

Petitioners' appeal from the decision, prepared by the NYCLU's board member, William Butler, asserts that the violation of church-state separation here is even more flagrant than in the McCollum case where the high court invalidated the use of public school premises for sectarian instruction by religious groups. This prayer, petitioners charge, uses not only the property of the public school system, but also its personnel, to promote a particular expression of religious belief specified by public officials.

The appeal was argued in the Supreme Court on April 3, 1962 and the defendants were joined, as friends of the court, by the attorneys-general of no less than 19 states of the Union claiming that a decision in favor of the plaintiffs would have far-reaching and undesirable results and affirming that this is a religious nation and that the men who influeneed the foundation of our government believed that man is a creature of Almighty God. Although not mentioned in the present instance, one rather interesting juxtaposition of words expresses the view that the First Amendment prohibits a state religion but not a religious state.

The decision is pending; it is clearly one of the most important in the entire history of church-state relations; and no one can predict what it will be.

7. Released Time.

The issues raised by McCollum on the one hand and Zorach on the other on released time have been rehearsed so thoroughly and so recently that it would seem only wearisome to repeat the performance here. It will suffice perhaps to

invite your attention to the fact that the Church-State Committee of the Union debated these issues only two months ago, at the end of April, with respect to a working paper in favor of reconsideration of our position submitted by the Reverend Robert A. Graham, S.J., a member of the committee, and rebutted by Mr. Jerome Nathanson, also a member of the connittee. The Committee, by a complete mail ballot, voted 12-7 to sustain the previous position of the Union.

Several questions have arisen with respect to released time, however, that I can only mention. The first of these is that academic credit appears to be given for religious instruction on released time in an ever increasing number of school districts in the United States. It is impossible to determine the number of these, but the situation is one that clearly requires attention. The second is that wholly unanticipated problems have arisen. In Woonsocket, Rhode Island, for example, where about 80% of the school population is Catholic, 1% Jewish, and the remaining 19% Protestant, the released time program operated during the last hour of the school day, once a week. In 1956, however, a change was proposed by the Catholic authorities. Contending that pupils are more alert during the first hour of the day than they are at the last, they suggested that the released hour be shifted from the end of the school day to the beginning. The shift was accordingly made in Woonsocket, over Protestant and Jewish opposition. The same request in Lincoln, Rhode Island, however, resulted in the abandonment of the program. These are only two of a number of questions that remain unanswered with respect to the practice of released time, now constitutionally approved under Zorach. A third question, raised by the Cincinnati chapter of the Ohio CLU, concerns the fact that where released time is most successful in terms of number of pupils engaged, those who remain behind receive no continuous instruction from their teachers but instead "just sit and twiddle their thumbs." While released time is clearly unconstitutional, a dismissed time program, under which all students would be released early one day a week, would have no such defect in the view of our general counsel, Mr. Osmond Fraenkel.

8. Shared Time

I come now, almost literally as a last resort, to the proposals gathered under the name of "shared time," a device that is advocated by persons of various shades of religious opinion as a solution to our problems in the area of church-state relationships as they affect the process and economics of education. Shared time differs from released time in one crucial respect. Religious instruction would still be given outside the public school, and upon request by the pupils who desire it. But instruction in secular subjects, now offered in both parochial and public schools, would be carried on by only the public school. The Catholic children now in parochial schools, in short, would come to the common school for a part of their day and in this way the divisions in contemporary American society would be softened if not healed and the public schools would be for all of the children in a good part of their subjects, some of the time. Catholic children, in short, would attend the public schools for instruction in subjects that have no religious connotations or implications, like typing, gymnastics, physical education, foreign languages, mathematics, physics, chemistry, industrial arts, grammar, and composition. Subjects in which there are clearly defined religious differences, such as literature, history, and social studies, and, of course, religion itself would continue to be taught in the parochial school.

These proposals, especially as advocated by Dr. Harry R. Stearns, superintendent of schools in Englewood, New Jersey, have a number of advantages. Most important, they would return to the common school all of the children and thus obliterate or at least reduce the religious segregation that now obtains completely between those who attend the public and the parochial schools. They would help to solve an almost insuperable problem for Roman Catholics -- namely,

the continued financial burden of maintaining wholly separate schools in the face of rising birth rates -- and put an end in large part at least to the "double taxation" that now afflicts Catholic families under clerical influence and control. Obviously the plan would increase the cost of public education, but there has never been any question as to the legal obligation of the public school to admit every child who wishes to attend. Above all shared time would diminish if not abolish the mounting pressure from the Roman Catholic Church for federal aid to parochial education. The salutary result envisaged by some would be an American high school comparable to the American state university: public buildings devoted to secular education but surrounded by other buildings, erected by Catholic, Jewish and Protestant funds, in which instruction infused with religious values and sectarian indoctrination would be carried on. The students' time would be shared, in short, by the church and by the state in such a way that theoretically at least, neither would encroach upon the other.

The notion of shared time is still too new to have stimulated important discussion or controversy. Some penetrating questions have been asked, some of them constitutional questions. The few legal opinions so far advanced differ. Mr. Leo Pfeffer has said in public that he sees no constitutional bar to shared time. But a present member of our Church-State Committee, Professor Charles Ares of the New York University Law School, believes to the contrary. Let me quote from a letter he recently wrote Mrs. Bromley,

> I am unable to conceive of any such system [as shared time] that would not violate the First Amendment. Only if the public school day were shortened for everyone and those whose parents desired it were permitted to attend religious classes would the program, in my view, be free from constitutional defect.

In envisioning how a shared time system would work, Professor Ares raises some questions that will not be easily resolved. He assumes that the program will call for public and church officials to join in making decisions on what are either secular or religious questions, and asks "What are secular subjects? What are religious subjects?" He argues that any attempt jointly to decide these questions would necessarily involve the invasion of public school policy areas by religious leaders and, on the other hand, the invasion of the religious domain by public officials. Even when once these decisions had been made, Professor Ares warns that church officials would be unwilling to cede all control over textbooks and teaching methods used by the public schools for the instruction of pupils registered in church schools. "Unquestionably," he predicts, "these matters would be the subject of a many-faceted censorship which at worst would produce strife and acrimony and at best a bland diet..."

The proposal itself is one on which the members of the ACLU will have to make up their minds, and I therefore commend the problem to you as one that requires searching thought and earnest deliberation. When the Church-State Committee reaches it some time late in the year, we who are members of that Committee want the affiliates' views, as the Board most certainly will later.

9. Conclusion.

In this brief conclusion I want to indulge, with your permission, in a few personal and possibly privileged remarks. You will have noticed that throughout this discussion I have favored what appears to me to be ethical propriety over constitutional prerogative and this is a position I should wish to maintain. I have emphasized, in all of these cases, the problem -- whether legal or not --

posed by psychological compulsion upon immature students in the various religious practices that continue to occur in the public schools. When a child is forced to accept or not to accept a Gideon Bible, when he is forced to listen to the reading of a verse from the Bible or to remove himself from the classroom, when he is required either to pray with his fellows or to suffer the pain of psychic loneliness, then I feel we must protest. Whether, as the judge in the Miami case maintains, the Constitution protects against injury but not against embarrassment, is not an issue I am competent to resolve. But I am sure that children should not be forced by the authority of the state into a situation where they are required to choose between equally intolerable alternatives. On the issue of released time, for example, or on the distribution of Bibles, they are forced into a dilemma one horn of which is labelled ostracism and the other horn hypocrisy. Certainly this choice should not be within the power of the state to demand, and I am proud to belong to an organization which calls this very real civil liberties problem to public attention.

Federal Commu-
nication Com.

TEXT OF ADDRESS

by

JOEL ROSENBLOOM

Legal Assistant to Chairman,
Federal Communications Commission

on

THE REGULATORY POWER OF THE FCC

Before
ACLU Biennial Conference
Friday Evening, June 22, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I would like to start by entering a lawyer's cautious disclaimer: The remarks I am about to make represent my own views -- not those of Newton Minow or the FCC. Mr. Minow has had an opportunity to examine a draft of these remarks, but his refusal to censor them -- while telling a lot about his own attitude toward censorship -- doesn't necessarily mean that he agrees with every detail.

Second, I would like to emphasize -- in my wholly unofficial capacity -- how much we at the Commission appreciate the support which the American Civil Liberties Union has traditionally given to the Commission's regulation of the overall program service which broadcasting stations provide the public. The Commission's present policies in this field are very close to those which the ACLU urged upon us in 1959, during the course of the Commission's En Banc Programming Inquiry. And this friendly relationship is not a new one. Since 1926, when Morris Ernst testified on the bill which became the Radio Act of 1927, the ACLU has generally supported the Commission's authority. In fact, it has often sought to prod the Commission into greater activity. With the possible exception of the Federal courts and the Civil Rights Commission, I know of no other agency of government that can make that statement!

I stress the apparent paradox involved in the spectacle of an organization which espouses civil liberties endorsing the vigorous exercise of authority by the government over one of our society's primary modes of expression and communication. For, as this debate testifies, there are people who are troubled by the paradox -- who question the validity of the Commission's traditional role and the ACLU's traditional position. Some of them think that a civil liberties union just naturally ought to be opposing every exercise of government authority over every mode of expression. Others think that the situation would be a little less scandalous if the ACLU took a stand-offish attitude, neither opposing nor endorsing the government's regulatory program. The position I want to urge upon you is that both sets of people are wholly wrong, and that the traditional relation between the ACLU and the FCC is a healthy one, conducive to the widest enjoyment of liberty by everyone in this country.

Let me address myself first to the all-out opposition. The heart of the case for the FCC's authority lies in the proposition that the radio spectrum is a limited and highly valuable resource which the government must distribute in a manner which will best serve the public interest. The critics of the FCC attack this proposition in various ways. They point to the fact that broadcasting stations are much more numerous than newspapers, but no one seeks to impose a system of government licensing upon newspapers -- or thinks that attempts by the government to control the content of newspapers would be consistent with the freedom of the press. They point out that most applications for broadcasting licenses are uncontested, and that there are frequency assignments which -- though technically available -- find no applicants. They hint darkly that the so-called scarcity of frequencies is really an artificial product of government rationing. And they ask why we should not rely upon the free market to allocate this scarce resource, just as we rely upon it to allocate almost every other resource for which demand outruns supply.

Taking the newspaper analogy first, the high costs and uncertain returns of newspaper publishing do tend to discourage people who would otherwise enter the field. The trend is clearly in the direction of fewer large metropolitan dailies. But no one suggests that this is a good thing, or that the government should -- much less must -- use its power to limit entry into the newspaper business. On the contrary, the government acts under the antitrust laws to prevent private persons from erecting artificial barriers to entry. The situation in broadcasting is just the reverse. Since 1927, it has been generally agreed that the government must both limit entry by those who wish to use the radio spectrum and distribute frequencies among competing uses.

It is true that we have found the frequencies to accommodate a large number of broadcasting stations. There are more broadcasting stations than newspapers in most communities. (Incidentally, I think the continued decline in the number of metropolitan dailies is a matter which deserves the close attention of an organization which seeks the widest possible freedom of expression and thought.) It is also true that most applications are uncontested and many frequency assignments are unsought. For the commercial attractiveness of frequencies differs, depending upon the location at which they may be used, their technical characteristics, the nature of the receiving equipment in the hands of the public and other factors. VHF (Very High Frequency) television channels in large cities are at a premium; one can count on fingers and toes the number of such assignments that are or might be made available. UHF (Ultra High Frequency) television channels in many areas have lain fallow for years.

But these facts don't indicate an unlimited spectrum. Before World War II we had some 600 odd AM radio stations in this country. Now we have over 3,500, and frequency assignments that were once uncontested would be the subject of strenuous competition. Between 1945 and 1948, VHF television permits in a number of major communities were going begging; some were even turned back to the Commission after having been granted. Today the operators of such stations reap profits which would draw a host of new competitors -- if there were additional VHF television channels to allocate.

Moreover, there are always the non-broadcast users of radio to consider. Radiotelephone, radiotelegraph, police radio, fire radio, forestry radio, aeronautical radio, amateur radio, industrial radio, radar, radioastronomy, medical

radio telemetering -- yes, and taxicab dispatch radio, too -- all represent uses of the same resource that lies at the base of broadcasting. I don't mean to imply, of course, that all have to use the same frequencies. But there are many non-broadcast users who claim that the bands allocated to them are overcrowded or otherwise unsatisfactory. Many a longing eye is cast on broadcasting frequencies, and formal requests for a re-allocation of such frequencies to non-broadcast use are far from uncommon. For example, in 1948, the Commission deleted television channel 1 and made the frequencies involved available to the various non-government fixed and mobile radio communication services; in 1951, the Commission refused to assign the frequencies which now comprise television channels 14-18 to the common carrier mobile radio services and allocated them instead to television broadcasting; in 1961, theCommission refused to allocate television channel 37 to radioastronomy, and that question is still before us because of a request by the University of Illinois that we reconsider our position.

The moral is simple: no use of radio is self-justifying. Broadcasting is entitled to the amount and kind of space in the radio spectrum that its value to this country demands, and the government cannot escape responsibility for making the judgment as to what that value is. Radio and television entertainment and commercial advertising are unquestionably services of value to this country. But if broadcasting were limited to those functions -- if it played no role in our national and local political life, made no contribution to our educational systems, provided no platform for the discussion of controversial issues or means for the expression of religious faiths -- would the government really be warranted in assigning it all of the frequencies it presently enjoys?

I, for one, think not. And the Commission has clearly been of the same mind. In 1949, for instance, it said this:

> It is axiomatic that one of the most vital functions of mass communications in a democracy is the development of an informed public opinion through the public dissemination of news and ideas concerning the vital public issues of the day. Basically, it is in recognition of the great contribution which radio can make in the advancement of this purpose that portions of the radio spectrum are allocated to that form of radio communication known as radiobroadcasting.

Now it is argued that we should rely upon the free market to distribute frequencies among the various uses which might be made of them. As between broadcasting and other services, such a proposal is simply impractical. You can't have a television industry, for example, unless there is prior agreement upon technical standards and the band of frequencies to be used. Otherwise, how could set manufacturers create a television receiver which would be useful in Maine as it is in Florida, in California as it is in Indiana? Within the television broadcasting service, it is theoretically conceivable that the government could define property rights in the use of channels -- rather than limited licenses -- and, once having sold or given these rights away, could rely upon the operation of the market to produce the service which people want. The judgment made in 1927 was that, from the standpoint of public policy and the goals which broadcasting might achieve, this would be a poor way indeed to run a railroad. I submit that that judgment was right.

One of the things Congress required in 1927 was that the Commission allocate broadcasting facilities in such a way as to produce a fair, efficient and equitable distribution of service among the various States and communities. In carrying out this mandate, the Commission has long held that it is fair to bring service to people who have none before bringing additional service to people who have a plethora. It has also held it more important to provide a local outlet for people who are dependent upon service from stations in other communities than to provide an additional facility for a community already well supplied with local stations. What does the market care for such values? How would the market distribute the channels which the government has carved out of the spectrum by excluding all uses but television broadcasting? I think it obvious that many of the smaller communities that have only one station would have none; many others that have two stations would have one; but Philadelphia, Cleveland and Detroit -- which have three stations now -- would be the gainers.

And what of the programming service that would be provided? We have never relied solely upon the market for education in this country. For the market wouldn't weight sufficiently the interest which all of us -- the childless as well as the parents of school-age children, the highly trained and the unskilled -- have in the transmission of culture and the broadening of enlightenment. Is there any reason to treat the educational use of television differently? The same thing holds, I suggest with respect to political broadcasting, religious broadcasting, public affairs broadcasting generally and all of the programs which we call, rather loosely, "public service programs." No one suggests that one or all of these types of broadcasting should dominate to the exclusion of entertainment. And the Commission has scrupulously refrained from imposing upon the public and the broadcasters its own notion of how much or how little of any kind of programming any particular community should have. However, given the government's inescapable duty to decide whether broadcasting serves the public interest, how can it take the position that the judgment of the market on these matters is final and conclusive?

You will note that I have not as yet discussed the question of "minority tastes." This is not because I consider the subject unimportant. On the contrary, when dealing with a significant medium of mass communication, I think there is an obvious public interest in ensuring that minority modes of expression are not wholly frustrated. To quote Mr. W. Theodore Pierson -- one of the stoutest opponents of program regulation by the FCC -- "...broadcasting fails as an effective democratic instrument if it serves only majority tastes." To put it another way, all of us -- majorities as well as minorities -- have an interest in seeing to it that minority tastes and desires for broadcast service are not stifled.

There are some who argue that the free market can and does solve this kind of problem generally by providing the service for which minority taste groups are able and willing to pay. In response to the claim that our present television system gives inadequate recognition to minority tastes, they would urge that we establish a system of subscription television, which would allow the minority to pay for the programs it wants. If the minority can't afford to pay, under this doctrine, we must either view its wants as insignificant or else embark upon a program of subsidizing them. The latter alternative, it is argued, would only be justified if we were equally determined to subsidize minority tastes in book, theatre, magazines and the like.

In view of the limited number of television facilities which we have up to now been able to make available on anything like a competitive basis and the very high and relatively fixed costs of much television programming, I would question whether programming directed to minority tastes would be able to hold its own commercially under any kind of system -- subscription or advertiser-supported. The opening up of UHF television channels during the next 5-10 years, as a result of the new all-channel receiver legislation, may -- and hopefully will -- alter the situation. But that is something which remains to be seen.

Moreover, I see no reason to be frightened by the suggestion that it may be worthwhile to subsidize minority tastes, at some cost to majority tastes. Broadcasting -- unlike books, theatres and magazines -- must justify an allocation of radio frequencies by providing a service which meets the public interest. If broadcasting "fails as an effective democratic instrument," then I very much doubt that it is meeting the public interest.

In any event, "minority taste" is only one facet of the public interest in broadcast programming. The Commission has insisted that programs which provide "news and ideas concerning the vital public issues of the day" have a place in the broadcast spectrum -- not merely because there are people who have a taste for such programs but also because a functioning democracy has a need for an informed public opinion. Similarly, the case for educational programming does not rest solely on the fact that there are people with a taste or desire for education. The question of whether programs such as these deserve a place in broadcasting's public forum cannot be discussed simply in terms of "majority tastes versus minority tastes." To a large degree, it is not a question of taste at all. Neither are such questions as how to ensure fairness in the treatment of controversial issues or candidates for public office. To none of them does pay-TV offer any simple or clearly adequate solution.

The list of ways in which the operation of the market fails to meet the whole public interest in broadcasting could be extended considerably. I am prepared to let the matter rest, for the moment, on the examples I have given. In the debate on the Radio Act of 1927, one of the Act's principal authors, Congressman White of Maine, asserted that his bill rested on "the doctrine that the right of the public to service is superior to the right of any individual to use the ether." From a scientific point of view, we are rather more sophisticated today and probably would not use the term "ether." Otherwise, I see no reason to retreat from his position.

Let me turn, at this point, to those of you who are willing to agree that some control over the programming service of broadcasting stations is warranted, but who see no reason for a civil liberties union to lend its active support to the government's authority. The position I would urge upon you is quite simple. We have, in the portion of the spectrum allocated to the various broadcasting services, an enormously significant resource for mass communications. In the nature of the case, as I have indicated, the government has ultimate responsibility for the manner in which this resource is used. If the government's weight comes down on the side of restriction of the flow of ideas and repression of programs which are thought to be objectionable, I expect -- and indeed welcome -- your closest scrutiny and most vigorous opposition where you think it warranted. But if the government attempts rather to widen the choice of the listener, to promote the broadest access to the medium by all significant elements

of the community which seek expression, and to ensure that competing points of view on controversial issues -- as well as competing candidates for public office -- are given fair opportunity to reach the mind of the listener, then I expect your support. For when the government does these things, surely it increases the sum total of freedom -- both for those who wish to speak via radio and those who wish to listen. How can a civil liberties union be indifferent to such efforts?

Control Alleged
Obscenity

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY MRS. HARRIET PILPEL, MEMBER
ACLU BOARD OF DIRECTORS, ON "LOCAL OFFICIAL AND
PRIVATE GROUP CONTROL OF ALLEGED OBSCENITY"
BEFORE ACLU BIENNIAL CONFERENCE, FRIDAY,
JUNE 22, 1962

The announced topic for this part of this evening's session is "Local Official and Private Group Control of Alleged Obscenity". But as I have protested to Alan Reitman, this is a "coals to Newcastle" situation if I've ever heard one. For you are the people who know about the local official and private group censorship activities outside New York, and in this respect (as well as many others) I am certainly here to listen and not to talk. However, I did think it might be helpful if prior to throwing the floor open on this perplexing issue, I briefly sketched in the general background and foreground of American obscenity law as I see it -- a sort of outline censorship map of the United States, which you will fill in in example and detail. So here goes:

My dear friend, the late Dr. Abraham Stone, used to relate a conversation he'd had with one of his marriage counselling patients. After he'd listened to a seemingly interminable list of the agonies and indignities this patient constantly suffered at the hands of his spouse, Dr. Stone asked, sympathetically no doubt, "Have you ever thought of divorce?" "Never," said the patient, emphatically. "Murder, yes, often, but never divorce."

Now if the underlying principles of the law of obscenity were generally applicable, that story would have the most serious implications of serious crime. Ditto most of our television, motion picture and other entertainment fare. For the law of obscenity (alone of our laws) has been premised on the assumption that a person can and should be punished by fine, imprisonment or injunction if something he does is likely to produce what for lack of a better word, and until I get further into this paper, I shall call bad sex thoughts in another -- thoughts, mind you, not conduct, not even speech, just thoughts.

Now before I go on to decry further the anomaly that the law against obscenity is in our culture, let us first rejoice that so far as I know only that law penalizes the inducement of thoughts. This is not so in other countries, particularly totalitarian ones. In many such countries, the government is sufficiently afraid of "bad thinking" in all spheres, not only in the obscenity field, that publishing is a matter of grace from the government. The point of view is the same as our obscenity law but it stretches into all fields -- politics, religion, etc., and is thus far more destructive of freedom of expression -- the "matrix", of course, of all our other freedoms. It was reported at the recent conference of publishers in Barcelona that

> "... in Portugal and Spain the censor may seize a book either upon publication or long after, and from his decisions there is no appeal. In Portugal (and Austria) the right to be a publisher is a right that the government can grant or withhold. A leading Italian publisher (Mondadori), a leading Mexican firm (Fondo de Cultura Economica), and a leading Argentine publisher (Compania General Fabril Editora) reported heavy percentages of their titles inadmissable into

> Spain. An Argentine publisher (Sudamericana) also spoke of the handicap inherent in never knowing for sure whether to print enough for the Spanish market or not. A French publisher (Gallimard) spoke of the burden of submitting two copies to the Spanish censor even to fill an order for six copies." (Publishers Weekly, May 28, 1962, page 37)

But in our country, and in most other democracies, the long arm of the criminal law penalizes only conduct, not speech, and certainly not speech which does not lead to conduct but only to bad thoughts (the basis for a long time of our obscenity laws). It is true that we have some laws against speech in addition to our laws against conduct. However, by and large these laws against speech are based on the fear that the speech will lead to conduct which will be dangerous to the government or to individuals. The United States Supreme Court has in effect said -- although not without occasional backtrackings -- that except with reference to obscenity, people may be punished for speaking or for writing only if their speaking or writing creates a "clear and present danger to the community", which incidentally is the rule the Board thinks should also apply to obscenity cases until and unless we can get the obscenity laws declared unconstitutional, which we believe they are.

As a matter of fact, just two weeks ago one of the most distinguished members of our United States Supreme Court bench is reported as having ventured the opinion that even libel and slander suits conflict with the guarantees of the First Amendment "which," he thinks, "protects all speech and writing, even defamatory words, from legal restraint." (New York Times, June 11, 1962, pages 1 and 19)

To continue with Justice Black's remarks -- "There have been very few individuals in the history of the world who could be trusted with complete, unadulterated, omnipotent power over their fellow men." And how much more "complete, unadulterated /pardon the expression/ or omnipotent power" can you get than the law of obscenity, which says one person may go to jail for inducing impure thoughts, -- not actions, not speech, but thoughts -- in another.

Now why is this so? Why should obscenity be the one area where we impose heavy penalties on people because they implant thoughts in others, totally apart from whether those thoughts lead to action? Why, for example, don't we take a similar view about the daily diet of violence on television, which must implant in many -- and certainly in those who look at it regularly -- thoughts of murder and mayhem, surely far more serious crimes than any sex offense except perhaps rape. And I've never heard it said that obscenity stimulated thoughts of rape. Needless to say, I'm glad obscenity is the only thought patrol we have, but I am simply asking why this absurd position of protecting people against thoughts is a part of our legal system.

I think there are a number of reasons why we are several centuries behind and still punishing in the obscenity field those who induce bad thinking when in all other fields the preferred criterion is the "clear and present" likelihood that words cannot be made the subject of punishment unless they are apt to lead to harmful action.

In the first place, the laws of obscenity came down to us via ecclesiastical courts and while I am really not enough of a scholar in this field to assert anything with positiveness, I've seen enough plays like "Becket" and "A Man for

All Seasons", and read enough books to know that centuries back the long arm of the Church did reach out to punish those who thought wrong. And no doubt -- and unfortunately -- the same is true today of totalitarian regimes. But in a democracy we do not ordinarily fear what a persons thinks unless we are afraid he will translate it into action. His mind certainly, if not his home, is and should be his castle.

Secondly, the law of obscenity deals with that great imponderable, SEX. In our combination Judeo-Protestant-Catholic culture, we're still, despite the outspokenness of some of us, terrified about sex. In the Roth case, which I'll discuss in a minute, Justice Brennan referred to sex and obscenity as follows:

> "Sex and obscenity are not synonymous... Sex, a great and mysterious motive force in human life, has indisputably been a subject of absorbing interest to mankind... it is one of the vital problems of human and public concern."

For most people sex is important and they don't understand it(I'm not sure anyone does really understand it). The combination of knowing how powerful it is and not understanind it leads many to insist that anything that may encourage it should be rigidly discouraged. The fact that in one survey the answer to the question of what single factor college women found most sexually titillating was one word, namely, "Men", does not deter the censoriously minded from trying to remove fromcirculation as much of the material they think sexually exciting as possible. And before I forget I should like to say that no one ever spoke a truer word than he who said "If we could find someone wise enough to be a censor, he'd be wise enough not to take the job."

Now what has been the history of censorship law in this country? Let's trace it through briefly. Back in the 19th century and in the early 20th, the test of obscenity was derived from the British case of Regina v. Hicklin. No one appears to remember what the case itself was about. However, the doctrine of the case came to be well known. The test of obscenity traced to it was whether the material charged to be obscene would "corrupt" or "arouse libidinous and sexually impure thoughts" (these are the words of the cases, not mine) in those most likely to be corrupted or most likely to entertain such thoughts. Clearly this test, if really applied, would have made available for the mass of our adult population only such material as would not "corrupt" its weakest links, i.e. children, psychopaths, etc. And actually the test was even worse than I have made it sound so far for along with it went a doctrine as pernicious as the test itself:

(a) A whole work could be banned if anything in it could be thought to have this "immoral influence", and

(b) No expert testimony was admissable from literary or art critics or from professionals like doctors or psychologists as to their opinion of the work attacked or its probable effect on anyone. Apparently an instinctive knowledge of such matters was presumed to reside in the judge or jury.

It was during the period that the Hicklin rule and these two satellite rules held sway that among other things considered obscene was Walt Whitman's LEAVES OF GRASS. And the fact that the leading man carried Olga Nethersole (I assume a leading actress of her day) upstairs on the stage during a performance of the play Sappho in Boston caused it to be banned there.

At this point I should interpolate what you all know, namely, that there are two kinds of censorship. They're both bad, but one is worse than the other. The one that is worse is pre-censorship, i.e. a refusal in advance of publication or other release to permit a work to be published unless it is approved by some official or semi-official body. This is the pattern of motion picture censorship and fortunately of little else. Indeed for a long time many of us have urged that such pre-censorship was unconstitutional as to motion pictures as well as all other forms of expression. Unfortunately so far the United States Supreme Court disagrees. That Court seems to have looked with favor on court injunctions against publications in advance of their publication as well as on administrative bans on movies -- both, however, mostly in theory. In practice, the Court has been quick to strike down actual instances of such precensorship, not in principle, but under the Court's present day definition of obscenity, which we'll come to in a moment, and which, while it leaves much to be desired, is an improvement over the Hicklin test.

The second kind of censorship is less virulent than precensorship and consists in punishing people after publication for having published something the law considers obscene. Since, of course, neither kind of censorship can be imposed unless the material is what the law considers obscene, let's turn back to the definition of obscenity.

We left the definition with the Hicklin rule -- the likelihood, in the opinion of judge or jury unaided by any expert opinion, that "the tendency of the matter charged with obscenity is to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences and who might come into contact with it." So spoke the Court of Appeals, the highest court of New York State in 1888.

Well, time has marched on since the Hicklin case and the doctrine of obscenity has become a little less destructive of freedom of expression. The first erosion in the Hicklin doctrine took place when the courts, as in the case involving ULYSSES, held that the test should be the effect of the material on the normal, average adult member of the community rather than its effect on the most sensitive. Even this doctrine inhibits progress because the average normal member of the community is not likely to be sympathetic to the avant garde art of his day, which eventually becomes the "normal average" fare of the next generation if it is allowed to circulate. However, the "normal, average" adult is a better gauge than the weakest link. Secondly, most courts now welcome the opinions of experts in the arts and in medicine and psychology, etc. to guide their decisions. Thirdly, it is well established today that a work must be judged as a whole, i.e. that it cannot be suppressed because isolated portions of it taken out of context might be thought to fall under the current definition of obscenity. As a result of all these improvements, for example ULYSSES and LADY CHATTERLY'S LOVER go through unmolested-- finally. And when the State of Michigan some years back sought to ban everything that might corrupt its juvenile population, the United States Supreme Court, speaking through Mr. Justice Frankfurter, said that such a procedure was "to burn down the house to roast the pig" and unanimously (an infrequent occurence) declared the statute unconstitutional.

But all of this is, in one sense, peripheral to the basic question: what is obscene today? Granting all the improvements I have mentioned above which keep the obscenity laws from being as oppressive as they were, they are still on the books and what do they mean today? -- to which I would like to add "what should they mean today?"

There is, of course, only one answer, it seems to me, that a true civil libertarian

can give to the second of these two questions, namely, what should be the effect of these laws. And that is to take the position which has been vigorously espoused by Justice Hugo Black of the United States Supreme Court and the ACLU that all these obscenity laws are unconstitutional on their face.

The fact is, however, that the laws remain on the books. The United States Supreme Court has refused to hold them unconstitutional even when they impose restraints prior to publication. A number of state supreme courts -- notably Washington, Pennsylvania, and of all states, Georgia, have however said that no such precensorship is constitutional under their state constitutions although proper punishment may be meted out for obscenity after its utterance.

So, in the classic words of President Cleveland "it is a condition and not a theory which confronts us." There are obscenity laws on the books of the Federal government and of all states and they have consistently been held constitutional, Justice Black and the American Civil Liberties Union to the contrary notwithstanding. So (a) what do these laws mean and (b) if we accept the fact that apparently they're here to stay for a while at least, what is the least undemocratic meaning that can be ascribed to them?

First as to what the obscenity laws do mean today: taking up from where we left off, we arrive at 1957 and the now famous Roth case, the first case in many decades in which the United States Supreme Court squarely faced the question, what is obscenity? Apparently and understandably feeling called upon to enunciate a new test and get away from the old mish-mash of "arousal of impure thoughts or libidinous impulses", the Court enunciated a new test -- the test that holds sway today. And what is that test? Alas only other words, which most of us find as words to be as obscure and unhelpful as the words of the former tests, but which I submit, do lend themselves to a more objective standard (see below). Today something is obscene if -- and only if -- "it appeals to prurient interest" and "lacks even the slightest redeeming social importance."

So there it is, and we're stuck with it until and unless the United States Supreme Court enunciates a better definition of obscenity or follows Justice Black's and our lead and throws out the obscenity laws entirely. As long as they remain on the books this is the test, to which cling the improvements lead into prior tests like utilizing expert advice, and judging the book or whatever as a whole in terms of its impact on a normal, average adult (whatever that is).

I think there's quite a lot we can do even to make this test less restrictive of free expression if we take our cue from developments in related fields of law and stop shredding our garments. Actually whatever it means the test has not worked out so badly in practice. Since the United States Supreme Court enunciated it in 1957 (and to some extent it must have cast its shadow before) that Court has reversed virtually all findings of obscenity that have come before it. It has held, for example, that the film of LADY CHATTERLY'S LOVER could not be suppressed because it preached an immoral thesis, the thesis that in some circumstances adultery might be excusable. It vacated a ban on a magazine devoted to homosexuality on the authority of this new test. And state courts have followed suit. Able judges in the New York Court of Appeals, for example, have held that the only matter that can be constitutionally suppressed is "hard core pornography" and they evidently think they know what that means. Also during the past several years in rem proceedings have become more usual in the obscenity field, i.e. proceedings for the forfeiture of the matter said to be obscene instead of criminal prosecutions of those who sell it. And even in regard to those who do dispense material found to be obscene, the United States Supreme Court has softened the impact of the law to the extent of holding that they may not be criminally convicted unless the prosecution shows that

they had actual knowledge of what they were selling -- which removes one burden on such dispensers of the press as booksellers and newsstand proprietors, who, until that decision in Smith v. California, must have felt that they were in a highly hazardous occupation -- and of course they were.

Not that it's all peaches and cream today, however, The vigilante and unofficial censorship groups continue to intimidate newsdealers and the like and the extent to which they can be curbed, even though the pressure they exert is extralegal, is involved in a Rhode Island case concerning the activities of a semi-official body which will shortly come before the United States Supreme Court.

But getting back to the test of obscenity today -- I referred before to developments in two related fields of law which may be helpful in making of the test something more than just words which mean whatever the judge or jury in a particular case say they mean and which still attempts to premise punishment on internal mental processes -- "appeal to prurient interest" -- thought control. This is unique and pathological in our law, as I said at the outset. The aim must be to objectivize the test, to make the crime of obscenity if there is (regrettably) going to be one, dependent not on guesses as to what goes on in people's minds or glands but on some conduct which is socially bad; and with the developments of recent dedades in the behavioral sciences, particularly psychology, this is now something we can insist on.

In its new Penal Code the American Law Institute, following the lead of Judge Learned Hand, suggests that the criminal code "should not punish any kind of sexual relations, normal or abnormal, between consenting adults in private." (New York Times, May 25, 1962) Their suggestion, in other words is that only such behavior shall constitute a sex crime punishable by law as results from the use of force or the taking of other advantage of anotherpperson -- as where the other person is a child. What consenting adults do between themselves or alone, says the new code, is their own business. Similarly, it should be held that nothing is obscene, no matter what, if it leads to conduct or is apt to lead to conduct, which under this code would not itself be punishable.

So much for one helpful line of precedent. For the other, let's look at the law which governs punishment of expression on all but obscenity grounds. Here the rule is well established, although the Supreme Court occasionally deviates from it: as I pointed out above, generally speaking, speech and press may not be interfered with unless it can be shown that if uttered they will give rise to some clear and present danger of drastic injury. This is the rule which we of the ACLU have just, and again, resolved should also apply to obscenity matters. This is in essence what is behind the recent Board resolution on obscenity and what it means.

The Board resolution reads:

> "Any governmental restriction or punishment of any form of expression on the ground of obscenity must require proof beyond a reasonable doubt that such an expression would directly cause in a normal adult behavior which has validly been made criminal by statute. However, where there is proof beyond a reasonable doubt that the target group of the particular distribution charged to be obscene is composed of other than average adults (e.g.: children or savants) then the test should be the effect established beyond a reasonable doubt on that group -- whether the material would directly cause behavior that is criminal by statute."

We believe this resolution is consistent with the words of the Roth test -- in fact, that in effect, is is what the Roth case means. We believe that if the resolution were generally accepted as the true meaning of our obscenity laws, there would be no need to enact spedial legislation to protect children; such legislation always affects adult fare. Under the terms of the resolution neither sectarian considerations nor literary standards are relevant. The question is always, "would this matter alleged to be obscene probably lead to illegal conduct?"

We submit that under this definition of the test of obscenity neither LADY CHATTERLY nor TROPIC OF CANCER could be suppressed, and possibly there wouldn't be sixty-odd actions pending on the latter. In any case, the Board resolution is an effort to get away from the absurd notion that suppression and punishment can or should depend on what is in people's minds, hearts or sex organs. In a democracy there ought to be no attempt at thought control, no censorship forces so directed that they in effect become a "thought patrol". If there is danger, it is because someone will do something that will hurt society, not that he will think it. Even Big Brother in 1984 couldn't get at what was in people's minds.

You probably all know the story of the priest and the minister who were good friends and often spent evenings together; and how on one such occasion the priest said on parting, "Goodnight. It's been a lovely evening, and now we must both get some sleep so that we can each go about God's work tomorrow-- you in your way and I in His."

So long as we have obscenity laws on the books we should strive (a) to knock them off and (b) while they are there to do our best to see that they are interpreted objectively, not in terms of what I think is smut nor in terms of what you think is "hard core pornography" but rather in terms of whether the challenged material can or is apt to lead to behavior which would be damaging -- not to the thoughts it may engender. "Honi soit qui mal y pense" or let's concentrate on what's to be afraid of, if anything.

Francis Biddle
Address

TEXT OF ADDRESS

by

FRANCIS BIDDLE
Chairman
ACLU National Committee

on

THE FEAR OF POWER

Before
ACLU Biennial Conference
Saturday, June 23, 1962

Those of us who care about civil liberties -- and for that reason have joined this Union to fight for them over the years -- have learned the lesson of eternal vigilance. It is not enough to inscribe our rights on the parchment of the Constitution, we must make them realities. To do so requires a knowledge of power and its uses. The problem is different and more complicated in a pluralistic society. For in such a society powers must be checked and balanced. In our country growing from a small urban beginning -- pioneer, modest in its needs, with its resources untapped -- it was natural that the powers to be feared and to be curbed were those exercised by the sovereign. When we remember Lord Acton's words, that all power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely, we usually have government in mind. Based on this ancient dread -- it had taken a thousand years and a revolution to be free from the ruler's tyranny -- we created a system in which not only were the states set up as sovereign against the new conception of a nation to unite them, but within that nation the three branches -- executive, legislative and judicial -- were established as independent sovereigns within the system.

Our country grew enormously; and within the balanced and neat framework the authority of each branch increased in like proportion.

But in a democratic society power is relative, each great center of energy continually tending to compete, to seize, to control, to corrupt, or to shrink into comparative impotence.

The President's powers are thought of as abundant or at least as adequate. To those who dislike government, they are dictatorial; to those who look to government to help, sufficient power is seldom granted to accomplish the desired end.

Let us examine the recent use of Presidential power to curb big Steel. What just could the President do to prevent a price increase? He could exhort, he could threaten, he could investigate, he could appeal to public opinion. But supposing U.S. Steel had stood pat? The President could do nothing to prevent the rise in prices and the inevitable cycle of inflation.

Or take a look at the Administration's program for legislation. The President, at the height of his immense popularity, is stymied in Congress again and again. In a large sense, though it is often said his office is the most powerful in the world, when it comes to the test it is so limited in exercise that except in the hands of a very active fighter, who must use every form of public appeal and pressure to get things done, little can be accomplished. Such an appeal on a large scale must seldom be used, or it will become ineffectual.

I shall not here discuss the lethal hand of constitutional mechanisms -- the division of powers -- which are the chief cause of such a curious frustration. I am interested in the psychology which still sustains outworn institutions in fear of the use of power -- a fear inherited 200 years ago from a community that could get along comfortably enough by granting government only the most limited authority.

Inflation and the proper use of collective bargaining cannot be solved or much helped by the spasmodic resort to exhortation during crises. I remember when I was chairman of the first National Labor Relations Board, almost thirty years ago, one of my associates, Harry A. Willis, a wise and experienced labor economist, was concerned with the effect that collective bargaining might have on the economy, although he believed it was necessary to give bargaining reality. The competition of a market which was always seeking and finding the lowest wage was unsound, but who would represent the public in the bargaining between capital and labor? Their representatives could not speak for the public if they were to be loyal to their own interests. Without the representation of the public regularly at the bargaining table the present pattern of wage and price increases will continue. Yet, when such an arrangement was suggested, moderately by the Secretary of Labor, and more vaguely by the President, a howl from both sides rent the skys. You can't have your cake if you eat it. And it is ironic to note that what settled the steel row was not so much the President's stand -- courageous and firm though it was -- as the force of competition through lower prices coming from Bethlehem and sustained by the Administration, in an industry in which up till then for years prices had been administered by a follow-the-leader arrangement.

Professor Adolph Berle believes that there is evidence of a system emerging which in economic affairs contains control where there has been no control, and an "economic public" which is relegating the old capitalism to a museum. I find it difficult to see its outline or direction; but, specifically, if the government is to play its share the President must be given real powers to meet these crises, which increasingly have become national in their incidence.

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TEXT OF ADDRESS BY ROBERT B. McKAY
Professor of Law, New York University, and
Member, New York Civil Liberties Union Board of Directors

Before 1962 Biennial Conference
Saturday, June 23, 1962

CIVIL LIBERTIES PROBLEMS OF ADMINISTRATIVE LAW AGENCIES

The announced topic--and I confess the one to which I agreed to address myself--was a little different. Perhaps you will think it materially different; and you may be right. Because this is a civil liberties audience which presumably shares my faith that "the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the marker," I suppose I must in all candor tell you the assigned topic and let you judge for yourselves the appropriateness of my change in title. This may not have been precisely what Mr. Justice Holmes had in mind when he spoke of the "free trade in ideas" in his famous dissent in Abrams v. United States, 250 U.S. 616 (1919). But at least I feel an obligation to make that disclosure to you.

Here, then, was my assigned topic, as indeed you see it on your programs: "Problems of Administrative Agencies With Emphasis on the State and Local Levels." My change was to add "Civil Liberties" as a qualifying adjectival expression at the beginning and drop the final qualification indicating emphasis on state and local problems. These are the reasons for the changes: "The Problems" of administrative agencies are many and complex--too many and too complex for me to discuss with you today, even if I were able. Judge Henry Friendly, in his recently published Oliver Wendell Holmes lectures delivered at Harvard Law School in the spring of 1962, has outlined some

of the substantive problems; and in general I shall not discuss them. Equally pressing are the problems of financing, staffing, legislative relations, and other pressing matters that I shall leave untouched today. I content myself with the belief that you are primarily concerned with the civil liberties problems of the agencies (or, perhaps more accurately, the civil liberties problems of those who deal with agencies); and I for one find a host of these problems.

As tothe emphasis on state and local law which was promised in my behalf, my at least partial de-emphasis of that commitment is perhaps more difficult to justify. The problem is for me a practical one with two aspects. First, my remarks are designed today merely to introduce a subject on which the ACLU has not consciously adopted any policy statements (although, as I shall suggest later, I think perhaps the Board has had quite a lot to say about administrative problems without consciously addressing itself to that concept as a separate entity). As an introduction, then, my remarks will be designed to sort out the issues and to illustrate rather than to attempt comprehensiveness. Thus, believing that "The Problems" in this somewhat large, almost abstract sense, are endemic to the administrative process generally, I shall range at large through federal, state, and local agencies for my examples. The second reason, also practical, is I confess, largely personal. More familiar with the federal process than with local agencies, examples from the federal structure come rather more readily to my mind. I insist, however, that the same or similar problems persist at all levels; my illustrations, then, are intended to be just that--representative examples of civil liberties problems in the administrative process.

The Administrative Process: A Failure in Civil Liberties Vigilance

The word "bureaucracy" has come to have a largely pejorative connotation. To describe the administrative process as "bureaucratic" is almost to condemn it out of hand. Yet American libertarians, ordinarily quick to jump into any promising fray, have remained curiously silent, standing apart from one of the major areas of human involvement in the complex world of the present. We libertarians are always attracted by a good censorship scuffle; we are certain to be in on any dispute over Church and State--perhaps on both sides; and we are of course zealous to protect the extreme right or left in its efforts to get a hearing, while at the same time striving to make certain that answers to such extremists are also available. But when it comes to administrative practices that in effect punish

without trial or that provide only the palest reflection of what we normally consider fair hearing procedures, we are ordinarily not there to make effective protest. One wonders why our heads are turned away, why we are likely to respond more sensitively to other problems that are actually more remote to the daily routine of the real world. In truth, more of us are likely to be affected by an arbitrary denial of some needed so-called "privilege," such as a passport, drivers' license, application for a rent increase or decrease (in New York City), or any of the multiple permits we all need regularly. One trouble is that most of these problems aren't very glamorous, although on issues as exotic as passport denials we are likely to get very excited, forgetting that the procedures there criticized are only the visible part of a very large administrative iceberg that ordinarily remains submerged.

The answer, however, I believe goes deeper than a possible inability to dramatize administrative issues. More basic I think is a deep-seated ambivalence from which nearly all of us suffer almost subconsciously. It is simply one aspect of a larger ambivalence common to most so-called liberals. I refer of course to the proposition--now so well settled that it is alsmost old-hat constitutional dogma--that legislative bodies should have considerable latitude in developing their economic and social welfare programs. Since about 1937 judicial review has scarcely touched legislative programs in these areas; and by and large liberals have applauded that judicial self-restraint.

On the other hand, I think it is fair to say that the United States Supreme Court has become more frankly interventionist in protecting individual liberties in the first amendment, due process, and equal protection areas of the laws. There are perfectly good reasons for these seemingly variant trends, reasons which I suspect most of us here today accept without serious reservation; and of course I do not intend now, or at any time, to disagree with that general current of movement. I mention these facts of observed law simply to suggest what I think may be the reasons for apparent lack of ACLU concern in the area of the administrative process.

Administrative agencies, federal and state alike, had their period of principal growth--an explosion really--beginning with the New Deal. The SEC, CAB, NLRB, and others were thought of as part of the "Good Government" process, designed to permit effective, fair, and expeditious solutions to big problems, and little ones as well. Bold hopes, these were. Yet, in my judgment the agencies have come close enough to fulfillment of that original promise that I for one would be reluctant to see their objectives and methods curtailed.

The present is, however, a period of sharp criticism of the administrative process. Many close and honest students of the process believe that the agency format should be recast in a form more nearly like the courts, seeing no other way to correct abuses which to them are destructive of the agency concept itself. Others, however, and I should think that the ACLU might be in this group, would continue to find usefulness in the agency idea while serving as a friendly critic to point out the occasional abuses which, unless corrected, might be sufficient to bring about destruction or crippling reconstitution of the agencies.

This, then, is the dilemma: How may the summary procedures that are essential to the effective working of an administrative agency be preserved while at the same time protecting the substance as well as the form of fair procedures? The question is difficult; it admits of no easy solution--perhaps no solution at all. We are told that "no special policy statements have been adopted" by the Union on this subject. With all deference, I suggest that is misleading, for of course the Union has spoken out, and effectively, on denial of passports, on lack of confrontation, on claims of censorship by the FCC, recently on questions of fairness in a public investigatory hearing by the FTC, and on many other administrative agency problems of considerable importance. Rather what is meant, I suggest, is that no overall statement has been issued that could apply to "The Administrative Process." Perhaps such a statement is not even possible. But I certainly agree with what I read to be the implication of the "no special policy statements" comment, that the ACLU should address itself both to the large question of the proper role of the administrative agency and to some fairly specific questions of fairness in typical agency procedures. The all-pervasiveness of the administrative process demands this kind of continuing surveillance by an organization like the ACLU which can bring to bear its own expert judgment on civil liberties questions. That the Union's views are heard with respect when it speaks cannot be doubted. I have been interested recently, for example, to find how admiringly private attorneys with an administrative law practice speak of the ACLU following its recent criticism of FTC procedures. That their own clients' views coincided with the ACLU statement is, I choose to believe, not the point. Those particular proceedings deserved criticism, and the ACLU statement was widely credited with the respect it deserved.

There is another reason that may explain, if not altogether excuse, the frequent failure of liberals to give critical attention to civil liberties problems in the administrative process. There has been considerable independent re-examination of agency practice and procedures, both on the basis of agency self-evaluation and by outside bodies. Thus, in 1940 and 1941 a special

Attorney General's Committee on Administrative Procedure studied the federal administrative process and recommended legislation which, in modified form, was enacted in 1946 as the Administrative Procedure Act; and today the American Bar Association is sponsoring further legislative changes. Similarly, the First and Second Hoover Commissions made a number of recommendations, although mainly substantive in nature. In 1953 to 1955 a special group, known as the President's Conference on Administrative Procedure, made further suggestions. Now the process is under way again in the Administrative Conference of the United States, appointed by the President in April 1961 with a life to the end of 1962. The mission of this Conference, as of predecessor bodies, is to search for ways of promoting agency efficiency, reducing delay, and assuring fairness of procedures. A potential limitation, however, inheres in the fact that where the concern is primarily with efficiency, the focus is necessarily in part directed away from the issues of fairness which are for us primary.

In addition to the studies above described relating primarily to the federal administrative structure, the similar issues in state and local administrative agencies have also received some attention, although undoubtedly less comprehensive. The most notable state study is the 1942 report by Robert M. Benjamin on New York State Administrative Adjudication. Interesting studies have also been made in California; and a Model Act has been proposed by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws (adopted at least in Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Oregon, and Wisconsin). But these, too have not been presented primarily from the vantage point of civil liberties. That viewpoint should now be made known; and the ACLU should make the inquiry.

Agency Fairness: The Basic Dilemma

As I have already indicated, there can be little doubt that the original motivation for the establishment of nearly all administrative agencies was the desire to provide an effective and expeditious forum for the fixing of policies and the adjudication of claims that might otherwise not fit well into either standard legislative, executive, or judicial practices. (Some few, such as the Subversive Activities Control Board, may have had a different genesis; but they are exceptional.)

In view of that history it is ironic, is it not, that agencies sometimes tend to become primarily concerned with safeguarding their own prerogatives of authority, even at the expense of fairness to the individual? Seldom is there any malicious motive in the process. It is simply, and quite naturally, that agency personnel may develop a paternalistic

belief that they "know best" how to protect the public interest with which they are charged. If there is any slighting of standards of individual fairness, the reason is likely to be simply that the agency has become so concerned with fulfillment of its particular public interest obligation that it may neglect a bit the sometimes different interests of that other "public," the persons brought before the agency for investigation or the imposition of some agency sanction. As agencies move into what might be called their middle age--at least where the bloom of youth is gone--the quite natural tendency of lawyer critics is to urge correction of these procedural abuses by proposing "judicialization" of the agency process. By this I mean either the transfer of agency functions into a regular court, into a specially created administrative court, or at least to make their procedures conform almost entirely to those used in the courts. I suggest this may not be either appropriate or necessary if the agencies can be reminded of their perhaps unconsciously developed deficiencies and can be shown how to correct them. This, then, is the area in which I believe the ACLU can serve usefully, both at the national level and through the vigilance of the affiliates in connection with local practices.

Administrative Agencies in Operation: Problems of Fairness

Critics of the administrative process have for years capsulized their hostility to the agencies in a phrase that has now become a cliché of administrative law, describing administrative agencies as the "headless fourth branch" of the government. The implication of course is that the agencies, despite their considerable power, are not responsible to anyone who is directly chargeable to the electorate, or indeed to any authority recognized in the Constitution. Moreover, perhaps a complaint is intended about the combination in the typical agency under the shelter of a single administrative roof of functions that may properly be described as executive, legislative (rulemaking), and judicial (adjudications). The charge in effect is that, in enforcement proceedings at least, the agency is prosecutor, judge, jury, and enforcement follow-up official.

In a sense this is all true, but the complaint is meaningless out of the context of actual practice, and in any event is far too undiscriminating to have any real meaning for us today. What is important is to note briefly how agencies do in fact operate and then to see what kind of problems tend to develop out of that experience. The remainder of these comments will be devoted to that inquiry.

For present purposes it is probably sufficient to divide typical agency activities into four generally distinct categories.

1. Information gathering and investigation.--Federal and state agencies are great reservoirs of data on the widest conceivable variety of subjects, whether statistical, how-to do-it, scientific, or other miscellaneous information. Most of this is made available to interested members of the public, indeed is collected for that purpose, and presents few problems. Some, however, is secured from sources that give the information reluctantly because it may be damaging to the giver or may be thought useful to competitors if disclosed by the agency. Let me sketch briefly a few of the problems raised by this necessary, but drastic, power.

a. Scope of the investigative power.--Some of the most intense battles about the proper extent of administrative authority have been fought over the subpena power. The claim has been made that many agencies are able to use the subpena power oppressively, particularly in connection with investigations. When Mr. Justice Holmes in 1924 characterized an FTC order for production of documents as a "fishing expedition" for failure to show probable cause, he reflected the distrust of the federal courts at that time for investigation by subpena. Indeed, until recent decades the law was firmly fixed against the use of subpenas for investigations not related to adjudication or law enforcement. Yet Congress continued to press for greater subpena power; and in recent years virtually all restrictions on the use of an administrative subpena for the production of specified records or for enforcing a record-keeping requirement have disappeared. Endicott Johnson Corp. v. Perkins, 317 U.S. 501 (1943); United States v. Morton Salt Co., 338 U.S. 632 (1950). This is true not only when a complaint has already been filed, but as well when the purpose of the demand is to determine whether charges should be brought.

Perhaps the most striking indication yet of the extent to which agencies may be immune from all but the most nominal judicial examination of the purposes for which information is sought, or the ways in which it will be used, is found in the Supreme Court disposition of CAB v. Hermann, 355 U.S. 322 (1957), reversing per curiam 237 F.2d 359 (9th Cir. 1956). Enforcement of a subpena issued in connection with a CAB complaint was resisted on grounds of burdensomeness because compliance would require search through more than one million documents, on grounds of irrelevancy, and because of a claim of immunity of personal tax returns. The Supreme Court, in its per curiam reinstatement of the district court's order of enforcment, apparently approved that court's willingness to enforce where no irrelevancy appeared on the face of the subpena, without providing respondent an opportunity to be heard in court on the claim of irrelevancy. The decision goes far toward general approval of summary enforcement proceedings in which only a cursory examination of the agency subpena would be necessary. It would seem to follow that a statute could be drafted to

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authorize the use of the subpena duces tecum to investigate virtually any activity within the range of an agency's regulatory competence, regardless of any reason to believe that the law had been or was about to be violated.

At the same time, curiously enough, some agencies have no subpena power at all, notably the State and Post Office Departments, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Yet the very absence of that power to compel attendance of witnesses and the production of documents may itself work unfairness on respondents. Take, for example, a trial-type proceeding in an agency that has no subpena power. Although the private party adverse to the agency may suffer severe personal or economic sanctions if the agency determination is unfavorable to him, neither he nor the agency can compel the appearance of a witness or the production of documents that may be essential to proof of his case. The interesting question, then, is this: Should the subpena power be extended to all agencies which conduct trial-type proceedings, even with the potential risk of abuse? Although the question is not easy, in balance I tend to prefer extension of the subpena power, and along with it careful scrutiny from disinterested outsiders, such as the ACLU, of any claims of abuse.

b. Public versus nonpublic investigations and right to counsel.--The word "investigation" has a chameleon-like quality about it. Under that name a number of quite dissimilar practices find semantic shelter. Thus awkwardly grouped together may be found such varied activities as the inspection of factory and good processing lines by the Food and Drug Administration and the Department of Agriculture; inspection and copying of records by the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions of the Department of Labor; seizure and examination of mail by post-office inspectors; physical examinations of aliens; aircraft accident investigations by the CAB; and the showcase hearings into economic matters that may, from time to time, be conducted by the FTC or SEC. It is readily apparent that these activities have little in common save the name "investigation." But it is significant, I think, that the great majority of these investigations are not public. In many instances this is advantageous to the witness who prefers that his answers not be public, whether because he seeks to protect his own source, because of reluctance to disclose business operations and trade secrets, or whether simply because he is not proud of the answers that truth would require. Whatever that advantage, there may be less happy consequences for the person called upon to make disclosure. Frequently, when agencies conduct investigations in private, they analogize the investigations to grand jury proceedings where right to counsel is not required as a matter of due process. Anonymous v. Baker, 360 U.S. 287 (1959). In re Groban, 352 U.S. 330 (1957). Interestingly enough, section 6(a) of the Federal Administrative

Procedure Act goes further than the Constitution in guaranteeing compelled witnesses the right to be "accompanied, represented, and advised" by counsel; but a number of agencies continue to withhold right of full representation in what I believe to be violation of the statute.

In a relatively small number of cases--but usually important ones--the agencies conduct investigations in public. This may be pursuant to act of Congress, as in the current SEC investigation of the stock exchanges and securities transactions; or the decision to hold an investigation in public may be based on a belief that the resulting disclosures would be informative to the public and might have a salutary effect in curbing practices which the agency seeks to forbid or discourage. Apart from the obvious fact that public disclosure in such a forum itself has a quality of sanction about it is the fact that even in these proceedings the agencies sometimes do not give witnesses any opportunity to answer apparently damaging statements, and even right to counsel may not be fully assured.

It was in connection with such a public investigation by the FTC that the ACLU recently made protest and, as I suggested earlier, made new friends in the business community. In March of this year the FTC conducted public hearings in Indianapolis to determine whether certain food chains, including Kroger Company, had violated laws regarding pricing and sale of milk. The ACLU complained to Paul Rand Dixon, chairman of the FTC, on two grounds, the public nature of the investigation and the denial of full counsel rights. Commenting here only on the second point, it is striking that Kroger's counsel was not allowed to participate in the proceeding save to the limited extent of advising Kroger's witnesses off the record. Counsel was not allowed to object to questions by representatives of the FTC; he was not allowed to question further his own clients for the purpose of rebuttal or further explanation; and he was not allowed to make any statement for the record or to cross-examine other witnesses. Yet it was perfectly apparent that these hearings had an adversary cast to them, and any findings there made could be used to initiate proceedings against Kroger.

In other nearly contemporaneous proceedings, the FTC has denied all right to counsel in a nonpublic investigation being made to determine whether the respondent had violated a previously issued cease and desist order. In the Matter of Warehouse Distributors, Inc., BNA Antitrust Trade Reg. Rep. No. 48, June 12, 1962, page A-9. See also FCC v. Schneiber, 201 F. Supp. 421 (S.D. Calif. 1962), where counsel was held not entitled to participate in a public investigation beyond giving advice in confidence to his client.

2. Rulemaking.--The quasi-legislative aspect of the administrative process is served by the rulemaking function which is essentially a legislative delegation of the power to make more

specific the rather general policy statements embodied in legislative authorization. Among the problems involved in the exercise of the rulemaking power let me now mention just two:

a. When an agency decides that further rules should be promulgated in connection with fixing a food standard, for example, what kind of notice is reasonably calculated to reach those persons who have an interest in appearing in connection with any proposal? In all fairness, it should be said that the agencies have tried diligently, and in large measure successfully, to solve this complex problem.

b. Equally important, once a regulation has been adopted, what measures should be taken to advise persons likely to be affected thereby of the fact of issuance? In the federal establishment publication in the Federal Register is required of any rule or regulation of general applicability. Even though agencies have generally sought in good faith to promulgate and distribute appropriately their rules as adopted, many gaps continue to exist, and perhaps always will in view of the innate difficulties in the way of any effective solution.

3. Licensing.--Although licensing fully justifies separate treatment because of its own special problems, let me here bypass the subject, simply noting the difficulties that arise in connection with denial or withdrawal of any kind of license whose issuance is discretionary with an agency. Because of some similarity in this area to the problems of adjudication, more fully discussed below, I now pass on to that vexed topic.

4. Adjudication.--Within the term adjudication I mean to include only those trial-type proceedings conducted by administrative agencies, designed to find facts and to determine violation or not of controlling agency statutes, as defined by rules and regulations. Some agencies have no adjudicatory proceedings or only a few; but for many this is the principal means of conducting agency business. This is the heart of the enforcement process. Because of the similarity of these proceedings to ordinary court proceedings, the difficult question is to determine the extent to which procedures that are normally followed in courts should also be the standard in agency practice. To the extent that court procedures are dictated by the requirements of constitutional due process, of course the agencies must adhere to similar minimum guarantees. There can be little doubt that the agencies recognize this obligation and, with few exceptions, satisfy such constitutional requirements as the necessity of providing parties to agency proceedings with adequate advice as to the nature of the proceedings, sufficient time for preparation, and the other elements of notice. Similarly, there are few charges that agencies do not provide triers of the fact who are themselves free of bias and prejudg-

ment. (I speak here in the sense of absence of bias or prejudgment in the particular proceeding which is probably all that due process requires. I shall return later to the somewhat separate contention that even hearing examiners who are divorced from the agency for purposes of tenure and promotion can never entirely free themselves of predisposition in favor of the general agency position.) As soon as we turn, however, to those aspects of agency adjudication that are at best loosely defined by constitutional standards, there are a number of questions arising out of typical agency practices. I shall here suggest only a few of them.

a. Proceedings before formal hearing.--In judicial proceedings the pretrial conference has been widely used in recent years for issue formulation and frequently for settlement. The administrative counterpart, in its various forms, is sometimes criticized as an instrument of agency coercion of private parties. For example, Part 3 of the FTC Rules, entitled Consent Order Procedure, provides that, where possible, notice of a proposed complaint shall be served on the prospective respondent to give him an opportunity to enter into an agreement containing a consent order. If the respondent indicates interest, the files are referred to the Office of Consent Orders for preparation and execution of an agreement to contain, in addition to an order, an admission of all jurisdictional facts and express waivers of further procedural steps; and "the agreement may contain a statement that the signing thereof is for settlement purposes only and does not constitute an admission" of violation of law, Rule 3.3. Except upon extension of time by the Commission the agreement must be submitted to the Commission for approval within thirty days. Upon failure to negotiate an agreement within that time, a complaint will be issued. Thereafter, the consent order procedure will be unavailable, and only settlement procedures involving admission of wrongdoing will be available. Respondents have sometimes urged that this practice forces them to decide on contesting or not contesting a contemplated complaint at too early a date, specifically before regular prehearing conference and discovery procedures are available. Some might also object that this is a coercive technique not appropriate for the administrative process. Confident judgment as to the soundness of these complaints is not possible without further experience under the rules and comprehensive study.

b. Confrontation.--I need scarcely remind this audience that denial of confrontation has been one of the principal complaints made against government practices in recent years, and particularly in the context of the administrative agencies. In disapproving practices of the Department of Defense in connection with the discharge of employees of private contractors with the Government, the Supreme Court indi-

cated some constitutional doubts about the practice although the decision was based on the narrower ground of lack of statutory authorization. That case was Greene v. McElroy, 360 U.S. 474 (1959), in which the Government had caused a security clearance to be withdrawn from an executive officer of a defense contractor who consequently lost his job. The procedural defect was that the Government had acted on the basis of confidential information from witnesses whom it did not make available for confrontation and cross-examination. Although that decision has now been weakened somewhat by Cafeteria Workers v. McElroy, 367 U.S. 886 (1961), encouragement is possible in view of the subsequent adoption by executive order of more generous opportunities for confrontation as to private employees of defense contractors. The Atomic Energy Commission has recently gone even further in adopting rules that provide confrontation of accusers to employees and even job applicants. The right of confrontation and cross-examination thus provided is not absolute. One exception is when the head of a department supplying the information certifies that the person who gave it has been engaged in obtaining intelligence information for the Government and that disclosure of his identity would be substantially harmful to the national interest. Another exception is possible when the Commission decides that the information seems reliable and material to the national security, but the person providing it is dead or unavailable for some sufficient reason. In such cases, however, the person investigated is told the identity of the informant and given a comprehensive summary of the information. This should be very helpful.

Similarly, in January 1962 the State Department provided by regulation in connection with passport denials an absolute right to accused persons to cross-examine their accusers.

c. Discovery.--In this connection I have in mind primarily attempts by private parties who are respondents in agency proceedings to secure discovery against the Government of agency investigative files, names of witnesses, or other documents that might be helpful in defending against agency action.

Complaint in recent years about agency reluctance to disclose information to which various affected members of the public have claimed access has prompted congressional inquiry as to whether the "people's right to know" was being abused. Perhaps as a result of that agitation many federal agencies now declare that it is agency policy to make official records available to the public "to the maximum extent possible." But the truth remains that amended rules proclaiming the availability to the public of information in agency records have not fundamentally altered the restrictive rules and

practices on the basis of which typical agency proceedings are conducted. There is a considerable body of statutory law forbidding disclosure of certain kinds of trade and business information secured by the agencies; and nondisclosure in other instances is based on a variety of privileges, not only the common-law privileges recognized in all judicial proceedings, but as well privileges peculiar to the fact of governmental involvement, such as the informer's privilege and what is referred to simply as the executive privilege. Indeed, a number of agencies specifically provide that their officers and employees may not disclose material made confidential by agency rules, even in response to subpena. Rather they are directed to appear and "respectfully decline to produce" the demanded material.

In various ways discovery is rather readily available in ordinary civil and criminal proceedings, and indeed the observable trend is toward more rather than less discovery in those areas. The justification for such extension of discovery rights is based upon claims that these devices assist in ascertaining truth, settlement of cases, and expediting the trial process. By and large, however, agencies have resisted change in this direction, and have thus preserved for themselves some advantage over respondents in agency proceedings. While agencies may subpena records of even remote relevance for use in adjudicatory proceedings, the respondent's right to subpena is ordinarily much more limited as to nonagency persons, and almost nonexistent as to agency records and personnel.

The difficulty of private respondents has been eased somewhat, but not substantially, by what is developing as a general application of the so-called Jencks rule to administrative proceedings. That principle, as formulated in Jencks v. United States, 353 U.S. 657 (1957), allowed a defendant in a criminal case to inspect FBI (or other) statements in government files alleged to be inconsistent with statements made by the same witnesses at the trial. The principle has now been specifically extended to some administrative proceedings, and apparently no federal agency denies its applicability. Communist Party of United States v. Subversive Activities Control Board, 254 F.2d 314 (D.C. Cir. 1958); NLRB v. Adhesive Products Corp., 258 F.2d 403 (2d Cir. 1958). But even the adoption of this "fair play" rule does not solve the problem except where the information sought can be used to impeach an actual witness.

Let me illustrate with a single example. In Giant Food, Inc., 11 Ad. L.2d 342 (FTC 1961) respondent, a grocery chain, was charged with false and misleading advertising. In support of that claim members of the public, who had earlier been interviewed by an FTC investigator, testified as to their understanding

of claims made by respondent in its advertising. On cross-examination some testified that others had been interviewed but not supenaed. On that basis respondent claimed that it was entitled to know whether other interviewees had given answers favorable to respondent. The Commission rejected the argument as "at best conjectural," and thus insufficient to eliminate the protection afforded such investigative files under the "work product rule."

d. Agency bias and ex parte communications.--Here, for the purpose of at least cursory comparison, I am linking two somewhat separate ideas. Agency bias relates to the common complaint--somewhat exaggerated in my judgment--that agency actions are inevitably subject to a considerable element of prejudgment because of the inescapable fact that the investigation, the decision to file a complaint, and the adjudication are all done by persons working under the same policy directions of a single agency. Mindful of the admittedly substantial problems in this connection, federal and state agencies alike have ordinarily sought to separate the investigating, prosecuting, and deciding functions. Needless to say, where that effort has not been made in good faith, the resulting procedures can scarcely be described as fair hearing; but in general I believe a conscientious effort has been made.

A related question is the currently much-discussed issue of bias in agency action resulting from ex parte communications from or on behalf of private parties in an effort to influence decisions by off-the-record written or oral communications. Where the agencies have failed to protect against such ex parte influence, the results have received spectacular public attention in connection with the Macks, Whitesides, and Goldfines. You may rest assured, as a result, that agencies are aware of the problem and are trying to solve the complex question of working out appropriate prohibitions and effective sanctions. The Administrative Conference of the United States is working on this question now, as is the American Bar Association; and extensive congressional hearings have been held.

Conclusion

There are of course other complaints against the agencies that have civil liberties overtones; but the foregoing should give some indication of their scope and variety. It should be the function of the ACLU, here as elsewhere, to study carefully until it knows all the facts and appreciates all the problems. Then, where there is an observed infringement of significant civil liberties values, the Union should move for correction, by public comment, participation in litigation, or whatever may be appropriate in the particular case. This has been the historic and valuable function of the Union.

of claims made by respondent in its advertising. On cross-examination some testified that others had been interviewed but not supenaed. On that basis respondent claimed that it was entitled to know whether other interviewees had given answers favorable to respondent. The Commission rejected the argument as "at best conjectural," and thus insufficient to eliminate the protection afforded such investigative files under the "work product rule."

d. Agency bias and ex parte communications.--Here, for the purpose of at least cursory comparison, I am linking two somewhat separate ideas. Agency bias relates to the common complaint--somewhat exaggerated in my judgment--that agency actions are inevitably subject to a considerable element of prejudgment because of the inescapable fact that the investigation, the decision to file a complaint, and the adjudication are all done by persons working under the same policy directions of a single agency. Mindful of the admittedly substantial problems in this connection, federal and state agencies alike have ordinarily sought to separate the investigating, prosecuting, and deciding functions. Needless to say, where that effort has not been made in good faith, the resulting procedures can scarcely be described as fair hearing; but in general I believe a conscientious effort has been made.

A related question is the currently much-discussed issue of bias in agency action resulting from ex parte communications from or on behalf of private parties in an effort to influence decisions by off-the-record written or oral communications. Where the agencies have failed to protect against such ex parte influence, the results have received spectacular public attention in connection with the Macks, Whitesides, and Goldfines. You may rest assured, as a result, that agencies are aware of the problem and are trying to solve the complex question of working out appropriate prohibitions and effective sanctions. The Administrative Conference of the United States is working on this question now, as is the American Bar Association; and extensive congressional hearings have been held.

Conclusion

There are of course other complaints against the agencies that have civil liberties overtones; but the foregoing should give some indication of their scope and variety. It should be the function of the ACLU, here as elsewhere, to study carefully until it knows all the facts and appreciates all the problems. Then, where there is an observed infringement of significant civil liberties values, the Union should move for correction, by public comment, participation in litigation, or whatever may be appropriate in the particular case. This has been the historic and valuable function of the Union.

87th Cong. and
Civil Liberties

THE 87th CONGRESS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

Outline of address by Lawrence Speiser, Director of Washington Office of the ACLU, on current status of legislation affecting civil liberties, before American Civil Liberties Union Biennial Conference, Saturday, June 23, 1962

I. Right of Privacy

A. Wiretapping

Critical 1. S. 2813 - H.R. 10185 - Administration wiretap bill to permit tapping
(1) on authority of Attorney General in national security cases;
(2) with federal court order in national security cases and major crimes
(3) and by state prosecutors with court orders in major crimes.

Hearings still pending in Senate and House Judiciary Committees.

2. S. 1086 - Permits tapping by states with a court order subject to 5-year penalties plus gambling, narcotics, liquor and prostitution.

Reported out of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights and now pending in Senate Judiciary Committee. Probably dead.

II. Due Process

A. Attorney General's Anti-racketeering Bills

1. H.R. 468 - Amends and expands the scope of the Fugitive Felon Act.

Passed the House, August 23, 1961. Passed Senate, September 20, 1961. Approved October 4, 1961. P.L. 87-368.

2. S. 1655 - Immunity statute in labor racketeering cases.

Passed Senate July 28, 1961. Pending in House Judiciary Committee.

3. S. 1656 - Forbids the transmission of gambling information and provides that any common carrier shall discontinue a facility if it is used or will be used for transmitting gambling information upon ex parte notice from any law enforcement officer.

Passed both houses. Approved September 13, 1961. P.L. 87-216.

4. S. 1657 - Prohibiting the interstate transportation of gambling paraphernalia - contains exception for newspapers or similar publications as urged by ACLU.

Approved September 13, 1961. P.L. 87-218.

5. S. 1653 - Prohibiting interstate and foreign travel or transportation in aid of racketeering enterprises. Objected to by ACLU on grounds that it penalizes crossing state lines merely with an intent to violate laws covering gambling, liquor, narcotics, prostitution, extortion and bribery.

   Approved September 13, 1961. P.L. 87-228.

B. Deportation Proceedings

   S. 2237 - Alien Orphans Act with limitations which seriously affected judicial review in deportation and exclusion proceedings.

   Passed both houses. Signed by President, September 26, 1961. P.L. 87-301.

C. Mental

   H.R. 7052 - To limit the insanity defense and eliminate the Durham Rule in the District of Columbia.

   Passed House, June 26, 1961. Pending in Senate District Committee.

D. Illegal Detention

   H.R. 7053 - To overrule the Mallory decision by permitting confessions obtained during illegal detention to be given in evidence.

   Passed House, June 12, 1961. Presently pending in Senate District Committee.

III. <u>First Amendment - Freedom of Speech, Press, Religion</u>

A. Loyalty-Security

1. H.R. 3247 - Amending the Smith Act by defining "organize" to include continuing recruiting activities.

   Passed House, May 15, 1961. Passed Senate, June 8, 1962. Signed by President, June 19, 1962. P.L. 87-486.

2. National Defense Education Act extension for two years with disclaimer affidavit retained.

   Approved October 3, 1961. P.L. 87-344.

3. H.R. 8556 - To amend the National Science Foundation Act of 1950 requiring information on convictions and barring members of organizations required to register with the Subversive Activities Control Board.

   Passed House, September 6, 1961. Pending in Senate Education and Labor Committee.

E. Picketing

1. S. 1990 - To provide penalties for malicious damage to certain communications facilities used or intended to be used for military or civil defense functions. Now contains an exclusion for lawful strike activity, pursuant to ACLU suggestion.

Passed Senate June 29, 1961. Passed House September 18, 1961. Signed by President, September 26, 1961. P.L. 87-306.

IV. Civil Rights

A. Civil Rights Commission

Civil Rights Commission's life extended for two years.

P.L. 87-264.

B. Voting

1. S. 2750 - Prevents discriminatory use of literacy tests as requirements for voting by declaring persons with sixth grade education literate for voting purposes.

Defeated in the Senate.

2. S.J. Res. 29 - Poll Tax Constitutional Amendment.

Passed Senate, March 27, 1962. On House Calendar for debate.

C. Equal Employment

1. H.R. 11677 - Equal Pay Act of 1962 - Prohibiting discrimination in interstate commerce employment on account of sex.

Pending on House Calendar.

amendment to the bill to increase postal rates -
~~foreign~~ communist proganda coming into the country - should have to remailed as 1st class mail - it would not get benefit of 4th class mail -

PAGE (s) MISSING

Housing

THE PROPER ROLE OF LAW IN ATTEMPTS TO ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATION IN PRIVATE HOUSING

Text of address by Frances Levenson, Executive Director,
National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing,
before American Civil Liberties Union Biennial Conference,
Sunday, June 24, 1962

It is a little over four years since the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Law, first legislation in the nation barring discrimination in private housing, was passed in New York City. In this short period, thirteen similar statutes have been enacted, and the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Law has twice been strengthened.

The concept of providing legal protection against private acts of discrimination in the housing field has thus gained remarkably wide acceptance in a relatively short period of time. The progress has, in fact, been faster than was expected by fair housing legislation's most enthusiastic early proponents, and considerably more rapid than that in other areas of civil rights, such as employment and public accommodations.

There are now 14 jurisdictions which have enacted anti-bias laws applicable to the private housing market: 11 states and three cities. In order of passage, they are New York City (effective Apr. 1, 1958); Pittsburgh (effective June 1, 1959); Colorado (effective May 1, 1959); Massachusetts (effective July 21, 1959); Connecticut (effective Oct. 1, 1959); Oregon (effective Aug. 5, 1959); California (effective July 14, 1959); Pennsylvania (effective Sept. 1, 1961); New York State (effective Sept. 1, 1961); Minnesota (to become effective Dec. 31, 1962); New Hampshire (effective Aug. 29, 1961); New Jersey (effective Sept. 13, 1961); Toledo (effective Oct. 25, 1961, but enforcement stalled by a temporary injunction since Nov. 2, 1961); and Alaska (effective April 4, 1962).

There is a wide divergence among the 14 fair housing laws in scope of coverage. This is illustrated by a comparison of the New York City and New York State statutes. New York City's law bars discrimination in all housing accommodations for sale or rent except the rental of an apartment in an owner-occupied duplex. It is estimated that it covers more than 95 per cent of the city's total housing supply. New York State's

law applies to the sale of houses in developments of ten or more and to rentals in buildings containing three or more housing units, but exempting owner-occupied three-family buildings. It is estimated that this statute covers approximately 15 per cent of the state's total housing supply outside of New York City. Alaska is the only state which covers all housing with no exception.

The California and Oregon fair housing laws do not cover private housing per se, but reach this portion of the market by prohibiting discriminatory practices by those who are engaged in the business of selling or renting housing. Some states add the ban on discriminatory practices by the real estate industry to their primary housing coverage; others do not. Some apply to vacant land, and some cover mortgage lenders and advertising.

With the exception of Alaska, California and New Hampshire, all of the fair housing laws are enforced by an official agency of government.

Six additional states (Indiana, Michigan, Montana, Rhode Island, Washington and Wisconsin) have passed anti-bias laws covering housing which receives some form of government assistance. Also, Illinois bars restrictive covenants in urban redevelopment projects, and Kansas and Alabama prohibit racial zoning.

In addition, some 50 cities over the country have laws or policy resolutions affecting discrimination in publicly-aided housing.

It is expected that serious campaigns for fair housing legislation will be waged in about ten states and scores of cities over the next two years. This is the area of concentration for proponents of civil rights legislation.

Fair housing laws are too new to be able to give a definitive assessment of their actual effectiveness or the extent to which they change either practices or attitudes. Experience is sufficient, however, to state that none of the dire consequences predicted by opponents have come to pass. Where they have been enacted, the real estate industry has not been adversely affected. Building construction has not declined. Mortgage money is no more difficult to obtain. Real estate values have not dropped. White families have not fled the jurisdiction. However, the laws have

permitted middle-income minority group families to enter the mainstream of the housing market in significant, though not yet large, numbers.

The theory of legislatively barring discrimination in private housing has aroused widespread controversy. Basically, it is the same debate which has taken place before the enactment of regulatory legislation in every new field. Thus, the question of the conflict between social controls and private rights was raised with regard to the first tenament house laws, child labor laws, minimum wage laws, stock registration and control laws, as well as civil rights statutes in the fields of public accommodations and employment.

One additional argument raised regarding the fair housing laws is the unique character and special position accorded real property. Fair housing legislation has rested on the inherent right of a state to use its police power to protect the entire community from an identifiable evil. In fact, it has been argued that when a situation threatens the well-being of a community, it is not only the right but the obligation of government, through its legislature to step in and enact remedial legislation.

The courts have consistently taken a very broad view of a state's police power, holding that where the legislation is reasonably designed to right a situation which affects the entire community, the state police power is largely supreme.

The classic statement of the United States Supreme Court concerning exercise of the police power to limit the use of property and what the court below referred to as "freedom of contract" (St. 438) was formulated in Nebbia v. New York, 291 U.S. 502 (1934), where the court upheld the power of the State of New York to regulate milk prices. The court stated,

> "Under our form of government the use of property and the making of contracts are normally matters of private and not of public concern. The general rule is that both shall be free of governmental interference. But neither property rights nor contract rights are absolute; for government cannot exist if the citizen may at will use his property to the detriment of his fellows, or exercise his freedom of contract to work them harm . . .

> "The Fifth Amendment, in the field of federal activity, and the Fourteenth, as respects State action, do not prohibit governmental regulations for the public welfare. They merely condition the exertion of the admitted power, by securing that the end shall be accomplished by methods consistent with due process. And the guaranty of due process, as has often been held, demands only that the law shall not be unreasonable, arbitrary or capricious, and that the means selected shall have a real and substantial relation to the object sought to be attained."

Fair housing laws fall directly within the context of the above statement. The evil and pervasive effects of discrimination in housing have been documented time and time again over the past ten years. It has also been clearly demonstrated that voluntary action to correct the situation is not forthcoming. On the contrary, it is the action of the real estate complex -- the broker, the banker, and the builder -- which has consciously or unconsciously combined to so restrict the housing market on the basis of race as to, in effect, translate private action into public policy. We have witnessed the effect of a monopoly in restraint of trade, whether legally provable or not, which has prevented the minority family from competing on a basis of equality for its shelter. Thus, in order to bring back free competition to the housing market to put all suppliers and all consumers on an equal competitive basis, regardless of race, legislation has been clearly required.

When an anti-bias law is enacted, it may flout some of the existing mores but when laid down, it expresses a new code of public opinion and suppresses the old. It may take time to change all the habits of what people do, but it is the function of law to establish what should be the highest public ethic. In this instance, the good of the community and the right of freedom from discrimination must take precedence over the rights of the individual to freedom of contract and association, so long as the tests of due process and reasonableness are apparent in the legislation itself.

In the words of Judge Pound, "Social control is the systematic apppilcation of the force of politically organized society."

Freedom of contract and association have never been viewed as absolute. They must be subject to reasonable regulations and prohibitions in the interest of the

common welfare and a sound democracy.

The conflict of rights was presented most succinctly in a New York State court in the first decision involving one of these statutes:

> "Involved here, it is said, is an apparent collision of rights, namely a clash between the right on the one hand of the private owner of property to enjoy and use it in the manner most desirable and/or profitable to him, and the right on the other hand of all individuals here to be treated equally and free of all discrimination on account of race, color or religion. In the final analysis, however, what is here involved is a conflict between the rights of the private property owner and the inherent power of the state to regulate the use and enjoyment of private property in the interest of public welfare; and, as hereinafter noted, the power of the state, when reasonably exercised, is supreme." - New York State Commission Against Discrimination v. Pelham Hall Apartments, Inc.

Similarly, the courts have laid to rest any assertion that the usual rules must be suspended where the property involved is real property. There is no constitutional, historical or moral justification for a supposed distinction between real and personal property. Justice Holmes, in 1921, in upholding emergency rent regulations, eloquently stated:

> "The fact that tangible property is also visible tends to give rigidity to our conception of our rights in it that we do not attach to others less concretely clothed. But the notion that the former are exempt from the legislative modification required from time to time in civilized life is contradicted not only by the doctrine of eminent domain, under which what is taken is paid for, but by that of the police power in its proper senses, under which property rights may be cut down, and to what extent taken, without pay."

The rights in real property are no more sacrosanct than other property rights and are subject to reasonable regulation under the police power is well illustrated by a long line of cases upholding the power of states and municipalities to set up requirements concerning the setbacks for buildings, zoning regulations, fire and sanitary regulations, building construction standards, and rent controls.

The use of the state's police power to bar racial and religious discrimination has clearly been upheld by the courts, clearly establishing the constitutionality as well as morality of state civil rights legislation.

State laws barring discrimination in places of public accommodation were among the first such laws to be upheld. As early as 1898, the highest court of Minnesota

stated, "The power of the legislature to enact such laws is no longer open to discussion." Similarly, the fair employment practices laws in the few instances when they have reached the courts have been uniformly upheld. The first and only time a challenge to their constitutionality reached the U. S. Supreme Court it unanimously upheld the statute. In a concurring opinion, Mr. Justice Frankfurter eloquently demolished the argument that the 14th Amendment barred anti-discrimination legislation:

> "Apart from other objections, which are too unsubstantial to require consideration, it is urged that the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment precludes the State of New York from prohibiting racial and religious discrimination against those seeking employment. Elaborately to argue against this contention is to dignify a claim devoid of constitutional substance. Of course a State may leave abstention from such discrimination to the conscience of individuals. On the other hand, a State may choose to put its authority behind one of the cherished aims of American feeling by forbidding indulgence in racial or religious prejudice to another's hurt. To use the Fourteenth Amendment as a sword against such State power would stultify that Amendment. Certainly the insistence by individuals on their private prejudice as to race, color or creed, in relations like those now before us, ought not to have a higher constitutional sanction than the determination of a State to extend the area of non-discrimination beyond that which the Constitution itself exacts." (Emphasis supplied)

Decisions upholding statutes which bar discrimination in places of public accommodation such as shoe shine shops, theatres, saloons, barber shops, and roller-skating rinks, as well as in private employment, union membership and in publicly-assisted housing afford ample precedent for the validity of a statute covering private housing.

The courts in New York, New Jersey and California have upheld laws covering publicly-aided housing which extend to FHA- and VA-insured housing. The only contrary decision was that of the State of Washington, which turned mainly on the unreasonableness of selecting FHA- and VA-insured housing without extending regulation to other housing. The highest Court of Massachusetts is the first court to rule directly on the validity of a law covering private housing.

A New Jersey Supreme Court judge summed up the argument in favor of the validity of fair housing legislation as follows: "But the private right is not absolute. It is subject to the reasonable exercise of the police power, the reach of which is not capable of precise delineation. Exercise of that power by the State is valid so long as the regulation of limitation on the use of property bears a reasonable relation to public health, safety, morals or general welfare."

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Discrimination
in Labor Unions

TEXT OF ADDRESS

by
PROF. MICHAEL SOVERN
Columbia Law School

on

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN LABOR UNIONS*

Before
ACLU Biennial Conference
Sunday, June 24, 1962

The power of labor unions to maintain or end discriminatory employment practices, while feeble compared to that of management, is nevertheless considerable. Indeed, in some sectors of the economy unions have more to say about who gets what jobs than employers do. And those exercising this power have not always been colorblind. It is not merely that some unions have refused, either explicitly or tacitly, to admit Negroes to membership and that others have relegated them to segregated locals. These are significant handicaps and affronts, but they are obviously secondary in importance to the use of union power to confine Negroes to the lowest job classifications of some enterprises and to exclude them from others altogether. I would add one more union inadequacy to this standard list of deficiencies -- the failure to resist when employers would discriminate.

I do not, of course, mean to suggest that all or even most unions are guilty of these sins. Some have fought hard against racial discrimination. But enough have defaulted on their responsibilities to make the problem a serious one. As a Report to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO by a subcommittee composed of three of that organization's vice-presidents put it, "The AFL-CIO is a voluntary federation of 133 National and International Unions, made up in turn of tens of thousands of self-governing local unions. Among this multitude of organizations there are many imperfections and shortcomings with respect to nondiscrimination."

In considering how to deal with these "imperfections and shortcomings," I start with the assumption that while the pressure for a comprehensive federal fair employment practices law must be maintained until Congress yields, we cannot realistically expect such legislation in the near future. In the meantime, we must seek to exploit existing restraints on discrimination to the fullest extent possible.

I propose today to do three things. First, I want to elaborate on my addition to the traditional catalog of union failings and seek to persuade you that unions have a duty to do more than refrain from affirmative misconduct, that their

* I indulge myself in this one footnote to inform those interested in documentation and other scholarly impedimenta that I have dealt with the subject of this talk in The National Labor Relations Act and Racial Discrimination, 62 Columbia Law Review 563 (1962).

duty extends to resisting when employers would discriminate. Second, I plan to summarize briefly and, necessarily, somewhat selectively what the law has done so far to prevent racial discrimination by unions. Finally, I shall suggest something that can be done without new legislation to increase the pressure on unions to accord equal opportunity to all.

First, the duty to resist employer discrimination. For simplicity's sake, we can break this duty to resist into two parts: (1) the duty to resist discrimination that violates an outstanding collective bargaining agreement; and (2) the duty to resist when, in the course of negotiating a collective agreement, an employer seeks to withhold a particular benefit from Negro workers or to perpetuate an existing discriminatory practice.

The first part -- the duty to resist discrimination that violates an outstanding agreement -- has been clearly recognized by the Supreme Court. The case is Conley v. Gibson. The Negro plaintiffs claimed that the defendant Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks had failed to protect them and other Negroes similarly situated -- 45 in all -- from demotions and discharges that allegedly violated a collective agreement. Almost all of the Negroes in question had been replaced by white. The Supreme Court held that if these allegations were substantiated, the plaintiffs would be entitled to relief. The Court said: "[W]e are clear that once [the union] undertook to bargain or present grievances for some of the employees it represented it could not refuse to take similar action in good faith for other employees just because they were Negroes."

In short, what I have called the first part of the duty to resist is clearly established. A union must oppose discrimination that violates a collective agreement it has undertaken to administer.

What about the second part of the duty to resist -- the duty to resist an employer's attempt to perpetuate existing discrimination or to negotiate fresh discriminatory terms into a collective agreement? I submit that this too finds support in the authorities, although the Supreme Court has yet to be heard from on the question. The important case here is Central of Georgia Ry. v. Jones, a decision of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, which the Supreme Court refused to review. In a brief per curiam opinion, the Court of Appeals approved an injunction barring enforcement of a discriminatory contract and requiring both railroad and union "to grant the same seniority rights, training privileges, assignments and opportunities to these jobs as white persons of similar continuous service would enjoy." One judge dissented on the ground that the railroad was under no obligation not to discriminate, but he did not quarrel with the holding that the union had breached its duty. And his concession on this point, which presumably reflected the view of the majority of the court too, is crucial. He said: "The Brotherhood had, to be sure, the profound obligation fully and earnestly to bargain to prevent, and, where necessary, remove, discriminations."

Although the Supreme Court has not yet decided the point, its decisions and utterances in other discrimination cases tend to support the result in the Jones case. The recurring theme in all of the Supreme Court's decisions on the subject of racial discrimination by unions has been the duty of fair representation. Under both the National Labor Relations and Railway Labor Acts, the duty of fair representation derives from the principle that a union selected by a majority of the employees in a unit appropriate for collective bargaining becomes the exclusive representative of all the employees in the unit, and not only of

those who wish to be represented by that union. Once the choice is made, all are bound by collective agreements negotiated by the representative selected and none may elect to have another union bargain for him or even to bargain for himself. Because the majority's choice is imposed upon everyone in this way, the Supreme Court has consistently held that these statutes require the union chosen to represent everyone in the unit fairly. As the Court put it in the leading case of Steele v. Louisville & Nashville Railroad, the union must "represent non-union or minority union members ... without hostile discrimination, fairly, impartially, and in good faith." And a union would hardly be representing Negroes "without hostile discrimination, fairly, impartially, and in good faith" if it failed to resist employer's efforts to treat them arbitrarily.

This is not to say that a union violates its duty of fair representation if it refuses to strike for a no-discrimination clause as soon as it has obtained majority support in a southern plant. The duty does not require unions to commit suicide. It is to say that Negroes are entitled to an impartial consideration of their needs and interests and a fair determination of how far to press for equal treatment.

The core of that requirement is easy to see. If, for example, a union demanded a wage increase for Negro and white employees doing essentially the same work, it could not accept a counter-offer of an increase for whites alone. Indeed,, unions probably must insist virtually to the point of striking that negotiated benefits be available without regard to race. They would normally fight that hard if an employer sought to condition the benefits of a collective agreement on any blatantly arbitrary standard other than race. Imagine a union's response if an employer sought to exclude bald-headed men from a general wage increase. A failure to respond in the same way in behalf of Negroes would be a rather clear indication that the interests of the minority had not been impartially considered.

The practical impact of the duty to resist employer discrimination is harder to see when we turn to long-standing discriminatory practices. In theory, the courts could review a union's bargaining decisions upon complaint by a Negro worker and decide whether the union had been guilty of bad faith in failing to press for the elimination of some traditional discriminatory arrangement. In practice, the task would be nearly impossible. When a union negotiates a collective agreement, it must make, either consciously or by default, countless decisions about what to demand, what to trade, what to press for, and the like. Many of these decisions involve legitimate choices to pursue the interests of one group of employees rather than another. If a union chooses not to press for the elimination of racial discrimination, how is a tribunal looking over its shoulder to decide whether that choice was governed by the proscribed indifference to the interests of Negro workers rather than by a judgment that the employer would not yield on the point or would do so only in exchange for exorbitant concessions?

The difficulty might be eased a bit in some cases by recourse to the realistic assumption that a union that excludes Negroes from membership does not consider their needs impartially. Therefore, when a court reviews the failure of a lily-white union to press for the elimination of employer discriminatory practices, the union should have the burden of justifying its inaction.

The alternative or complement to this sort of review as a means of implementing the duty to make reasonable efforts to abolish racial discrimination would guarantee Negroes an opportunity to participate in union decision-making processes. In this way, hopefully, they could influence unions to further their interests.

However, as many have noted, union leaders will not often take seriously the views of workers who, by virtue of their exclusion from membership, cannot vote in union elections. Fair treatment is not, of course, guaranteed by the right to vote, but it is made more likely. Consequently, if minority participation in union decision making is to provide some measure of assurance that the minority's needs and interests will be considered fairly, that participation must include the franchise on matters, including the choice of officers, affecting collective bargaining.

Unfortunately, Congress has indicated in unmistakable terms its intent to leave unions free to set their own rules concerning eligibility for membership. It presumably did not intend to give those excluded from membership the right to vote in union elections. Nevertheless, a serious constitutional question is presented if Congress is taken to have required workers to yield their freedom to deal with their employer individually or through a union of their own choice to a union that arbitrarily denies them the right to participate meaningfully in matters of vital concern to them. To avoid this constitutional problem, perhaps even to keep from holding a portion of the NLRA unconstitutional, the Supreme Court may have to hold that members of a bargaining unit arbitrarily excluded from the union representing that unit must be given the right to participate fully both in the union's deliberations on matters affecting collective bargaining and in its choice of officers.

To sum up thus far, unions do have a duty to resist employer discrimination. That duty has three major aspects. First, unions must insist virtually to the point of striking that the benefits they obtain be made available without regard to race. Second, unions must decide fairly how far to press for the elimination of existing discriminatory practices. A union that excludes Negroes from membership should be presumed, until it proves otherwise, to have decided unfairly. Third, when Negroes are excluded from membership, they may nevertheless have to be accorded the right to participate in union deliberations on matters affecting collective bargaining with their employer; this would include the right to vote in union elections affecting collective bargaining.

Recognition of the duty of unions to resist employer discrimination, as I have defined that duty, is presumably implicit in the March 21, 1958 Resolution of the A.C.L.U., for that resolution says: "No labor organization shall discriminate unfairly in its representation of all employees in the negotiation and administration of collective bargaining agreements ...." Nevertheless, I suggest that it would be well for the A.C.L.U. to eliminate any doubts that may remain and to emphasize that it is condemning more than the use of union power to negotiate or enforce invidious distinctions, that it believes that unions have an affirmative obligation to strive for the abolition of racial discrimination in employment.

I turn now to consider quite summarily what the law has done so far to prevent racial discrimination by unions. In brief, the law's accomplishments to date have been modest. Fair employment practice laws are, of course, nonexistent in the states in which roughly three-fifths of our Negro population live. In those states that do have fair employment practice laws, some barriers have been knocked over, but tight budgets strained by difficulties in enforcement impose narrow limitations on what fair employment practice commissions can accomplish. President Kennedy's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, whatever

it may accomplish with respect to employers, does not hold much promise of eliminating discrimination by unions, since it can reach them only indirectly.

The National Labor Relations Act could be an important restraint on union discrimination, but for a variety of reasons its potential has not yet been realized. In part, Negroes have simply not pressed for the full measure of protection the statute affords, but in part the unrealized potential is attributable to restrictive interpretations by the NLRB. In particular, the NLRB should grasp the opportunity to put a few more teeth in the duty of fair representation by refusing to aid unions to become or remain exclusive representatives when they can be expected to ignore the duty of fair representation.

By certifying a union or ordering an employer to bargain with it, the NLRB places its imprimatur upon that union as exclusive representative of all the workers in the bargaining unit. Without that imprimatur, a union may be unable to get an employer even to begin negotiations; with it the union is likely to meet considerably less resistance and can ultimately call upon the aid of the federal courts if the employer fails to bargain in good faith. On a number of occasions the Board has been asked to withhold its imprimatur from unions likely to default on their obligation to represent fairly.

The Board has indicated that it will rescind the certification of a union shown to have represented unfairly in the past. This is, of course, a sensible way of dealing with racial discrimination. If a union has demonstrated that it will not use the power conferred by its certification as the statute contemplates, it can hardly complain if that power is taken from it. This may be the only remedy available to the workers discriminated against, for judicial relief is costly and the NLRB may not be able to help in any other way. Moreover, that racial discrimination has occurred in collective bargaining is extraordinarily difficult to prove; if it can be proved once to the satisfaction of the NLRB, the abused workers should be relieved of the otherwise continuing threat the union represents.

But the Board apparently will not go further and refuse to certify in the first place when it appears probable that a union will violate the duty of fair representation. It has rejected every opportunity to take this next step. Proof of past discriminatory representation offered to support the probability of future unfairness has not moved it, nor have allegations of discriminatory denials of membership. Indeed, even when past violation of the duty of fair representation has made rescission of certification appropriate, the Board has usually not prevented the offending union from immediately participating in a new representation election in which victory would mean certification all over again.

On the other hand, in none of these cases has the Board excluded the possibility that it would disqualify a union likely to disregard the duty of fair representation if an appropriate case were presented to it. Its usual response is merely to find the proof offered insufficient. Although one must wonder what sort of showing would satisfy the Board, there is a related line of authority that suggests that satisfaction on this score is not out of the question. The Board has persistently refused to recognize a petition for representation if, in the Board's language, "the petition proposes, either explicitly or implicitly, to exclude Negroes from the bargaining unit on the basis of race." If the Board will not entertain a petition for a whites-only unit it should presumably be loath to

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entertain a petition from a union that is likely to create such a unit de facto by failing to represent the Negroes in the unit established by the Board.

Furthermore, the Board has characterized rescission of certification as "an anticipatory curb on a variety of actions not compatible with the status of certified bargaining representatives." When actions "not compatible with the status of certified bargaining representatives" can be foreseen before certification, application of the "anticipatory curb" would seem to be appropriate at that time. If, for example, a union is shown to have represented Negroes unfairly in other bargaining units and to exclude from membership Negroes working in the unit for which it seeks certification, the Board should refuse to certify it. The alternative is to leave the Negroes in the bargaining unit vulnerable to the suspect union's ministrations until a breach of duty sufficiently flagrant to be proved occurs. In the interim, subtler forms of discrimination can be practiced with impunity.

This last point is crucial. On its face the case for certifying a union and waiting to see whether it will represent fairly is quite plausible. It is, after all, difficult to predict whether a union will live up to its duty. The case for waiting to see loses its persuasive force when one remembers that even the most dutiful collective bargaining representative cannot avoid choosing among the interests of its constituents. For example, if a plant must permanently reduce its work force, senior employees will naturally favor layoffs for their juniors, while their younger colleagues become impassioned spokesmen for the benefits of early retirement for older workers. Head on clashes of interest of this sort are complemented by ever present indirect conflicts.

How is the unfair reconciliation of such conflicts to be distinguished from the fair? That a union regularly subordinates the interests of a particular disfavored group would become apparent only after a considerable period of time. This, then, is the main reason why the Board should not certify a union likely to represent unfairly. The alternative is to expose those likely to be misrepresented to substantial loss that can be stopped only when the union's conduct is particularly gross or amounts to oppression so systematic that it finally becomes discernible.

The subtler forms of discrimination, so hard to establish as such, find Negroes especially vulnerable. An individual white worker out of favor with the union leadership usually need not fear reprisal when the union negotiates its next collective bargaining agreement. The leadership will normally be unable to punish him by, say, rewriting lines of seniority to his disadvantage or seeking only small increases for his job classification without at the same time hurting other workers similarly situated whom the union leadership does not wish to harm. And although the union may be unenthusiastic about processing a grievance for our hypothetical white outcast, it may nevertheless do so with vigor if it thinks that failure to make its point in his case will hurt other workers similarly situated. Negroes, on the other hand, must often do without the comfort afforded by the leadership's wish to do no harm to workers similarly situated. One of the most common forms of discrimination is the division of work into "white jobs" and "Negro jobs," with Negroes getting the dirtier, less skilled, and lower paying work. Under such circumstances, the union can easily ignore or subordinate the interests of Negroes without hurting white employees at all. And since whites and Negroes do different work -- a state of affairs that cannot be blamed on the

union because it typically antedates unionization -- a case of discrimination by the union can hardly be made out merely by proving that the wages and working conditions of Negroes are inferior.

Even when Negroes are no longer confined to "Negro jobs," the hard fact is that past, and sometimes continuing, patterns of discrimination often give Negroes special interests that differentiate them from whites. An obvious example is their interest in having the union that represents them alert to prevent racial discrimination by their employer. Or imagine a plant in which some of the more attractive departments have only recently been opened to Negroes; although only lately promoted to these jobs, the Negroes involved may well have been with the company far longer than the whites doing comparable work. In such circumstances, the Negroes obviously want seniority computed on the basis of over-all service with the company, while the whites want it computed on the basis of service in the particular department. Once again, then, an unsympathetic union can ignore or subordinate the Negroes' interest and still leave them hard put to prove that they have been the victims of racial discrimination. After all, many collective bargaining agreements provide for departmental seniority.

Given the considerable power of unions to represent Negroes unfairly without realistic fear of detection, the Board should not certify unions likely to transgress in this way.

It follows from what has been said so far that the Board should refuse to require an employer to bargain with a union that will probably be derelict in its duty to represent fairly. Rescinding or withholding an offending union's certification would be of little importance if the employer remained bound to deal with it because it still commanded the support of a majority of his employees. Once again it is fitting that the Board refuse to validate power -- that of exclusive representative -- if it will probably be used in violation of the statute. Once again that refusal is necessary if the duty of fair representation is to have real meaning.

Whether the Board will accept this view remains to be seen. The indications so far are that it will not, but the question is far from foreclosed by existing authority.

The withholding of certifications and orders to bargain would obviously not guarantee that all unions would thereafter observe the duty of fair representation in all cases. Some unions would not have to call for help from the Board because they have well established bargaining relationships that are not likely to be broken off. Others would be able to cow recalcitrant employers with the threat of a strike.

If, on the other hand, an employer remained firm in the face of a union's strike threat, Board refusal to order the employer to bargain might lead to labor unrest rather than to an end to discrimination. Nothing in the law would prevent the union from striking and picketing to force the employer to bargain with it.

But such action would probably be rare. On one side, many employers will knuckle under without a fight when the demand for recognition comes from a powerful union with majority support. On the other, given the choice between

abandoning the racist policies and risking their lives in recognition strikes, some unions will surely choose to cease discrimination. In almost all cases, this will be the choice urged by international unions, for few internationals now espouse racial discrimination. In fact, where racism is operative, it is frequently the choice of a local acting in defiance of a contrary policy stated but not vigorously enforced by its international. The fresh handicap to organizational efforts that Board abstention would represent might well cause internationals to exert real pressure to get stray locals into line.

In sum, I submit two basic propositions for your consideration. First, labor unions have an affirmative duty to attempt to eliminate racial discrimination in the bargaining units they represent. Second, the NLRB should refrain from certifying or ordering an employer to bargain with unions likely to default on their duty of fair representation. And in determining whether a union is likely to default, the Board should regard a union's refusal to admit Negroes to membership as highly probative evidence that it will be unwilling or unable to represent them fairly.

News week, July 30 62

Taylor

Birnback

Lemnitzer

Norstad (left): A resignation and a 'Dear Larry' letter

of 1961, in the early days of the Administration, he had expressed the desire to be relieved, and that last year he had suffered at least one mild heart attack.

Whatever the complex of reasons and motives, the Norstad departure promises the establishment of a more kindred military hierarchy within the Defense Department. General Lemnitzer has also not always seen eye to eye with Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, nor with the 60-year-old General Taylor. Even so, Lemnitzer is a brilliant and respected officer and his transfer to Europe was bound to be applauded there. In fact, one of those who suggested him to the President as Norstad's replacement several months ago was British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan. Macmillan, along with other British and European leaders, has known the general since the post-World War II period when he played an important role in establishing NATO and military-aid programs.

In naming the scholarly Taylor (he has taught both French and Spanish at West Point) as chairman of the Joint Chiefs, the President broke the traditional rotation of the chairmanship among the three services. (Ordinarily a Navy man would have been appointed the next chairman.) Nevertheless, the Taylor appointment will restore the prestige of the chairman—as principal military adviser to the President—a prestige which was diminished by Taylor's own presence in the White House and Mr. Kennedy's high regard for his judgment.

ADVENTURE:

Broken-Nose Dive

For Lois Ann Frotten, a slender, blond telephone operator of 20, it was just another date with her friend John Burke, 31-year-old skin-diving instructor. They met one afternoon last week at Marstons Mills airfield, not far from President Kennedy's summer home on Cape Cod. But this day, instead of skin-diving, they were going sky-diving—parachuting onto a ground target—for the first time.

Burke went first. He landed close to the target at the airport. Lois leaped next from 2,500 feet and her chute, opened by a static line in the single-engine Cessna 182 airplane, wrapped around her ankles. Fisherman Fred Whitely, repairing a float on the shore of ink-blue Mystic Lake, saw her tumbling down "end over end," he later said. Scott Connell, 14, who was fishing nearby, saw her light in the water "with a terrific splash."

From overhead in the airplane, ex-paratrooper and sky-dive instructor Jack La Roche, 22, also watched Lois's descent in horror. He saw the parachute finally open when Lois was about 100 feet above the lake. Then he, too, parachuted from the plane.

Whitely and Connell, racing over Mystic Lake in a motorboat, found Lois miraculously afloat and alive with La Roche at her side. "What did I do wrong?" she kept asking them. "Where did I make my mistake?"

In Cape Cod Hospital at Hyannis, Mass., the next day, with only a broken nose and minor back fractures, Lois Ann talked at greater length of her 25-second dive. ". . . I saw the chute wasn't going to open," she recalled, "and I said, 'the heck with it; I'm going down'."

Associated Press

Sky-diver: Never told mother

It was left to Mrs. Frances Frotten, her down-to-earth mother, to tell Lois what she had done wrong: Lois forgot to tell Mother that she and Jack Burke "might be engaged." Mrs. Frotten, patently shocked, said: "Why, she had only known him for six weeks."

INTEGRATION:

Marching Shoes

For frustrated, embittered Negroes attacking segregation customs in rigidly stubborn Albany, Ga., it had been a dismal seven months. Demonstrations and protests that began last December had netted only the jailing of some 750 Negroes. A boycott of the city's segregated bus line brought only a loss of transportation—the bus line was shut down.

To repeated pleas that the city hear their grievances and appoint a biracial committee to work them out, Albany's implacable city council, supported by shrewd, bull-necked Police Chief Laurie (Bubba) Pritchett, repeatedly countered that it would not negotiate with "law violators" and "outside agitators."

Last week, a showdown seemed near.

As small groups of Negroes unsuccessfully sought admission (seven were arrested) to lunch counters, tennis courts, a public park, a pool, and a teen-age recreation center early last week, lath-thin, goateed Wyatt Tee Walker, chief lieutenant to the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., urged more than 1,000 Negroes to action at a mass rally.

Next day an impassioned Dr. King said: "The salvation of the Negro in Albany is in the hand and soul of the Negro . . . Let's get our marching shoes ready."

Thus alerted to a planned mass march on Albany's city hall Saturday, Mayor Asa D. Kelley drove 90 miles to Co-

Sylvian E. Ofiara

Bailey (center): Heckled by Kowalski supporters, he won in the end

lumbus, Ga., and got Federal Judge J. Robert Elliott to enjoin the Negroes from marching or boycotting city merchants.

While their followers waited through the long evening hours in Shiloh Church, King and other leaders considered whether to proceed. The marching orders never came, but some 160 Negroes, many of them youngsters, emotionally marched off to be arrested. King, who at the last minute opposed the march, was a stunned and silent witness.

POLITICS:

'All the Attributes'

When it finally came, after cocktails, dinner, and speeches, the vote to reelect John Bailey seemed hardly necessary. He already had served sixteen years as state chairman of the Democratic Party in Connecticut and also happens to be the Democratic National Chairman. And it was a foregone conclusion that the 72 members of the state central committee, meeting in the purple-tapestried Hartford Room of the Statler Hilton Hotel in Hartford one night last week, would hand him his ninth two-year term. They did, unanimously. As Mrs. Ella Grasso, Connecticut's secretary of state, put it worshipfully: "I'm just a laborer in the vineyards, but you [Bailey] are the master."

The vote was still another demonstration, if one was needed, of John M. Bailey's firm grip on Democratic politics in the Nutmeg State. His critics call him a boss, and he could qualify for the role at any casting office. Tall, bald, and somewhat paunchy at 57, Bailey walks with a slouch, is proficient at poker and golf, and loves a smoke-filled room, which he helps fill with the fumes from his own big cigars (except during Lent, when he just chews them).

But there the boss image fades. Bailey doesn't slap backs, doesn't glad-hand voters, and has no such prodigious memory for names as Jim Farley had. A Hartford newspaperman once said he felt he was getting to know Bailey better. "For a long time Bailey didn't notice me," the reporter observed. "Now he blows cigar smoke my way."

Interviewed in his office at National Democratic Committee headquarters on K Street in Washington last week, Bailey propped his feet on a littered desk and said: "Am I a boss? Nope. I'm a leader by consultation. I find it better if everyone is in on the decisions."

Connecticut politicians recall his most memorable use of that technique, during the campaign year of 1954, when he decided that Abraham Ribicoff should be the Democratic choice for governor. There was considerable doubt that Ribicoff, a Jew, could win, so Bailey went out to sell his idea to the troops. He toured the state with an old shoebox, and asked local politicians to write their choices on slips of paper and drop them in the box. Bailey never did disclose the result of his informal poll, but Ribicoff was nominated and won the election.

Asset: The ability to pick winners, such as Ribicoff and later John F. Kennedy (Bailey was one of the President's earliest backers in 1960 before the Democratic convention), is perhaps Bailey's greatest political asset. And it is one of the points in his success formula, which he enunciates zestfully, if tritely, in a six-word political slogan: "Good candidates, good organization, good issues."

Some have questioned his talents. One of his severest critics, Joseph Lyford, wrote a booklet about Bailey after the Democratic Party chief had turned down Lyford's bid to run for congressman-at-large in Connecticut in 1958. Lyford wrote: "Despite his shrewdness in escaping from individual crises, he is not an organizer. He herds the party along with imprecision and confusion."

There was a good example of "imprecision and confusion" at the Democratic state convention in Hartford a couple of weeks ago. Ribicoff, having resigned his Cabinet post as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, had come home to seek his party's nomination for the Senate. He was opposed by Rep. Frank Kowalski, whom Bailey had supported against Lyford in 1958. Despite some noisy demonstrations during which his supporters tried to heckle Bailey, Kowalski failed to get the 20 per cent of the votes he needed to insure a primary fight against Ribicoff. Bailey then offered to have Ribicoff put Kowalski's name in nomination for congressman-at-large, but the angry Kowalski stalled. At the last minute, Bailey came up with the name of Bernard F. Grabowski, 39, an obscure Bristol attorney whose biggest asset was that his surname should attract the state's bloc of Polish voters.

As national chairman of the Democratic Party, Bailey has far less power than he wields in his home state. At the very outset, President Kennedy shifted the policy-making and patronage powers of the party from Democratic National Headquarters to the White House. Bailey explains it this way: "There's a difference in the role of the chairman when the party is in power, and when it's out. I don't think my job is to originate policy. The President is the spokesman and makes the policy."

Ringing Doorbells: For his task of building the party's vote-getting machinery, Bailey is admirably qualified. The son of a wealthy Hartford doctor, Bailey went into politics at the doorbell-ringing level of precinct work. For most of his 30-odd years in politics, he has been content to remain behind the scenes. Independently wealthy, Bailey takes no pay for either of his Democratic chairmanships. When in Hartford, he lives in a huge house, bigger than the Governor's Mansion and only 150 yards from it. In Washington, he has a suite at the Sheraton Park (used for some scenes of the movie "Advise and Consent").

One highly placed Administration official assesses John Bailey's qualities this way: "Bailey has all the attributes the party chairman needs, when you have a Democratic President. He's not much on issues, but he's an able guy on the gut end of politics, organizing and lining people up."

POLITICS

Ole Frank

"How long, oh how long, America?" cried Tennessee's Democratic Governor Frank Clement, most eminent alumnus of Mrs. Dockie Shipp Weems's School of Expression in Nashville, in his corn-filled keynote speech to the 1956 Democratic National Convention. For Frank Clement's political future, it soon began to appear that how long would not be very: Clement left the governor's mansion in 1959, practiced law in Nashville and receded into an unwonted silence.

But last week it became clear that Tennessee would hear more from Clement—lots more. At age 42, he made a political comeback by beating two other men in a primary, which virtually assures him the governorship in November. He won the way he always has—with words. Clement loves words—particularly the first person singular. In one 30-minute campaign speech he mentioned himself exactly 213 times. In the same vein, he recalled to a Centerville audience that "I came down here as a boy and cut a right of way 20 feet wide and dug holes six and eight feet deep and set poles and strung wire. I'll guarantee you that within the last 24 hours half the people in this audience have turned on electricity that Frank Clement put in your homes." Where he had once made hay as a boy wonder (he was first elected Governor in 1952 at 32), he now preached maturity. Orating to the accompaniment of hillbilly music, he portrayed himself as "Ole Frank," a "country boy," and allowed as how he would make a better chief executive than ever, because he was "ten years older, ten years more mature, and, I hope, ten years wiser."

His opponents tried to tag him with his friendship with Billie Sol Estes. Billie Sol and Clement, both named among the Junior Chamber of Commerce's "Outstanding Young Men" of 1953, became pretty good buddies: Clement named Billie Sol an honorary colonel on the Governor's staff; Billie Sol cut Clement in on a couple of financial deals. But that didn't seem to matter. The people of Tennessee apparently just love to hear Frank Clement talk. And so does he.

VIC COOLEY—NASHVILLE BANNER

WINNER CLEMENT & WIFE
Back from unwonted silence.

A Fifth for Faubus

For the first time since he became Governor in 1955, Arkansas' Orval Faubus went sleepless on election night. Seeking a fifth two-year term, Faubus faced five opponents in the Democratic primary. Observers thought the vote would be tight, and many had visions of a runoff election against Segregationist Congressman Dale Alford or moderate ex-Governor Sid McMath. As it turned out, Faubus could have stood in bed: he pulled in about 52% of the votes, more than the combined total won by Alford, McMath and three other also-rans. The one place where his opposition beat him was Pulaski County, home of Little Rock (where 42 Negro students went peaceably to integrated schools last term, five years after all the fuss Faubus made). In Little Rock, Faubus got only 40% of the vote.

JOHNNY B. JENKINS

WINNER FAUBUS & WIFE
Behind in Little Rock.

During the campaign, Faubus, for the most part, avoided talking on segregation, astutely carved out for himself the image of a moderate. The results, he said, proved "that the people do not wish to wander in the thickets of extremism to either the right or the left."

Daylight Acomin'

It was 5:30 in the morning when the jangling phone awakened a politician in Louisiana. "Hey," said a familiar voice, "time to get up—daylight is acomin'!" "Lordamighty!" cried the politician. "It's Earl Long—returned from the dead!"

ALEXANDRIA DAILY TOWN TALK

WINNER GILLIS LONG & WIFE
Up the family trail.

It wasn't—but it sounded close enough. The caller was Attorney Gillis Long, 39, who is a cousin-type of Huey and of Huey's brother Earl,* and "double-third cousin" of Huey's son, Senator Russell Long. Last week Gillis joined the family's highly successful political firm. He won the Democratic primary nomination in Louisiana's Eighth District, unseating Congressman Harold McSween, while Cousin Russell easily got renominated for a third term in the U.S. Senate.

Until Gillis came through last week, there had been a possibility that Russell might be pressured into giving up his Senator's seat and seniority by running for Governor in 1964 in order to maintain the Long dynasty back home. Russell has been in the Senate for almost 14 years and has established himself as a conscientious liberal (except on the segregation issue). At 43, he is the third-ranking Democrat (after Harry Byrd and Robert Kerr) on the powerful Senate Finance Committee, the sixth-ranking member of the Foreign Relations Committee. With patience Russell is almost certain to become chairman of one or the other group in time. He was thus understandably reluctant to leave the Senate.

With Gillis' victory, the pressure is off Russell. Gillis, who has served in Washington as counsel for Senate and House committees, now has vote-getting ability to show, as well as the flamboyant platform manner that comes naturally to the Longs. An obvious possibility for Governor, he disclaims any intention of running, but admits that he might "be interested in other things somewhere down the road." It's only 5:30 in the morning of a Long political life—but, as Gillis himself might say, daylight is acomin'.

* Gillis' paternal grandfather was a first cousin of Huey's father, and his grandmother was a first cousin of Huey's grandmother.

MARSHALL LOCKMAN—BLACK STAR

STARLINGS IN FLIGHT
Chirping motors may have been the come-on.

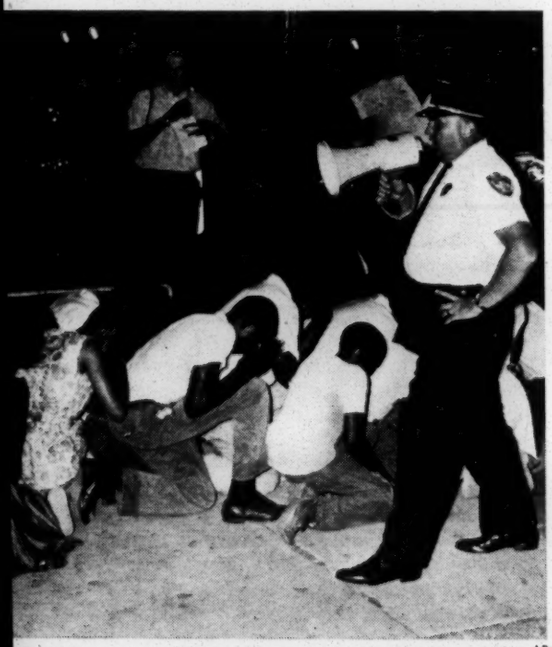
THE SOUTH

"In Changing Times"

President Kennedy last week addressed himself to civil strife in Albany, Ga. "I find it wholly inexplicable," said he at his press conference, "why the city council of Albany will not sit down with the citizens of Albany, who may be Negroes, and attempt to secure them, in a peaceful way, their rights. The U.S. Government is involved in sitting down at Geneva with the Soviet Union. I can't understand why the government of Albany . . . cannot do the same for American citizens."

As he spoke, whites and Negroes were at least sitting down in the same room in Albany, Ga., but it was in a federal courtroom, not at a bargaining table. The city fathers, having lost one order restraining mass Negro protests over segregation (TIME, Aug. 3), were trying to revive it. But as Mayor Asa Kelley Jr. said, "At the rate this hearing is going, we'll be here until the next generation."

The key witness was Police Chief Laurie Pritchett, 36, who testified for twelve hours. More than anyone else, Pritchett is responsible for keeping Albany (where about 1,000 demonstrators, Negroes and whites, have been arrested since December) from turning into a bloody battleground. A tough (220 lbs.) but affable professional, Pritchett has won the respect of both sides in the Albany dispute; the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. thinks that Pritchett is the best Southern police chief he has ever met. Says Pritchett: "I'm Southern through and through. I'm conscious of my roots here, and they go deep. But I know we're living in changing times. I know we've got to adapt ourselves to these things . . . Besides—it's my job to see the law's enforced."



AP

COOL COP PRITCHETT AT WORK
Southern through and through.

Even when pop bottles and rocks were being thrown at his men, Pritchett and his forces were able to keep matters in hand without the use of clubs or guns. One night last week, when 16 Negroes gathered before the city hall to pray and sing hymns, Pritchett angrily rushed to the scene. He was irritated, he explained, because he had been told that the Negroes would forgo a demonstration that evening so that he could observe his twelfth wedding anniversary at home in peace. The Negroes obligingly dispersed, and Pritchett went home to continue his family celebration.

The combination of Pritchett's talent and the generally nonviolent character of the Negro protests notwithstanding, Albany's problems are still far from solved. Answering President Kennedy, Mayor Kelley insisted that "we will never negotiate with any person whose announced purpose in being in our city is to turn the city upside down." By "any person," Kelley specifically meant Martin Luther King, who had been jugged only a week earlier for the third time in eight months.

As the injunction hearings continued this week, both whites and Negroes doggedly refused to budge from their positions—leaving nothing for the foreseeable future but a stalemate.

AVIATION

Diversity in Death

There was small comfort for air travelers in four Civil Aeronautics Board crash reports issued last week. They seemed mostly to indicate the diversity of ways in which people can be killed while flying. The CAB findings:

▶ An Eastern Air Lines Electra crash on Oct. 4, 1960, just after take-off from Boston's Logan International Airport (62 dead, 10 survivors), was probably caused by starlings sucked into three of the aircraft's four Allison turboprop engines. The birds' bodies clogged the turbines so that power was insufficient to keep the Electra airborne. Two Federal Aviation Agency scientists had already raised an eerie possibility. Wrote they after studying sound patterns: "The Electra sound spectrum contains an audible chirp which appears identical in frequency and wave form to the chirp of field crickets. Field observations strongly indicate that the sound of the taxiing Electra exerts an attraction for starlings, and possibly other birds, particularly in the fall in the Northeast, when insects suddenly become less plentiful."

▶ An Aeronaves de México DC-8 crashed and burned after an aborted take-off from New York's Idlewild Airport on Jan. 19, 1961 (4 dead, 102 survivors), apparently primarily because Eastern Air Lines Pilot William B. Poe closed the throttles just after lift-off. Poe, on hand to check out the plane's Mexican crew, was misled by an evidently faulty airspeed indicator which made him think the aircraft was not picking up speed fast enough to sustain flight.

▶ A Beechcraft Bonanza air taxi en route from New York's LaGuardia Airport to East Hampton, L.I., crashed as it was attempting to land after a door came open on take-off (four dead—including Mrs. Angier Biddle Duke, wife of the State Department chief of protocol). As a possible reason for the crash, CAB suggested that the roar of air rushing past the open door space may have panicked one of the three women passengers into interfering with the controls or the pilot.

▶ A Continental Air Lines Boeing 707 was blown up by dynamite in mid-air near the Iowa-Missouri border last May 22 (45 dead). Said CAB: "All the evidence leads logically to the conclusion that a dynamite device was placed in the used-towel bin of the right rear lavatory with the express intent to destroy the aircraft." The Federal Bureau of Investigation reported that before the flight, Victim Thomas G. Doty, 34, who faced prosecution for armed robbery, bought some dynamite and $275,000 worth of life insurance payable to his wife.

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CAPITAL PUNISHMENT:

One Lives, Three Die

The governors of California and Illinois solemnly weighed the merits of clemency appeals for condemned murderers last week and then made their painful decisions. The result: Commutation of the death sentence for 32-year-old Paul Crump in Chicago's Cook County Jail; death in San Quentin prison's gas chamber for 58-year-old Mrs. Elizabeth (Mother) Duncan and two men convicted with her.

In denying clemency to Mrs. Duncan and the two men (Luis Moya and Augustine Baldonado) she hired to murder her then pregnant daughter-in-law, Olga, Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown said simply: "I have reviewed in great detail the evidence and the arguments presented ... I am unable to find circumstances to warrant commutation." The Democratic candidate for reelection is personally opposed to capital punishment. But, as he demonstrated in the case of kidnaper Caryl Chessman, who was executed in 1960, Brown feels bound to subscribe to it under existing state law.

His fellow Democrat in Illinois, Gov. Otto Kerner, took a different position in changing the sentence of Crump to 199 years without parole just 32 hours before the Negro was to die in the electric chair. Ending a nine-year legal battle which had seen Crump win six more stays of execution than the eight won by the legendary Chessman, Governor Kerner said he was convinced, after long study of Crump's record, that "the embittered, distorted man who committed a vicious murder no longer exists." He added: "Under these circumstances it would serve no useful purpose to society to take this man's life." A former judge who for years campaigned against the death penalty, Kerner said his decision had not been influenced by his own feelings toward capital punishment.

It was unclear whether the governor's action in trying to bar the right of parole to Crump would be binding on a future governor since, under the state criminal code, no person can remain in prison more than twenty years without becoming eligible for parole.

'Burn, Killer, Burn': Crump, who has written a novel "Burn, Killer, Burn" (scheduled for publication in a few months), has recently become the object of public interest similar to that shown over the Chessman case—with sympathetic stories in newspapers, magazines, and on television shows. No such public concern has characterized the case of Mother Duncan.

Doomed to die this Wednesday along with the two Mexican-Americans she employed in 1958 to beat her son's pregnant wife to death, Mrs. Duncan's clemency hearing before Governor Brown in Sacramento was unmarked by the drama and journalistic interest which attended the Crump hearing before the Illinois Parole and Pardon Board in Chicago. The lawyers advocating clemency, as well as those opposing it, were unimpassioned in their presentations. Only lawyer Frank Duncan, the 33-year-old son of the gray-haired woman, brought emotion into his appeal on her behalf. Arguing that the murderer of his wife "lived in a dream world," the bushy-browed Duncan told Governor Brown that she was "the best mother a man could possibly have ... she could not stand to see anyone hurt." The only other sources of emotion in the governor's modernistic council chamber were the relatives of Mrs. Duncan's accomplices—the sobbing sister of Moya and the pale migrant farm-worker mother of Baldonado. "On behalf of my parents and myself," said the former haltingly, "we are at the end ... We have prayed so much."

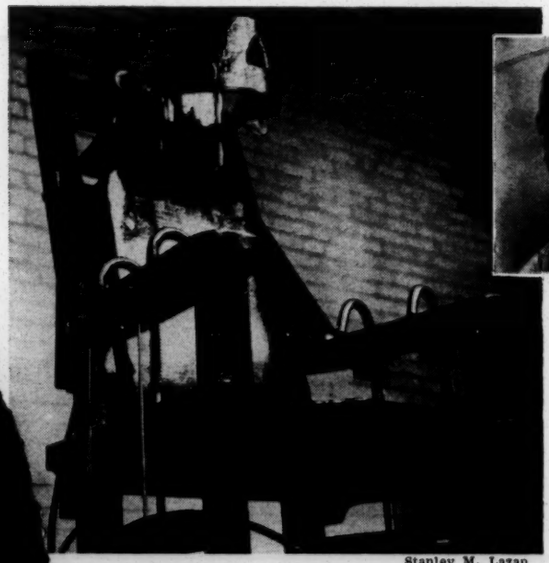
But despite the apathy, even hostility, surrounding the grim case of Mother Duncan, it was clear that feeling against capital punishment—as reflected in the public's attitude toward Crump—was strong. As a weeping Crump thanked "God, Governor Kerner, and all the many, many people" who had made it possible for him "to live so that I may justify my life," attorneys for eight other inmates of Cook County Jail's death row were planning to request a moratorium on the death sentence until the Illinois Legislature meets next year. They were betting that a bill to end capital punishment in the state would have a good chance of being passed at the session. Crump's jubilant attorney Don Moore, said: "The governor has made a little history today ... I think all of us are a little more civilized than we were this morning."

INTEGRATION:

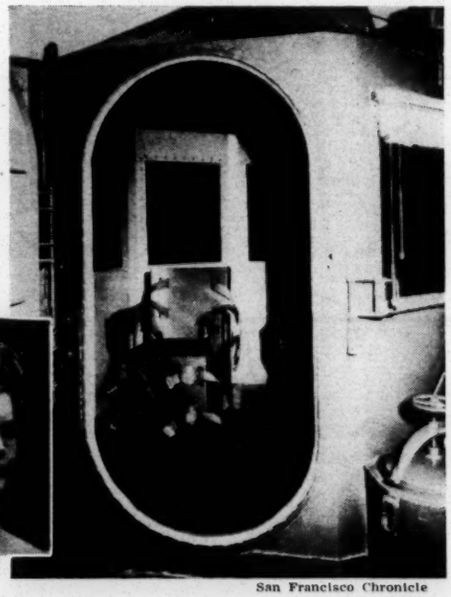
'Keep Walking'

The conclusion was as hard to escape as the midsummer sun baking in the sky over Albany, Ga. After seven months of prayer vigils, sit-ins, marches, and jailings, the revolt against segregation had settled into a long battle of non-violence.

A young veteran of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee took stock last week. "In the movement," the



Stanley M. Lazan



San Francisco Chronicle

HARROWING symbols of society's power to pronounce and execute the sentence of death: Above, the pale-green gas chamber of San Quentin prison, in which Mother Duncan is scheduled to die at 10 o'clock one morning this week for arranging the murder of her 30-year-old daughter-in-law, Olga. Three hours later the two men she paid to do the killing will also die in the chamber. Spared a similar fate in Cook County Jail's electric chair (at left) was killer Paul Crump, whose nine years in death row brought about what prison officials called, during his commutation hearing, a "miracle of rehabilitation."

Rev. James Bevel mused, "you generally just set up a situation and wait for your adversary to make a mistake. But these are very shrewd people . . ."

Among the shrewdest was Albany's thick-set police chief, Laurie Pritchett. When the apostles of "the movement" collected in Albany to help set up the situations, he was ready. He had visited past racial trouble spots (Little Rock, Ark., and Jackson, Miss.); he had even read up on the prophet of passive resistance, Gandhi. And he had drilled his men: No rough stuff, no firehoses or tear gas, not even night sticks, except for self-defense in a man-to-man fight. "We thought," he explained, "we could overcome them with non-violence."

A Prayer and a Song: Pritchett himself set the pattern. Celebrating his twelfth wedding anniversary, he got word that fifteen demonstrators were kneeling in prayer outside City Hall. He went over in civvies, waited tactfully through the prayers, then ordered the demonstrators to disperse because they were causing confusion.

"You mean a prayer and a song will cause confusion?" one asked.

"That's what I mean," Pritchett said. Then he ordered his arrests.

Pritchett also has dealt firmly with whites who threatened trouble. When some Ku Klux Klan leaders checked into an Albany hotel, Pritchett got word of that, too. He summoned them to his office, laid down the law on violence, and threatened to arrest them if they ventured into certain parts of town.

The results became clear in Albany's buff-colored courthouse as testimony droned on in the city's suit for a Federal injunction against further demonstrations. The city's case was based largely on the one major incident of violence, when members of a crowd of 2,000 Negroes showered police with rocks, bottles, and brickbats (NEWSWEEK, Aug. 6).

Unruffled: This incident had reinforced Albany's city council in its refusal to negotiate with the integrationists until the "outside agitators" leave town. Even a stern rebuke from President Kennedy, who found the whole thing "completely unsatisfactory," failed to ruffle Albany's low-key mayor, Asa D. Kelley Jr. He was, the mayor said, willing to talk—to "local . . . law-abiding citizens."

For his part, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., the best-known out-of-state leader, was willing to clear out, but only after negotiations got under way.

In an indirect tribute, the Albany demonstrators have set new words to an old spiritual: "Ain't gonna let Chief Pritchett turn me round . . . Keep on walking, keep on talking, keep on marching to freedom land." Though their numbers were slimming, they kept on marching. But, with Chief Laurie Pritchett directing traffic, the road still led most often to jail.

UPI

Filibusted Mansfield

CONGRESS:

Talk, Talk, Talk

Judging by the track record in the House, President Kennedy's bill to create a system of commercial communications satellites orbiting around American Telephone & Telegraph Co. figured to rocket through the Senate. The House debated only two days before putting it through with nine dissenting votes. Senate leaders were counting on swinging an 80-to-20 margin.

They reckoned without a stubborn group of senators determined on government-only ownership. Headed by Estes Kefauver, Tennessee Democrat, and featuring the ever-ready Wayne Morse, Oregon maverick, they engaged in a filibuster that distinctly embarrassed the Senate leadership. With five days of talk, the resolute group of senators blocked a vote and finally—last week—forced Majority Leader Mike Mansfield to do what they had really wanted to do all along: Refer the bill to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for further hearings.

The rebels were generally jubilant. As they pointed out, nobody ever broke a filibuster by giving it ten days' rest, the period given the committee for consideration. Once back on the floor, of course, the bill could be subjected to more talk. Or Mansfield, as he has threatened, could invoke cloture and hope to get a passing vote. The filibusterers hope, instead, that in desperate haste to get the tax and tariff bills through before adjournment, Mansfield will give up on the satellite bill for this session.

Bitterness: In pursuing their goal, the filibusterers riled old friends and lost new ones. Morse, at one point, gave the lie to Mansfield and to Minnesota's Hubert Humphrey, the Democratic Whip. Mansfield, a patient man, declined to let Minority Leader Everett Dirksen invoke Senatorial courtesy on his behalf, but Humphrey, a day later, was overheard to say: "He called me a liar."

A major point in the debate was made by Kefauver's Tennessee colleague, Albert Gore: Half the stock in the communications company would go to AT&T and similar companies, the rest would be sold to the public. "It would be 100 per cent private," he said. Morse complained that, in letting AT&T negotiate international agreements, the President would be abandoning his constitutional purview of foreign affairs. When they tired of talking on these points, Oregon's Maurine Neuberger took over and talked for over four hours, a record for a woman on the floor of the Senate, and possibly off.

None of the arguments moved Mr. Kennedy. At his press conference last week he disagreed with Senate opponents of the bill who felt it would infringe on Presidential authority in foreign affairs. He asserted that the measure was "the most effective way" of developing a

Associated Pr

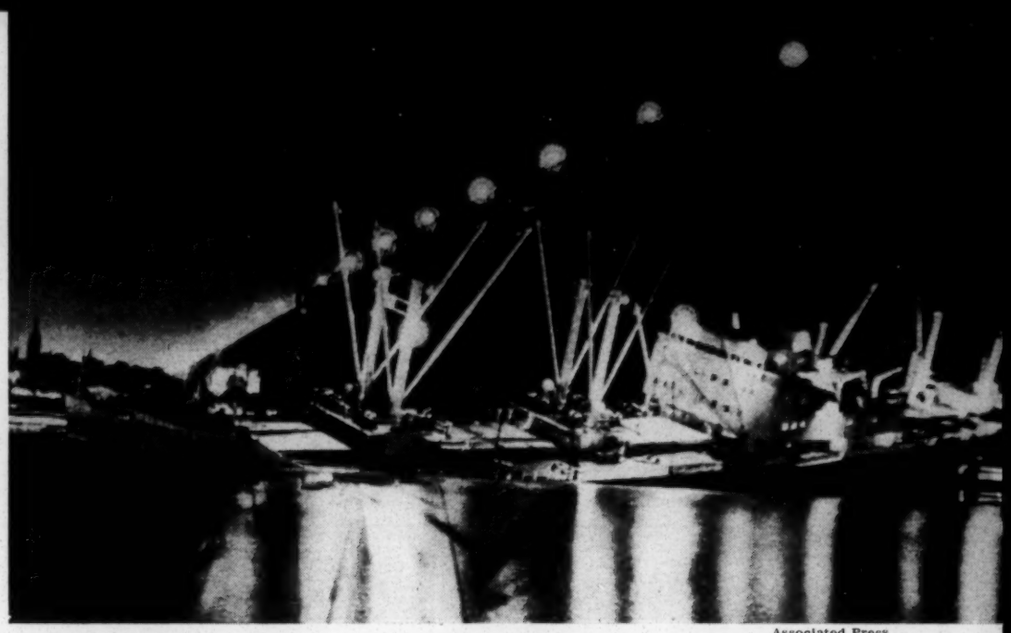
Pin a rose on him: Filibusterers Morse and Neuberger

U.S. communications satellite system.

When Mansfield, along with GOP leader Dirksen, decided on a ten-day cooling-off period for the filibuster, it was three conservative Republicans—all supporters of the bill—Barry Goldwater of Arizona, Roman L. Hruska of Nebraska, and John Tower of Texas—who objected. Drawing one of the few laughs of the five days, Goldwater referred to the filibusterers as "a handful of reactionaries."

Taxes: It was the next morning before Mansfield could get the necessary unanimous consent to put the bill aside, and, with the satellite controversy temporarily muffled, the Senate came down to earth. Harry Byrd's Finance Committee reported out the tax-revision bill.

Three money bills, including the $48.1 billion defense appropriation, were sent along to the White House. On the other side of the Capitol, the House reversed itself, passing 194-35, the bill to pay $73 million to Philippines individuals and corporations for World War II damages. The House had rejected the measure only last May, kicking up a storm in relations with that Far Eastern ally.



Associated Press

Cement Mixer: The evening was clear enough as the almost-brand-new British freighter Montrose (built in 1960) moved out into the Detroit River from her Harbor Terminal berth. Suddenly there was the crunch of a collision; an oncoming cement barge stove in the 4,993-ton vessel's port bow. The Montrose sank in less than six hours. All of the 44-man crew were saved. The cause? The Coast Guard will try to find it.

ELECTIONS:

Rose Between Thorns

It was a tired but relieved Orval E. Faubus who greeted newsmen in his oak-paneled office one morning last week after winning renomination as Democratic candidate for governor of Arkansas for an unprecedented fifth term. Faubus's fatigue and smiles of relief were warranted: He had spent the entire hot, muggy night watching a sizable early lead in the primary election dwindle to under 52 per cent of the total vote—uncomfortably close to a run-off with his closest rival.

Anemic as the majority was, however—since Democratic nomination is tantamount to election in Arkansas—it assured the resourceful Faubus of another two-year term as governor, a post never held for more than three terms.

No one could mistake Orval Faubus's pride in his accomplishment as the 52-year-old winner read his victory statement. "This vote," he said, as flashbulbs popped and TV cameras whirred, "indicates that the people do not wish to wander in the thickets of extremism to either the right or the left." The declaration was in harmony with the relatively moderate tactics of a campaign which had seen the once-impassioned foe of school integration in Little Rock tour the state as a "captive of no extremist group." The segregationist banners which had flown high over his 1958 and 1960 campaigns had this year been turned over to the ultra-conservative Rep. Dale Alford, who ran third in the primary (81,846 votes to Faubus's 207,229). Alford came in only 79 votes behind the second-runner, former Gov. Sidney S. McMath, a liberal Democrat whom Faubus had called "the candidate of the integrationists."

The success of the wily Faubus's rose-between-thorns Democratic primary campaign strategy prompted a New York Times editorial to comment laconically: "We must not, of course, underrate Mr. Faubus even though he seemed to be encouraging us to do so several years ago. His record . . . reveals him as a man of versatility and skill."

Less dramatic than the gubernatorial contest but perhaps more significant was the relative weakness of the margin by which internationally minded J. William Fulbright won renomination for a fourth six-year term in the U.S. Senate. The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee defeated a political unknown, Winston G. Chandler, operator of a Little Rock trailer convoy firm, by a vote of 2 to 1 (242,052 to 123,729). But the vote for Chandler—who stumped the state denouncing foreign-aid "giveaways"—was big enough to stir the traditionally leaden spirits of Arkansas Republicans. They read it to mean that with candidate Dr. Kenneth G. Jones, a prominent Little Rock orthopedic surgeon, they just might beat Fulbright.

Recounts and Return

Two veteran Tennessee representatives appeared to have taken a licking in last week's Democratic primary—and at the hands of the New Frontier challengers who made medicare their major campaign issue.

Pending official tabulations this week, Rep. James B. Frazier Jr., who was seeking his eighth term, trailed newcomer Wilkes Thrasher by 283 votes (35,243 to 35,526) in the Third Congressional District, which embraces the Chattanooga area. And in Nashville's Fifth District, Rep. J. Carlton Loser, seeking a fourth term, lagged behind State Sen. Richard H. Fulton by 46 votes (30,828 to 30,874).

While the margins were so slim that the outcome of both contests could be reversed in a recount, the feeling was that the defeat of Frazier—who helped to freeze the medicare measure in the House Ways and Means Committee—would stand up. Much less sure was Fulton's victory over Loser—who also had failed to support the Kennedy Administration's medicare program.

Frank Clement, Again: These surprising Congressional results (in the 1960 primary, Frazier carried his district by some 18,000 votes and Loser his by more than 8,000) somewhat overshadowed the successful return of former Gov. Frank G. Clement to Tennessee's stage-center. Clement was no longer the boy orator who won his first term as chief executive at 32, but the ensuing years had not dimmed his vote-getting powers. Now 42, he came back from a four-year sabbatical to win the nomination for governor by a handsome margin.

He received 295,166 votes as against 204,109 votes for Chattanooga Mayor P.R. Olgiati, and 195,275 for Memphis City Commissioner William W. Farris. The triumph practically assured Clement a second four-year term as governor (his first term was for two years, prior to a constitutional change) since Democratic nomination is usually equivalent to election in Tennessee.

UPI

Guadalcanal: 1942 . . . 1962

It was 9:08 of the morning of Aug. 7 twenty years ago this week, when the landing barges carrying the First and Third battalions of the Fifth Marines ran aground in the shoals along the northern shore of Guadalcanal, and the assault troops leaped into the tropic-warm waters (photo above). Before them lay a plain waving with saw-edged kunai grass and beyond that the jungly approaches to 8,000-foot mountains—but no Japanese.

The Japanese, most of them laborers working on the airfield that was the main objective of the Marine attack, had taken to the hills, leaving behind tables set with breakfast. By nightfall of the next day two regiments, the First and Fifth, were ashore and the airfield taken.

For Americans, watching apprehensively across 6,500 miles of Pacific Ocean, it was an auspicious beginning to the first U.S. counteroffensive on dry land in the war against the Japanese. Up to then, American troops had been overwhelmed in the Philippines and on Wake; the U.S. was fighting back at last. As Maj. Gen. Alexander A. Vandegrift, then commander of the First Division and later Marine Corps Commandant, said afterward: "We started him [the enemy] on the long road to Tokyo that morning of Aug. 7, 1942, and he never turned back."

Where the Marines hit the beach now stands the town of Honiara (population: 500 Europeans, 500 Chinese, more than 2,000 Melanesians), capital of both Guadalcanal and the British Protectorate for the Solomons, New Hebrides, and Gilbert and Ellice islands. From its deep-water pier at Point Cruz, Lever Bros. shipped upwards of 20,000 tons of copra last year. Another industry is the salvage of war scrap. Cyril Ashton, an Australian salvage man, often recovers a cache of Coca-Cola. "A bit flat after all this time," he concedes, "but if you pause for a little aeration, it really refreshes."

Richard Vickers, who manages the Lever plantation from his headquarters at Sydney, regrets that there is no marker at the Marine landing point. "One suitable site," he said, "would be at Tenabuta, where you can still see the aquila tree that the Americans used as a pointer in heading for the beach."

Defense Department

Into the unknown: Marine patrol moving forward on reconnaissance

The ease with which the airfield was captured turned out to be but the lull before the storm. The Japanese built up strength for more than a week, concentrating in a huge coconut grove beyond the Marine lines at the Tenaru River, reinforced by night with barge-loads of veteran troops escorted through "the Slot" by the fast-steaming ships of the "Tokyo Express."

In the middle of the night of Aug. 21, the Japanese erupted screaming from the grove and onto a sandbar and there were chopped up by American gunfire. The few who did reach the foxholes fell to bayonet and rifle butt. Survivors holed up again in the coconut grove, where a flanking force of Marines fell on them later that day. Death toll: 35 Marines, 1,000 Japanese.

Even today, Sgt. Maj. Thomas John McHugh, top enlisted man of the corps, remembers the first battle of the Tenaru most clearly of anything that happened on 'Canal. "It was a well-executed flanker movement," he said.

McHugh would have a hard time recognizing the spot now. A sawmill and boat-building shed stand at the mouth of the river and most of the chewed-up coconut trees have been replaced. The main street of Honiara, a U.S.-built road, is still open all the way to the Tenaru; some day soon it will encircle the entire 85-mile-long island.

The day before the action on the Tenaru, Henderson Field was ready and nineteen Wildcats and twelve Dauntless bombers flew in from the carrier Long Island to form the nucleus of Brig. Gen. Roy S. Geiger's "Cactus Air Force"—Cactus from the code name for Guadalcanal. Joe Foss, Pappy Boyington, and John Smith, all of them aces, were with them. So was Marion Eugene Carl, now a colonel and deputy chief of the corps.

"I remember how the nights were 'shoe on' or 'shoe off' nights," Col. Donald L. Dickson said last week. "If the moon was bright, which the Japs didn't like, you could sleep with your shoes off."

Henderson Field, now called Honiara Airport, is still serviceable and is used by regular planes from Australia and Fiji. The steel control tower, its wooden steps falling away, still stands, and the water from a drinking fountain bubbles into a Marine helmet still clearly bearing camouflage marks.

The ground fighting grew even more bitter as the Japanese tried to drive the Americans from Henderson Field. The Marines, reinforced by the Army, fought them off stubbornly—at Bloody Ridge, the Matanikau River, Coffin Corner—although wracked with dengue feve dysentery, and malaria, plagued by c size rats, and frequently tortured hunger. By the time Guadalcanal

Campus Division
Americans for Democratic Action
1341 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA CHAPTER
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

Statement on the Integration of the University of Florida

November 1, 1962

Our Chapter of Americans for Democratic Action was founded at the University of Florida in April 1961 and immediately decided that its first order of business must be the integration of the University's undergraduate school. A court order had opened the graduate facilities to Negro students in 1956, but the segregation of the rest of the University had got to be challenged.

With only a short time before applications for fall sessions would be closed, only three students were found willing in the summer of 1961 to turn in applications, these all were members of the Daytona Beach NAACP Youth Council. Unfortunately, two of the applicants had below-minimum placement scores and the third did not complete his application by the time of registrations and so the attempt failed. Something was learned of the administration's policy, however, and also we had made contacts with State Negro Leaders. We decided to try for the following year.

We learned that our project was divisible into four parts; location of eligible students, solicitation of funds for applicants who might be in need, preparation for legal action if necessary, and assurance of community and campus support for Negro Students.

The first problem occupied almost all of our attention. A.D.A.'s national office, through Campus A.D.A. liaison chief Richard Lambert, found

a total of $1,000, enough to provide tuition and board for two students for a year. This was a difficult assignment for A.D.A. national to perform in an election year, and Mr. Lambert has earned our gratitude. Also we appreciate the journey of Mr. Edward Estes to the National A.D.A. convention to make appeals for funds. A.D.A. national also pledged assistance in locating legal aid should it become necessary.

A number of methods were attempted to canvas the whole state for eligible students but none proved very successful. A meeting with state NAACP leaders seemed promising but only two students were found through their organization. Eventually personal contacts supplied six more students. Several of the Chapter members made trips to Miami, Jacksonville, Bradenton, Daytona Beach and other towns, and many telephone calls were made. All the students who eventually filled out applications made independent decisions, but we hope our promise of support at the University confirmed them in their difficult choices. Several of the students had been offered scholarships to study at Negro colleges, and all were among the most promising students at their respective high schools.

Arrangements were made so that the applications would be sent registered mail and other precautions were taken to assure that the administration would have to give them adequate consideration. Assistance was also given in arranging for placement tests for prospective transfer students and for interpretation of admissions requirements. Surprisingly, by June the applicants began to receive permits to register. At some point the administration had

obtained a decision, not made public, from the State Board of Control. Several of our applicants were turned down, but none for reason of race. A total of seven of the applicants were admitted.

The end of August was a busy period for several of our members. Some additional funds were found for one of the students through the congregations of the Churches of Gainesville, and through the Gainesville Human Relations Council. Several of the students required housing in town and quarters were located at a reduced rate. All of the students were welcomed on arrival and were kept in contact with to make sure their first days were a success. News releases were given the Alligator.

It is planned in the first months of the fall term to continue the project by setting up a permanent fund for future Negro students, via loans or scholarships, and to provide tutorial sessions for first semester students who request them. Social acceptance by undergraduates seems to be no problem.

Though, all the members of the A.D.A. chapter here in Gainesville worked on the project, the major work of organization and coordination was done by Warren Dean, Chairman of the Committee on Integration, Edward Estes and Nancy Mykel. The integration program at the University of Florida was a success. Efforts will be continued to further integrate the school. These efforts will be directed toward acquainting Negro high school students throughout the state with the educational opportunities available at the University and with the fact that qualified applicants wishing to attend may do so without fear.

ADA ans

1341 Connecticut Ave., N.W. • Washington 6, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL DIRECTOR

November 2, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am enclosing a report from our University of Florida Chapter of the Campus Division of ADA. I am sending it to you because of your particular interest in the problems of integration in our colleges and because it is an example of the kind of work that our Campus Division is undertaking. As I am sure you are very well aware, the problem of integration is not one just of Constitutional or statutory right, but it is also one that involves the very human and complex problem of assisting in other than legal ways the good, brave young people who try to break the barrier of race in our southern colleges.

This report from Florida demonstrates the kind of activity that our young ADA members hope to continue, not only in Florida but in other state universities. Because it represents a refreshing note of success and hope, I knew that you would like to hear of it--and to know that the support you have given ADA does have this kind of concrete result.

Sincerely,

Violet Gunther

Violet M. Gunther
National Director

VMG:brs

Enclosure

"THE FAMILY IN A WORLD OF RAPID SOCIAL CHANGE"

The following material is presented as a condensed version of the recent New York planning meeting regarding local seminars on the above subject.

To fellow Planning Conference Members, the report is submitted as a token of the pleasure experienced in our mutual fellowship and discussion... and the hope that it can be of assistance to you in your own program.

To Conference and District Guild officers, it is sent with the hope that you will pass on the information to members of your own Guild organizations, and that it will be used to actually set up these most important Seminars in the local churches.

To all of you - May the love of God be with you as you undertake this challenge, and meet it.

Mary Munger
Wesleyan Service Guild Chairman
Christian Social Relations
Western Jurisdiction

"Rapid Social Change and the Church's Program as Related to Families"

Rev. Lee R. Cooper, Methodist Missionary

One basic assumption in speaking of racent social change is that WE ARE INVOLVED! Important changes which have taken place in this century include the expanding of women's role in the U. S. and progress from the machine age into the space age. We must be concerned that the church awakens to its mission in this new world.

To a certain degree, all people wear "blinders" which distort their view of the facts. These blinders, which are peculiar to the Western countries, are:

We need a sense of history as we are related to those who today seek freedom, political and economic. Cuba, Africa, and others are so striving. It has not been so long, as time is marked, since we were also in revolution against oppressors.

We have enjoyed a rather leisurly pace in our changes in the West. This has not been true of the Eastern and South American peoples, and there has been great emotional impact. We must learn that other nations do not necessarily value our Western habits and patterns of life and government, though they do want our technology. For example, the ancient custom of the bridal price in cattle was functional for the people who employed it, since all the groom's relatives shared in the gift and had a real interest in seeing that the marriage lasted. This is not in accord with our own ideas, but when many of our values are rejected, we must look behind ghe surface to find the real reasons and open our minds to the thought-patterns of other peoples.

We have not, as a church, prevented the problems from occurring, but have tried to help after they have become evident. Our Christian church, with its medical program, is largely accountable for the increase of population in the famine areas. We did not give sufficient thought to the problems this increase would make in the way of food, housing, etc. Consequently, the average person in Asia now has less food than before World War II. While no one would advocate the policy of permitting these people to remain in sickness and suffering, it is plain that we must carry out a "Ministry of Study" as well as a "Ministry of Service" if we are to do an adequate job in this changing world. It has been found that the women are the leaven of the church when it comes to this necessary study. This is good, but we must find a way to interest more of the men and other organizations in the church life.

We find, in surveying the facts of change, that some general things happened:

1. Mechanization has brought new attitudes toward work. This shows up in a loss of pride in workmanship and loss of feeling of belinging. Freedom from want has lessened, but social insecurity has grown.

2. New concepts of social responsibility. The old family lines, or clan concept, have largely crumbled. Greater educational advantages for the young people have led to a lack of communication between the generations. There has been a change in family patterns. Since the old relationships have been destroyed between the different age groups, the husband and wife must now depend almost solely on each other. This may partially explain our high divorce rate. The church must do some thinking in this area.

3. Greater distance has been added between the people and their government. Old tribal society was closer to the people than our more advanced political system.

4. Working women and their role in society. Nine out of ten women will work for wages some time during their life. 55% of women employed outside the home today are married, which is a gain of 30% in recent years. This factor is very important in the life of the church. Are all our churches and programs geared to use this woman-power in its changed form??

When we consider these changes in the light of their relationship to our own lives, we find that in the following significant areas much more study and action is needed by our churches:

1. We need more information on family life in the church. How is the church really serving our families today?

2. We need a study on the effect of discrimination on negro family life, as related to the father's wage earning ability. When these people are restricted to low income jobs, they tend to shy away from responsibilities they can't adequately meet - hence, their disposition to desert their families and become drifters.

3. What effect does the father's swing shift work have on the family? This would also relate to the traveling man away from home too much, or the busy executive with no time for home life. How can we make needed changes in industrial or business customs if they are determined to be bad? The church should have a voice in these problems.

There have always been various reactions to change, depending on the people involved in it. Here are some typical reactions:

Change everything as soon as possible, regardless of sacrifice.
It can't be helped - must be endured. Let nature take its course.
To be deplored, and done away with as soon as possible.

Here, we might ask ourselves, what must the Christian say about change?

First, we must recognize that this is our opportunity for repentence. We have not always been right, and sometimes our sins have been many. We need His healing and forgiving spirit.

We must have an "agonizing" reappraisal of our own program. We must be both the candle on the hill and the salt and leaven of the earth. 99% of the witnessing MUST be done by us. Our frontier is in the midst of the world.

We must examine the goals of our society, as Christians, and our standard of living that guides so many of our decisions, our love of entertainment, etc. Are we "lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God"?

We must reevaluate the Christian family life. What is marriage, in terms of our relationship to Christ?

Some of our organizations in the church may have to change. Many are now too big. Our present need is for small groups to meet the deep need for fellowship that is evident in so many lives.

We must evaluate our own message. Do we, as Christians, really witness for the Christ that is the light of the world? We must give increasing commitment to God, and this will call for sacrifice of our personality and our means. Let us awaken to our task and our opportunity!

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"ETERNAL VALUES IN A WORLD OF CHANGE"

Miss Lucile Colony, Exec. Secretary, Dept of Work in Foreign Fields

Power Through Christ: Every individual Christian belongs to a universal fellowship This sustains us in the knowledge that we are not alone.

Christianity has sought to be a world religion and through our faith in God we have access to one who has the blueprint for the better world we all seek. Through the Holy Spirit, we must look to Him for guidance. We are called today to unity, and to witness for our faith. We should be willing to meet in small groups for prayer and fellowship together, and to seek the true will of God as it concerns each of us.

When our relationship to Him is fully established, there comes into our life a power to witness to Him as our Lord. He will not entrust us with the power of the Holy Spirit unless we are wholly committed to Him, body, mind, and soul. This power is to be used, not for ourselves, but for Him. He will become our mind, if we do not set up a road block against Him. He will become our strength, if we do not seek to move in our own power. God does not call us to success, He calls us to obedience. "You did not choose Me, but I chose you".

Love Knows How: The love of Christ was meant to be spread by all Christians to all those within their reach. One example of what this could mean is found in the life of a young missionary. She came to serve under an older missionary who had spent many years in the field, and who was weary and ill. She was not a very agreeable superior, and all those under her had trouble. The young missionary gradually came to feel that she could not continue her service. When she was on the point of leaving, an old native woman spoke to her. The native woman said that whe had, for years, heard about this love of Christ, but she had not seen its benefits. She inquired whether the love was not good in a difficult time, such as that in which the young woman found herself. The girl prayed, and at once realized that the love of God is good for all situations of life, and with the help of the Holy Spirit, she stayed. Little by little, she and the older missionary became friends, and the love that was expressed by the young woman's faith became a candle to light the darkness of the ones who had not yet believed.

A Bishop, in giving the communion service to young people being commissioned, said that he had never liked the expression "know-how", since it seemed to have such a commercial flavor. However, one day when singing the song "Faith of our Fathers", he came on the phrase "as love knows how", and for the first time he understood that this is the final message. Love does know how, and all the conflicts and struggles of life can be resolved by the firm belief that Christ and the power of His love can meet all our needs. As we are willing to witness to this love, His kingdom will come to all the earth.

PANEL ON RACE - One of the Most Important Issues of Today

Dr. Oscar Lee, National Council of Churches: "Race, a World Issue".

Racism can be belief in superiority, either by color, nationalism, religion, language, or other characteristics. Practice of racism results in prejudice and cruelty. This is a dangerour phenomenon in our time, which can erupt into violence. We cannot figut against this evil and, at the same time, admit its validity by our own actions. People of all races and backgrounds now expect to share in the benefits of technocracy, and these people also aspire to political self-determination. Next, we have the need for education and a good community life founded on a firm foundation. Men all over the world are rejecting the idea of a second class existence, and this change is forcing the Western nations to make drastic adjustments. It is also affecting the Communist nations, as was apparent in the behavior of Mr. K. at the UN. In the West, we start with the handicap of a long history of the attitude of a Colonial country. The immigration policies of so many of the Western powers make a telling impact on the nations excluded. Also, one of the most important things that ever happened, and which has not been forgotten, was the dropping of the atom bombs on Japan, a non-white nation. On the bright side, we are beginning to be more aware of the problem of racism than ever before. England, also, is awakening to the need for understanding her own race problems. This whole area of race changes in different parts of the world under local conditions. For instance, Singapore still is a "free city" because it is a city made up largely of Chinese, who are often disliked in Southeast Asia. In summary, we may be sure that our own stature in the world will not attain its fullest possibilities until we deal with this problem of race, because we believe such action is right and just, and because we must have our own spiritual integrity. This is our challenge.

Dr. Dan Dodson, New York University: "Jobs and Homes".

Our large cities have been moving population to the suburbs (middle class white people) and gaining negro and Puerto Ricans of low income level. This mass move has forced a re-structuring of city and community life. Many restrictions have been placed on building in the suburgs, with many areas requiring one acre to build a house, etc. Cities are meeting their problem by building large housing developments, which are mostly segregated. If the various races try to escape to the suburbs they are met with the barrier of race prejudice, and this condition is being found all through the nation. In the matter of jobs, one of the greatest changes in our era has been accomplished by the people of other races becoming politically powerful because of their numbers. This has brought realism to our relations with labor, and 18 states now have fair employment laws. Thus, politics has been able to accomplish what the church did not. It has been said that Law and Politics are available to all the people in a democracy and, in this case, it seems to have been well used. Our culture emphasis has also changed from urbanism to suburbanism, which is our new mark of attainment. This ties in with the new desire for "togetherness". The pastor becomes a "psychological" pastor of a "serving" congregation, because it is perfectly safe to serve. This acts as a panacea to the people, and here our church has developed to the point where there is an endless meeting of various groups and much activity, but it is not a place where people meet to plan restructuring of society. Perhaps we need to help part of the minority groups find the "handle of power". This brings us to the point: Are we really willing to have a sharing of power that they may take their place as our equals - not people of a lower level whom we are willing to serve, if they will only remain in their place? What is the religious commitment that we really have? All peoples have creativeness, and the touchstone to it is freedom. If we are to have a valid concept of self, it must be tested against the main stream of humanity, and not just one small segment. This is the reincarnation of our faith.

Miss Louise Young, Tennessee Council on Human Relations: "The Sit-In Movement".

The sit-ins were a form of communication in a very positive manner. These young people felt that there was no sense and no justice in the custom which failed to permit them to be served at the lunch counters in the stores where they spent their money for other necessities. It seems plain that their message was received, and the answer was affirmative on the whole. What was the local response? This has been quite varied. Local laws made treatment of the arrests different in the separate communities. Settlement of the sit-ins in Nashville was made by a negotiating group composed of negroes, ministers, and others. The sit-ins were bolstered by the boycott of the stores, which made the "power of the pocketbook" felt. Together, these brought about settlement. Our own responsibility as Christians involves: Peaceful, ethical, cultural growth of all our children. Other races need to develop and maintain their pride in self and in their community. Helen Fuller, a student, said: "We are all so very happy". They have found a cause larger than themselves. Let us not do less than this for our Christian cause.

PANEL - Christian Responsibility and Freedom

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Georgia Director Woman's Work, Southern Regional Council.

"In the United States": We must begin our consideration of this issue by realizing that the Declaration of Independence carried no independence for the negroes. In 1886, the first civil rights improvement became law by the 13th amendment and in 1888, the 14th amendment was added to include the negroes. Also, the 15th and 19th amendments aided in the search for equality. After the carpetbaggers took over the south, the KK was organized, and this is being reactivated today in some parts of the south through the young people. Negroes have been deprived of the vote by various means and clauses in local laws, as well as the poll tax. Each community which has been successful in this effort has passed on its "recipe" to others for the continuation of segregation. Finally, in 1957, another civil rights bill was passed which gave the President the right to appoint a civil rights committee. This bill was so worded that it was possible to take action against a person, and not the state. This was the first time that such individual action has been possible under law. The 1960 bill made it a requirement for the states to retain their notes on civil rights cases, and present these records upon demand. The picture is beginning to brighten in Tennessee and some other southern states as the negro is beginning to exercise voting privileges. The danger of our time is not the bomb, but the terror which can fill men's hearts. Through intimidation, the God-given rights of free speech and freedom of action can be denied. We are in the third watch, and must bear our Christian witness in times like these.

Mrs. Newell Booth, wife of Bishop Booth, "In Africa".

We cannot have freedom in other parts of the world without granting freedom in our own communities. Even Russia and America agree that there is a very bad situation in south Africa. The two Portugese colonies are two more very dangerous spots. The fact that the U. S. has air bases in these territories prevents us from taking a firm stand about these countries, or Provinces. As Provinces, or overseas parts of Portugal, these do not come under the scope of the UN. The white people there can own thousands of acres of land, while the black is restricted to ownership of 7 or 8 acres. The training and equipment of native armies, which was sponsored by the various governments, is now being used to gain the ends desired by the colored Africans. They have learned to use force, and are now continuing to use it for their own purposes. There is no Methodist work around Leopoldville. Our work has been with the tribe Lumumba works with. There has been a dream of a united nation in the Congo, which is now in question. As Christians, we must learn to see these various leaders in the light of what they are trying to achieve, caught up in rapid social change, and know that they are trying, in their own way, to bring freedom to their people.

Dr. Clara French, Executive Secretary in Dept of Work in Foreign Fields.

"In Asia": We must relate "freedom" to the whole world, if we come up with the right picture. The church and the family must include the whole world. We must consider the ways that all these issues about rapid social change are linked together and know that we are a part of the total world problem. No one can be a real neutralist today, since what we do and believe does express to the nations of the world our real opinion. The way we speak to Cuba will be heard all over the world. More than half the world's population lives in the Asian nations, and soon there will be more Chinese than all the white people of the earth. Our area is shrinking and they are increasing, and less than 3% - in some instances less than 1% - of these people are Christian. We have become a minority group working in this vast tide which is moving ahead. The old family unit system took care of the family employment and housing, and solved many other social problems. There was no problem of old age, since the family unit protected and kept everyone together.

The various changes which have taken place in the world have changed this family unit and it fell apart, leaving nothing to take its place. Changes brought about for women in Japan by the war changed their entire lives. They led the most sheltered existence and their new role has changed this, and has continued after the war ended. It was not necessary for Japanese women, as in some other Asian nations, to fight for the right to vote and hold office. This came naturally after the war was over and the people learned of the freedom of the West. However, many still had no way to live in the freedom enjoyed in the West, and it is not possible to give freedom when there is nothing to make it possible. This often has no bearing on culture.

India is the greatest democracy in the non-white world today. Our idea of what freedom really is, is often what we have experienced ourselves, when we should relate it to what the meaning is for them. Jesus Christ in the hearts of people started a revolution that has made possible the uprising in these lands we know today. People, under our Christian concept, are individuals with rights and privileges. We carried this message of freedom on a Western framework, since it was all we had, and this was related to colonialism, which was so often evil, in the minds of many of the people. This is the paradox.

Dr. Clara French (Cont'd)

How do we really serve these people in Indonesia, where they are wearing bark, starving, and dying of disease? They have the problem of bringing themselves to accept some of our assistance, which in their minds is still related to the old colonialism. This problem represents a violent nationalism, which is hard for the West to understand. It has come about in many of these countries that patriotism is judged by whether they will become of the national religion. The Christian family is "Exhibit A" for the people, and is one of the most important things which can be established. One of the greatest problems of today is their economy, particularly in Asia. The annual income of all these countries averages less than $100.00 per year per person. In the last analysis, it is not a question of their freedom, but a question of our freedom. We are bound by their needs.

Question Period to Panel:

Mrs. Booth: We must beware of labeling people with the Communist label. They are seeking, and may even follow those who are tinged with Communism in their search. Sometimes we have to work with people as they are, not as we would have them be.

Mrs. Booth: We must learn to distinguish between people who have been used by the Communists, and actual Communist workers, with the Communist goals. This can be a problem. Lumumba started his school work in a Methodist school, but was expelled. Should we have worked with him a little longer?

Mrs. Bender: As an example of the difficulty being experienced by some of the nations seeking freedom, is the situation in French Guinea. When they wanted their independence, the French took out all the money, the telephones, and modern equipment. Now, they are leaning toward Communism, and no wonder!

Mrs. Bender: Money going to this troubled area now can be called "Appropriations for Peace". As the Congo goes, so may go the rest of Africa. It is important that we realize that we now have a chance to aid the cause of freedom in giving needed help to Africa. This is a good investment to avoid war.

Mrs. Booth: A centralized form of government for the Congo is considered good. In this way, they can carry on their own economy if reestablished as one government. Otherwise, it is hard to tell where the division will end, since there are always tribes who are dissatisfied with the regime in power.

Mrs. Bender: Many nations prefer contributions made through the UN to the money given by any one nation. We need to de-personalize our feelings and give money through the United Nations, and be willing to let others make their own mistakes in using it as they set their own patterns for progress.

"Population Mobility & Urbanization"

Dr. Meryl Ruoss, U. S. A. Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches.

The church needs to deal with the hard facts of life in carrying out its mission for Christ. By the turn of the century, there will be about 5 billion people in the world, and the great population increase is one of the greatest facts of change today. America is sharing in this "explosion", but we amount to only 6% of the world population.

Our people, as a nation, are on the move. One out of every 5 people changes addresses every year, and have been doing so for the past 20 years. Much of this moving has involved change from areas of low income possibility and high fertility to areas of greater income and lower fertility rates. We must understand this as a fact in our lives and in the lives of our churches. Our concern for people must reach out to this mobile population.

Fewer people now are living on farms in America than in any one of our great industrial cities. Suburban expansion, however, will double in the next 20 years. This is one of the places in which the church is in serious trouble today, and where we need to study our program and outreach.

Improved communication has shrunk a world which is really in the process of expanding. By 1970, we will become a nation of native born people, rather than the children of immigrants. This, however, has not affected the conflict between the black and white. The great cities have become the prime mission fields for the church, where opportunity exists for progress. If we do not respond to this challenge in the next few years, we chance losing America. Our leaders for the future will come from the inner city of today.

In relationship to the population, we now have more order people and more young people than ever before. 26% of all adults are single, widowed, or divorced. This means that we cannot have only a "family church". We now have more women than men, while our social system has been based for years on the assumption that there will be more men than women. The Kinsey reports have measured the results of this shift and what it means. What does the church say to the dilemma of these women left without men?

Rev. Lee R. Cooper, Methodist Missionary.

We are all going through the urbanizing process and its influence on people. To this, the church is not speaking as it must. Why?

Our gospel must be relative to today, not to society as it was in the last generation. Are we trying to present our gospel to an audience that ceased to exist a long time ago?

The modern man often works in one place, shops in another, lives somewhere else, and goes to church - if at all - in a still different community. This leads to a separation of the life into various compartments which do not always relate one to another. How does the church successfully compete for its ministry to the whole man?

As churches, we need to recapture, in contemporary terms, what the church really is. We are in danger of keeping our church relationships in one place, separate from our other activities. Because of this, God is not able to use us as He would, and our lives lack the power and freshness that we need to fully proclaim the gospel of today.

For the first time in years, Methodists have had to face the fact that we have lost ground. This is not a happy situation, but it is equally true of other major denominations. We find that we are just not communicating the gospel message in a way to make it live for people today. This calls for a critical evaluation of the program of every church, and a prayerful consideration of what means we can use to let Christ speak through us in these troubled times.

UN BRIEFING - Mrs. Clifford Bender

This UN session has been different from all others because of the Congo situation, and the UN was our only hope in this difficult period. Here; we must consider what has not happened as a result of UN action. The present assembly has been called "The Shoe Maker's Assembly" because it was the first time anybody ever waved a shoe in the general assembly. However, even with these gestures of disrespect, Russia has not left the UN.

In considering the matter of money paid into the UN, we must understand the size of the other nations and their ability to pay. We do not stand first in per capita giving, even though the amount, in total, may be large. The expense of contributing to the support of the UN has been a good thing for all the nations, as has been the admission of the new countries. This admission has been unpopular in some parts of the country because members from the primitive tribes will have the same vote as our own UN delegates. However, many of these people have been well educated and are qualified for the job. We need to work on the point that they have a right to be there as a part of the whole complex of peace and war, and are now taking their places in the world economy. The UN now has a total of 99 member nations.

The agenda this year has been the longest on record. Each session begins with a general debate, which is not an actual debate, but a series of speeches. This process is expedited by the use of committees, with each nation represented on the committee so that the decision can be final.

The difference between our method of selecting UN delegates and that used in many other countries amounts to the fact that our delegates change often, and represent various sections of our country. They are supposed to be a leaven to bring back UN information to all parts of the nation. Many other countries send highly trained political experts. Selection of our delegates was originally a bi-party affair, but this has slipped lately. The delegates are appointed by the President, with the advice of the State Department, and are confirmed by the Senate.

If serious consideration should be given to moving the UN, two cities would be seriously regarded - Paris and London - since they could provide adequate communications. Switzerland does not favor an expanded UN, so would not want the headquarters. The move would be very expensive, and would serve no useful purpose. When it is considered that Russia does not have a single headquarters for a UN agency within its area of influence, it can be concluded that this may have been back of Mr. K's request for the move. The matter might be arranged to his satisfaction by the location of the next agency in Russian territory.

BRIEFING AT UN HEADQUARTERS - Mr. Clinton Raile

The United Nations consists of one square mile of international territory. Twenty-five heads of state visited here during recent weeks for the highest total number to date. This organization is now undergoing a number of severe crises, and its life is being challenged. The new countries admitted will strengthen the organization, although they are all small nations and poor in worldly goods. Yet, they contribute a passionate desire for peace and will serve as a restraining influence on the larger powers.

The economic assistance of the UN to the low income nations has been good. Have you considered that 2 billion of the world's people are in dire want? One and a half billion people in 100 nations associated with the UN have created the "revolution of rising demand", since they are no longer content to live in the old manner. The surprising thing is that their countries have a large potential for economic and social progress in most of these places. These are explosive times, and the most favored countries are now most eager to assist.

The UN charter provides for supporting the peace of the world and the present economic situations can be most destructive to this peace. The expanded program of technical assistance began in 1948, and has been a fine move. We must realize that many of the nations have programs of their own for the benefit of these backward countries, not just America and the UN. However, about 9,000 UN experts have come out in the last few years and students have also been brought to assist. A program to speed the investment of capital has been pushed, and the world bank has made a substantial contribution to the economic development, as has the International Investment Corporation. However, more than the effort that has been made so far will be required.

A separate organization "SUNFED", which was desired by these small countries for development purposes, was opposed by the great powers because it combined loans with outright gifts, and it was felt that these should be separate. Mr. Hoffman, who dealt with the nations after this plan was turned down, asked them for a concrete idea of how the money they needed would be used. They had no detailed plan, and it was recommended that a study and plans be made for future assistance. The special fund was then set up to be used as needed. This bridges the gap between the technical assistance program and relating agencies, such as the world bank, and domestic capital.

This special fund is doing things such as:

1. Large surveys to determine location and use of natural resources, such as rivers for irrigation, navigation, etc., minerals in the soil, and wood for lumber.

2. Applied research to plan the best use of local material, and the proper techniques needed to use the resources.

3. Develop human potentials. Given the opportunity, these people can take care of their own development. The fund provides the needed training program on many separate subjects.

4. Provide necessary equipment.

5. Provide basic educational programs at the lower level.

The special fund began with voluntary contributions by governments and individuals. The target was 100 million dollars a year for the technical fund and the special fund combined. The under-developed countries are also making their contributions. The reason for this is basic - unless they are paying their part, the project is just a UN project and not a shared undertaking, which is essential if the job is to succeed. The point is to help those who are willing to help themselves. The UN is being strict with the countries aided, and this helps them to hold up their heads. They are members of the UN also, and so do not dare to waste what is given them by the other countries. All the small countries prefer that their aid should come through the UN rather than from an individual nation.

Some examples of how this fund has operated to do the special things first mentioned are:

1. Surveys: Aregntina requested a loan for a large hydroelectric project from the world bank. The special fund made a survey, and made a report which recommended that a total of 27 power stations be constructed, instead of just one large dam. This was done, and the sale of the electricity will pay for the investment.

2. Research: Guatamala has a research laboratory which belongs to five small South American nations. They must find new uses for local material. This laboratory was started by a UN technical expert years ago. Now, money from the special fund has expanded this little laboratory to make it self-sustaining within the next five years. They are now planning an "instant" tortilla flower, and a large American milling company has recently located in three of the five countries.

3. Human potentials. In India, a large drug company wanted to establish a branch, but they had doubts that the necessary skilled help would be available. Through the special fund, 800 teachers are being trained each year in Calcutta, who will teach Indian boys 14 crafts. This type of training will prevent waste of the expensive equipment sometimes seen because the people do not understand how to use it. These training institutions established from the special fund are all located within the countries involved, and they use local people.

It might be said that many of the programs of the United Nations are overlapping, but all are necessary to the growth and enrichment of these countries. The UN provides an integrated program to open up the possibilities for a large scale investment of capital, and a maximum participation by the people concerned.

A SEMINAR IN YOUR LOCAL CHURCH

By the time you have read this far, you will undoubtedly be convinced that there is a real need for your own Seminar. It is hoped that some of the following suggestions, taken from the experience of setting up such a local Seminar, will be helpful.

WHO ? Since the Seminar plans have come down from the Woman's Division, the local meetings will be started by members of the Woman's Society and the Wesleyan Service Guild. In all cases possible, the Guild should cooperate with Woman's Society members in this undertaking and, if meetings are held on week-ends, will be able to do so. If it should be found that the Guild will, because of week-day meetings, have no opportunity to share in the Seminar, it has been recommended by Lillian Johnson that action be taken to pilot a Guild Seminar somewhere in the community. The important thing is that all Guilds should take an active part in such a meeting.

WHERE? In most cases, the meeting will be held in a local church. It was suggested at the New York meeting that an alternate meeting place would be some community social project, where the people are actually undergoing change. You will be able to decide the best location in your own area.

WHEN ? If the men of the church and the employed women are to be reached, the Seminar will, of necessity, be held on a week-end or holiday. The week-end would usually attract more participants. It was suggested in New York that a fifth Saturday or Sunday might be used, when the calendar would not be so full.

HOW ? Since all areas of the church will be affected by such a meeting, it is important that all the organizations have an opportunity to help plan and carry out the Seminar program. Refer to the planning book, "A Seminar in Miniature".

The Minister, the Methodist Men, Chairmen of the various Commissions, and of the church school classes, together with the older youth, should be considered when the agenda is set up. In your preliminary planning meeting, Seminar topics should be chosen which will best represent your own church families and the community in "a world of rapid social change". No locality is without its own urgent needs and critical weakness, to which an effective church must minister.

In our Seminar, it was decided that we would begin in the morning and run through the afternoon, rather than schedule a night meeting. This is a matter of local choice. We began with the Eternal Values, a background speech, and one morning talk on "the church and family life". The afternoon session started with spiritual music, and continued with two speakers on community problems; in our case, dope and alcohol. The climax was the presentation, by the Wesleyan Service Guild, of a play on the stresses of modern living. Some of the youth were represented in the cast. Our Seminar summary (about 10 minutes) was given by our Minister of Education.

We made it a point to have a 30 minute discussion period following each of the speakers. Our commission chairmen and other church officers served as the moderators for this period. They also introduced the speakers before the talks. In this way, they could channel the discussion and let it arrive at what the church can actually do about these problems. We had church officers in charge of the dinner, the morning coffee break, and the afternoon juice break. District and Conference Guilds were invited, as were the United Church Women and local Methodist and other churches. An active publicity program insured good attendance, and the District Superintendant and his wife were an added attraction. Excellent speakers also aided in this regard.

In holding these Seminars, let us try to take the broad facts of change, as they have taken place all over the world, and relate them to our own communities and churches, and to our responsibility as Christians. After we have brought out the interdependence of the families of the world, our task is to pin-point this link and the important changes to a specific local problem or situation.

Such a Seminar, prayerfully entered into, could result in re-thinking the mission of the local church. Is the church serving the community, or just holding services?

Munger
381 - 17th Street
San Bernardino, California

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1341 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Adopted at the 13th Annual Convention
May 1960
As Amended by the 1961 Referendum

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

Preamble

Dedicated to democratic principles and the rights of the individual under law, we adopt this Constitution for Americans for Democratic Action. We pledge ourselves to education and political action, in accordance with constitutional democratic principles, on local, state and national levels, and to the support of the progressive objectives of labor unions, of co-operatives and farm organizations, and of other social and economic organizations of the people. We are neither a political party nor a part of any political party and we welcome likeminded independent voters and members of all political parties who subscribe to our principles. Our aim is to provide a medium and a program to unite the liberal and progressive forces of America to promote action for the general welfare locally and nationally.

ARTICLE I

General

Section 1. This organization shall be known as Americans for Democratic Action.

Section 2. Americans for Democratic Action subscribes to the following principles:

(a) We dedicate ourselves, as an organization of progressives, to the achievement of freedom and economic security for all people everywhere, through education and political action.

(b) We believe that rising living standards and lasting peace can be attained by democratic planning, enlargement of fundamental liberties and international cooperation.

(c) We believe that all forms of totalitarianism are incompatible with these objectives. In our crusade for an expanding democracy and against communism, fascism and reaction, we welcome as members of ADA only those whose devotion to the principles of political freedom is unqualified.

ARTICLE II

Membership

Section 1. Any person of any age, religion, color or national origin who accepts in good faith the basic principles of Americans for Democratic Action as set forth in this Constitution may be a member of the organization.

Section 2. No person who is a member or follower of an totalitarian organization or who subscribes to totalitarian political beliefs or who does not in good faith accept the basic principles of Americans for Democratic Action may be a member of the organization.

Section 3. Local and state chapters are empowered, in accordance with Article VII, Sections 4 and 5, to decide any question respecting individual qualifications for membership in such chapters, subject to the other provisions of this Constitution.

Section 4. All members shall be members of the National Organization, functioning through local or state chapters or committees where they exist. Membership-at-large in the national organization will be permitted only in areas where there are no local or state chapters. Membership-at-large in the state chapters will be permitted only in areas where there are no local chapters.

Section 5. No officers or member of Americans for Democratic Action who is an employee of the government of the United States shall participate in decisions or activities related to political management or political campaigns so long as, and to extent that, such participation is prohibited by law.

ARTICLE III

National Convention

Section 1. There shall be an annual National Convention of Americans for Democratic Action which shall determine the policies of the Organization until the next annual convention. The official Call shall be sent to all local and state chapters by the National Board not less than 60 days prior to the date of the Convention.

Section 2. The basis for representation at the National Convention shall be:

(a) All local and state chapters and committees shall be accorded delegates and voting strength on a sliding scale of representation based on membership as determined by the National Board. For the purposes of computing Convention representation, the membership of each local chapter and committee shall be based upon its membership in good standing thirty days prior to the date of the Convention excepting that every active chapter shall have a minimum of two delegates and every committee shall have a minimum of one delegate.

(b) All National Officers and members of the National Board shall be delegates.

(c) The National Board may elect delegates-at-large who shall not comprise more than 10% of the estimated voting strength of the Convention, provided that such delegates-at-large are members of ADA. Local chapters shall be consulted on all delegates-at-large coming from their areas prior to the Convention, as far as practicable.

(d) The National Board shall submit to each chapter and committee at least 45 days prior to the National Convention a draft of the proposed rules for the Convention. The Convention shall adopt its own rules. The National Board shall submit 45 days before the Convention such drafts of platforms for consideration of chapters and committees as it plans to present to the Convention.

Section 3. Each National Convention shall elect a Nominating Committee which shall report nominations to the succeeding National Convention.

ARTICLE IV

Officers, National Board, Executive Committee

Section 1. The officers of the organization shall be a Chairman of the National Board (to be known as the National Chairman), a Chairman of the Executive Committee, a Treasurer, and an Assistant Treasurer, who shall be elected by the National Convention and hold office until the succeeding National Convention. In addition, the National Board may name one or more vice-chairmen and other such officers from among its members elected by the convention as it deems advisable.

Section 2. There shall be a National Board which shall be the governing body of this organization, between National Conventions, subject to the policies established by the National Convention, and to this Constitution. The National Board shall be composed of the present occupants of the offices of Honorary National Chairman, National Chairman, Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Treasurer, forty members-at-large, five members of the Campus Division (see Article IX, Section 8), one member designated by the National Businessmen's Council of ADA (see Article X), one member from each local chapter having a minimum membership of 100, an additional member from each chapter having a membership of 400 or more and an additional member from each chapter having a membership of 1000 or more, and one member from each state Chapter. When past

occupants of the offices of Honorary National Chairman, National Chairman, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Vice Chairman, Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer are elected as members of the National Board, they shall not be counted among the 40 at-large members.

Section 3. The members-at-large of the National Board shall be elected by the National Convention and hold office until the succeeding National Convention.

Section 4. Members of the National Board representing chapters shall be elected by their respective local and state chapters.

Section 5. The National Board may, by two-thirds vote of the Board present and voting at a meeting, elect additional members of the Board not to exceed five in number to serve until the next National Convention. Such members shall exercise all rights, privileges and duties of other Board members. Such additional Board members shall be elected only after consultation with the chairman of the chapter in the area where the proposed Board member resides.

Section 6. The National Board shall meet quarterly. The National Board shall also meet at the call of the National Chairman or by petition of any ten members of the Board.

Section 7. The National Board shall have power and authority to designate successors where a vacancy occurs in any office or among the members-at-large of the Board by virtue of death, resignation or otherwise. Such designees shall serve until the next succeeding election and exercise all rights, privileges and duties of the officer or Board member whom he succeeds.

Section 8. The National Board shall elect from its own membership an Executive Committee which shall act on behalf of the Board between meetings. The Executive Committee shall consist of a minimum of eight members and the National Officers. A minimum of four of the Executive Committee members shall be chosen among Board members elected by the several chapters and one member shall be chosen from the five Campus Division members, after nomination by the Campus Division governing body. The Executive Committee shall meet monthly, or at the call of the Chairman.

Section 9. The National Board and the Executive Committee shall adopt their own rules of procedure and shall provide for such special and standing committees as are deemed necessary.

Section 10. The National Board or the Executive Committee, as the National Board shall determine proper, shall have the power to decide all appeals made to it from decisions of local and state chapters which are alleged to violate the provisions of the National Constitution and its decision shall be effective when rendered, except that it may stay execution of the decision pending an appeal to the Annual Convention, notice of which shall be filed with the Chairman within 30 days after the decision is made known to the parties interested.

ARTICLE V

Headquarters and Staff

Section 1. The National Headquarters of Americans for Democratic Action shall be located in Washington, D. C.

Section 2. The National Board shall hire and discharge and fix compensation of the principle employees of Americans for Democratic Action, and shall delegate authority to hire and discharge subordinate employees to the Executive Committee or appropriate staff executives as the Board shall determine proper.

ARTICLE VI

Finances

Section 1. (a) Annual chapter dues for each individual membership shall be from $3. to $10. to be fixed by the chapter and to be over and

above the required dues to the National Organization. Annual chapter dues for each combined husband-and-wife membership shall be from $4.50 to $15.00 to be fixed by the chapter and to be over and above the required dues to the National Organization from each combined husband-and-wife membership. The National Board or the Executive Committee shall have power and authority in exceptional circumstances to allow a chapter to set a higher or lower figure if essential to the successful operation of such chapter.

(b) Every chapter shall pay to the National Organization $3.00 in annual national dues for each individual dues-paying chapter member. Every chapter shall pay to the National Organization $4.00 in annual national dues for each combined husband-and-wife chapter membership where such type of membership is desired by the chapter. Upon billing its members for annual dues, every chapter shall separately itemize the national dues and the amount of the chapter dues as specified above.

Section 2. Each national individual member-at-large shall pay to the National Organization $2.50 in annual dues, and each combined national husband-and-wife membership-at-large shall pay to the National Organization $10.00 in annual dues.

Section 3. At the end of each month, every chapter shall remit to the National Organization the $3.00 national dues for each individual chapter member and the $4.00 national dues for each combined husband-and-wife chapter membership receive during the month and also remit the name and address of each such individual and husband-and-wife membership to whom the National Organization shall issue an annual membership card which shall be the only valid membership card in the organization.

Section 4. Effective January 1, 1952, annual dues shall be for the calendar year except that any new member joining between October 1 and December 31 shall pay initial membership dues which shall represent payment in full until December 31 of the following year. Members who have not renewed their current year's dues by April 30 shall be considered in arrears and not entitled to any privileges of membership.

Section 5. Whenever the Executive Committee finds, after consultation with the officers of a chapter, that the chapter has not collected membership dues, the Executive Committee may direct the National Office to collect membership dues directly from members and remit to the chapter their proper portion of the amount collected.

Section 6. Contributing membership may be established at a higher rate, but such memberships shall not confer additional privileges.

Section 7. Additional financial contributions may be solicited from members and others.

Section 8. In addition to the dues to the National Organization specified above, every chapter shall pay to the National Organization a prescribed quota from its income. This quota, based upon such factors as the type and size of the chater, and the nature and potentiality of the the community, shall be determined on an annual basis by negotiation between the individual chapters and a special committee of the National Board, a majority of which Committee shall be National Board members elected by the chapters. Each quota must be approved by the National Board, or an authorized subcommittee thereof, and by the responsible governing body of the local chapter. All chapter quotas due the National Organization shall be on a calendar year basis and chapter quota payments to the National Organization shall be made on a mutually satisfactory pre-arranged schedule with billing by National on the pre-arranged dates for the pre-arranged payments on the chapter quota. Quotas may be reviewed after six months at the request of the governing body of the chapter or of the National Board.

Section 9. The funds of the organization deposited in banks shall be drawn upon only by checks signed by two persons designated by the Board, only one of whom may be a member of the staff.

Section 10. The Board shall provide for an annual audit of the books of the organization by a certified public accountant, and for such intermim audits as it may deem desirable.

Section 11. An annual financial statement shall be sent to each Chapter and be open for inspection by the members.

ARTICLE VII

Chapters

Section 1. Local charters shall be granted by the National Board or the Executive Committee where there are not less than 25 members applying and when satisfactory evidence is presented to it that the group seeking the charter accepts in good faith the basic principles of Americans for Democratic Action and is prepared to organize an ADA chapter which will strive to set the pace for, and to work in cooperation with, the leaders of liberal and progressive thought and action in the community on both local and national issues.

Section 2. State charters may be granted by the National Board or the Executive Committee where the situation in the particular state warrants such a charter. After the granting of the state charter, local charters in that state shall continue to be granted by the National Board and the Executive Committee, but only with the advice and consent of the state organization.

Section 3. The National Organization shall supply all members with all regular publications of the organization.

Section 4. All chapters shall elect their own officers, determine policies on local issues, endorse local candidates (including candidates for Congress) and conduct their own activities in accordance with democratic procedures and the aims, policies and objectives of the National Organization. All local and state chapters shall have power to pass upon qualifications of persons for membership in the local or state chapter respectively under Article II hereof. All chapters shall file copies of their Constitution with the National Board.

Section 5. Local and state chapters shall have power to exclude, suspend or expel any person who does not meet the qualifications for membership set forth in Article II hereof. Any action which may lead to the exclusion of any member shall meet the requirements of democratic procedure and afford full opportunity, at his request, to appear, present evidence and refute accusations. All such actions shall be subject to appeal under procedures set up by the National Board.

Section 6. While it is the intent and desire of ADA to encourage effective chapters in communities for the advancement of the principles and purposes of Americans for Democratic Action, the National Board or the Executive Committee shall have the power to decharter chapters whose membership and program are insufficient to enable the chapter to maintain sustained activity on behalf of ADA's program and principles. The chapter and each member thereof shall be notified of such proposed action and the chapter shall be given an opportunity to be heard before such action is taken. If the decharter-ing is done by the Executive Committee, the chapter so dechartered may appeal to the National Board.

ARTICLE VIII

Local Committees

Section 1. Local committees may be established in communities where there are no chapters by the National Board or the Executive Committee wherever in the judgment of the Board or the Executive Committee such action would further the principles and programs of ADA. The Board shall adopt regulations governing the operation of such committees.

ARTICLE IX

Campus Division of ADA

Section 1. There shall be established campus chapters of ADA. These chapters and their members shall be governed by Article VII, and other articles of this Constitution except as hereinafter provided.

Section 2. Campus chapters shall affiliate in a Campus Division of the national organization. Student members of ADA otherwise qualified for membership in campus chapters may be members of the Campus Division, even though no campus chapter exists in their area provided, however, that no student may be a member-at-large of the Campus Division unless he is a member of the local or state chapter in his area. The Campus Division shall adopt a constitution and by-laws consistent with this Constitution with the approval of the National Board of ADA.

Section 3. Active membership in a Campus chapter shall be open only to members of the faculty, administration and students in colleges and universities who comply with the requirements of the Campus Division Constitution, provided that such students may remain active members for one year following graduation. Campus chapters may permit persons under the age of 25 years who are not qualified for active membership to affiliate with the Campus chapter as associate members who may not vote for or hold chapter office and who may not exceed in number one-third of the active chapter membership.

Section 4. Campus chapters shall be chartered in accordance with the procedures set out in Article VII, Section 1, except that a Campus chapter having a minimum of 10 members may secure a charter if otherwise qualified. In order to remain chartered, a Campus chapter must have a minimum of 15 members after 1 year. Chartering or dechartering of Campus chapters shall be made in consultation with and after the recommendation, within a reasonable time, of the governing body of the Campus Division.

Section 5. Campus chapters are authorized to fix dues in accordance with the provisions of Article VI. However, dues for student members of campus chapters of ADA shall be fixed at a minimum of $1.50 per annum, $1. of which shall be remitted to the national organization. Dues for student members of local or state chapters where there is no campus chapter shall be fixed at $1.50 per annum, $1. of which shall be remitted to the national organization. Dues for student members-at-large of the national organization shall be fixed at $1.50 per annum. In case of dual membership in a local chapter and a campus chapter, only ADA national dues of the local chapter shall be required.

Section 6. Campus chapters shall operate and be represented as component units of local or state chapters which are chartered within the same jurisdiction. Where campus chapters act as component units, they shall be authorized to determine and promulgate policy on issues solely affecting students and the college or university, subject to provisions in the Campus Division Constitution. Where such matters also affect local and state policy, campus chapters shall coordinate their activities with those of the local or state chapters and shall secure the approval of local and state chapters before promulgating policy.

Section 7. Campus chapters operating in areas where there are no local or state chapters shall also have authority to determine the promulgate policy on issues solely affecting students and the college or university, subject to provisions in the Campus Division Constitution. They shall not promulgate policy on other matters nor endorse candidates without securing the approval of the National Board of ADA or the National Executive Committee of ADA.

Section 8. The Campus Division shall be represented by five members of the National Board of ADA, chosen as provided by the Campus Division Constitution. One of these five members shall be nominated by the governing body of the Campus Division to serve as the Campus Division member of the ADA National Executive Committee.

ARTICLE X

National Businessmen's Council

Section 1. There may be a National Businessmen's Council of ADA composed of members of ADA engaged in business or in services to business.

Section 2. All members of the National Businessmen's Council shall be members of ADA, and of state and local chapters, where they exist, as provided in Article II, Section 4.

Section 3. The National Businessmen's Council shall establish its own constitution, based on the principles of ADA, with the approval of the National Board. The National Businessmen's Council may charter local councils in accordance with such Constitution, with the approval of state and local chapters of ADA where they exist.

Section 4. The National Businessmen's Council shall choose one voting member of the National Board.

ARTICLE XI

Suspension and Revocation of Charter

The National Board is empowered to limit the privilege of or suspend or revoke the charter of any chapter or committee failing to carry out its reponsibilities under the Constitution. Where, after formal warning by mail, a chapter continues to fail to carry out its reponsibilities under the Constitution, the Executive Committee may recommend to the National Board suspension or revocation of the charter, the chapter shall receive formal notice of such proposed suspension or revocation and shall have an opportunity to be heard and present evidence and refute accusations. No action shall be taken with respect to any local chapter in any state where a state charter has been granted except after consultation with the state chapter. any chapter whose charter is suspended or revoked shall have the right to appeal to the next National Convention.

ARTICLE XII

Amendments

Any five chapters or the National Board may initiate an amendment to the Constitution by adopting such amendment and having it published in the official National Organ. If within 60 days, two thirds of the chapters taking action on the question and representing at least 60% of the total membership adopt such amendment and notify the National Office, such amendment shall take effect 10 days thereafter.

The Constitution may also be amended by a majority vote of the delegates present and voting at the National Convention.

The Philosophy of The liberal democrat

reprinted from The liberal democrat, Volume I, No. 1, September 1960

Humanity is today confronted with two great dangers. The first is the danger of physical annihilation resulting from enormous advancements in weapons technology unrestrained by commensurate developments in political techniques for preserving peace. The second is the danger of the spiritual corruption which accompanies government by tacit and unthinking consent. These dangers have no geographical exclusiveness. They are not the fault of any one nation or ideology; everyone has created them, and everyone faces them. They can be abated only by a new approach to the problem of ordering man's relationship to man. Our peril is the result of the inadequacy of our politics, and if we are to save ourselves we must create a new style of politics.

The most serious defect of American politics today stems from our society's growing irreverence toward the concept of truth. Charles Van Doren and the U-2 incident are disturbing symbols of an institutionalization of falsehood which pervades our advertising, our mass media, and much of our political discourse. In the physical sciences, truth is difficult to define, and an honest search for it has made brilliant men humble. In politics, truth is even more elusive, but it is a willingness to seek truth that distinguishes the statesman from the political operator. Unfortunately, the expedient half-truth has become so commonplace in American public life that our people are losing the very capacity to distinguish between truth and falsehood. A democratic society so corrupted cannot hope to compete with a disciplined totalitarian state.

The new style of politics that is necessary for our survival and cultural growth is already beginning to emerge here in California. It has many elements. There is a strong humanitarianism apparent in the organized movement to abolish capital punishment. There is a sense of social justice in the agitation for decent wages for agricultural workers and economic security with dignity for the aged. There is libertarianism in the demand for full rights of free communication unimpeded by the ignorant authoritarianism of groups like the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities. There is brotherhood in the insistence on equal opportunity for all citizens regardless of race or creed.

But beyond these qualities there is something deeper and more profound in the new style of politics. There is an ideal of patriotism which disdains the shallow trappings of chauvinism and seeks to establish in history a record of American leadership for peace, enlightenment, law, and social equality. There is a deeply religious faith that a political system founded on love is more enduring than one based on a preoccupation with man's wickedness. There is a sense of community and fellow-feeling among those who have unselfishly given their time and their talents in behalf of a good cause. There is a belief that one is obliged to act on his principles. And finally, there is a conviction that, despite everything, democracy can be made to work.

These are the ingredients of the new style of politics; these are the beliefs of the man we call the liberal democrat.

We are convinced that liberal democrats in California do not enjoy the influence on public policy to which their numbers and talents entitle them. The reason for this is their general failure to agree upon goals, priorities, and a common mechanism of political organization. This failure in turn is due to lack of communication. We hope to help fill this gap with this publication. It will be a forum open to all who cherish freedom and democracy and who can contribute ideas that will help to define and implement liberalism in the second half of the 20th Century.

We do not propose to form a new organization. We believe that the California Democratic Council has not only pioneered the new style of politics which we advocate, but also offers the best opportunities for further over-all advancement of the liberal cause. Similarly, we remain committed to the Democratic party, which we believe historically and for the present offers the best national vehicle for liberal activity. We are encouraged by the existence of the Democratic Advisory Council as a step toward the new style of politics and want to see it grow in strength and influence. But we are mindful that not all liberal democrats are members of the Democratic party or agree with our assessment of its hospitality to liberalism. There are moments when we share these misgivings, and when we do, we feel that political responsibility demands that we speak out. We also intend to make these pages available to the responsible commentary of others. As an independent forum, we shall be without any formal or official connection with any organization, and only the editors and the individual writers can be held responsible for what will appear in these pages.

An analogy can be drawn between politics and the techniques of modern psychology. It is in isolation that the psyche is disturbed; it is through communication with others that it is restored to tranquility. In the initial stages, that communication is difficult and sometimes painful.

So it may be with politics. We are not going to escape danger by living in isolation from conflict and controversy. We shall find security only by honestly facing our problems, by studying them, and by engaging in controversy about them. The quality of what we say will determine the quality of what we accomplish. It is for this reason that we are continually reminded of a famous statement of a former Democratic standard-bearer:

"Let's talk sense to the American people. Let's tell them the truth... Better we lose the election than mislead the people."

The liberal democrat
2440 Bancroft Way
Berkeley 4, California

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Address _____

_____

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1341 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Financial Statement for
Month Ending Dec. 31, 1960

EXHIBIT A

COMPARATIVE BALANCE SHEET
Dec. 31 & Nov. 30, 1960

		Dec. 31, 1960	Nov. 30, 1960
Assets			
Cash in Bank		$ 780.87	$ 1,804.77
Revolving Travel Funds		200.00	200.00
Petty Cash Fund		175.00	100.00
Stamp Fund		150.00	150.00
Receivables:	Chapters	843.17	801.17
	Projects	251.98	251.98
	Miscellaneous	410.84	399.24
	Businessmen's Council	162.15	162.15
Furniture & Fixtures (nominal value)		1.00	1.00
Prepaid Expenses		1,940.62	1,940.62
	Total Assets	$ 4,915.63	$ 5,810.93
Liabilities:			
Accounts Payable:	Trade Creditors	$ 21,649.25	$ 19,330.23
	Miscellaneous	161.31	67.31
Taxes Payable:	Social Security	182.05	174.73
	Withholding	1,403.12	1,136.12
	Other	135.17	134.70
Loans Payable		2,700.00	2,700.00
Deferred Income		--	--
	Total Liabilities	$ 26,230.90	$ 23,543.09
SURPLUS (OR DEFICIT)		($ 21,315.27)	($ 17,732.16)

EXHIBIT B

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES

Months of December and November 1960 and
12 months ended December 31, 1960 and 1959

	Month of:		12 months ending Dec. 31	
	Dec. 1960	Nov. 1960	1960	1959
Total Income (Schedule 1)	$ 6,084.54	$3,384.60	$126,292.95	$108,691.10
Total Expense (Schedule 2)	9,667.65	9,454.42	118,500.06	117,401.55
Excess of Inc. over Exp. (or Exp. over Inc.)	($ 3,583.11)	($6,069.82)	$ 7,792.89	($ 8,710.45)

Financial Statement for December 1960

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF INCOME

SCHEDULE 1.

Months of December and November 1960; and 12 months ended Dec. 31, 1960 & 1959

		Month of: Dec. 1960	Month of: Nov. 1960	12 months ended Dec. 31 1960	12 months ended Dec. 31 1959
Income:					
Contributions:	Labor	$ 250.00	$ 450.00	$ 14,075.00	$ 11,250.00
	Other	3,064.00	386.83	30,136.43	35,717.31
Chapter Income:	Per Capita	403.00	617.00	9,117.28	9,300.99
	Quota	1,600.00	150.00	7,910.00	6,214.00
Promotional Mailings (net)		776.54	1,668.27	39,521.96	25,489.07
Roosevelt Day (net)		--	--	7,331.45	5,771.99
Convention (net)		--	--	11,908.17	9,960.68
Summer School (net)		--	--	857.27	322.90
Projects (net)		(44.00)	65.00	21.00	111.80
Memberships-at-large		35.00	47.50	3,503.00	3,697.00
Miscellaneous Income		--	--	1,911.39	855.36
Total Income		$6,084.54	$3,384.60	$126,292.95	$108,691.10

Financial Statement for December 1960

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF EXPENSE

SCHEDULE 2.

Months of December & November 1960 and 12 months ended Dec. 31, 1960 & 1959

	Month of:		12 Months ended Dec. 31	
	Dec. 1960	Nov. 1960	1960	1959
Expense:				
Office Operations:	$	$	$	$
Salaries and fees	3,650.15	3,148.87	42,664.14	55,338.99
Payroll tax expense	44.16	42.32	1,180.26	1,254.40
Telephone and Telegraph	534.09	363.29	4,687.40	4,081.40
Rent	(42.00)	383.00	2,896.00	2,896.00
Ofc supplies, stat. & ptg.	25.23	54.23	2,515.16	2,310.15
Care of equip & promises	82.50	192.71	2,269.22	1,679.61
Postage	202.50	158.02	4,532.79	3,102.91
Local transportation	15.75	--	393.25	581.48
General staff - travel	--	183.59	2,441.59	1,370.62
Exec. Comm. & Bd. mtgs.	45.32	612.63	1,548.29	1,139.74
Other Conf. & Meetings	176.12	14.45	2,103.15	256.73
Bank Charges	10.85	38.30	218.83	192.35
Equipment Purchased	--	--	30.00	44.68
Equipment Rental	78.54	50.77	610.85	281.24
Personal Property Tax	--	10.00	20.00	20.00
Auditing	--	--	--	--
Miscellaneous Expense	128.02	13.55	751.76	871.31
Total	$ 4,951.23	$ 5,265.73	$68,862.69	$75,421.61
Organizing Activities:	$	$	$	$
Salaries and fees	1,847.40	1,482.27	18,234.73	13,404.11
Payroll tax expense	12.22	18.78	451.40	286.76
Travel: Field Organizers	148.31	377.20	3,056.93	1,893.05
Other	--	--	1,951.31	5,553.56
Miscellaneous	85.50	74.92	1,007.37	1,300.50
Total	$ 2,093.43	$ 1,953.17	$24,701.74	$22,437.98
Informational Activities:	$	$	$	$
Salaries and fees	1,863.25	1,493.50	14,092.68	12,970.15
Payroll tax expense	35.16	29.22	379.07	302.77
Travel	--	38.28	65.96	28.78
ADA WORLD	433.03	85.96	4,074.26	2,788.47
Pamphlets & Literature	(4.30)	(1.75)	411.28	970.84
Subscriptions	156.25	163.60	1,810.75	1,774.85
Educ. activ. & materials	26.90	--	2,334.33	289.98
Sundry publicity expense	112.70	426.71	1,767.30	416.12
Total	$ 2,622.99	$ 2,235.52	$24,935.63	$19,541.96
TOTAL EXPENSE	$ 9,667.65	$ 9,454.42	$118,500.06	$117,401.55

Draft, Domestic Policy Commission

A POSITIVE PLANNED PROGRAM FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE 1960s

I. A "Positive planned program for economic growth"

It means (a) weighing the performance required of the American economy to meet commitments to our own people and to the free world; (b) against the capabilities of the economy; and (c) devising programs for employing the economy fully to meet our commitments.

II. The United States needs a positive planned program for economic growth

A. Under present policies our economy, though performing better than formerly, is not fully employed nor meeting essential commitments.

B. Unemployment persists at intolerably high levels.

C. Poverty is widespread and stubborn.

D. Unsatisfied needs of the American people require greatly increased production.

E. The American economy is undergoing revolutionary changes, both internally and internationally, requiring adjustments which will be difficult in any event and might be disastrous if they are attempted in a slack, underemployed, unplanned economy.

F. The policies and programs followed in recent years have really been designed to prevent inflation and to bring our international accounts into balance through contrationed policies which retard economic growth and threaten to defeat our broad national purposes.

III. The goals of positive planned economic growth

A. To provide economic environment required in order that our free democratic society may function fully and effectively and thereby fulfill its promises of abundance and its ideals of freedom, dignity and well-being for its members.

B. To offer each individual the opportunity to develop and achieve his full potential.

C. To support whatever level of national defense is necessary.

D. To reach and maintain full employment of the labor force.

E. To encourage an efficient and competitive system of private enterprise and increase the productivity of the economy.

F. To abolish poverty in the United States.

G. To provide an adequate standard of public facilities and public services at all levels of government--federal, state and local.

H. To meet the international commitments of aid and trade indispensable to the security and well-being of the United States.

IV. The key to positive planned economic growth

A. To devise means to assure total purchasing power (effective demand) in the hands of business, consumers and public authorities to buy the goods and services which they need and which the economy is capable of producing.

B. Increasing private purchasing power is essential particularly among the low-income groups and areas.

C. There must be adequate public investment in socially and economically necessary facilities (e.g., schools, colleges, hospitals, transportation facilities, urban renewal, recreation facilities, etc.), and expenditures for public services (e.g., education, health, public welfare, resource conservation, recreation, etc.).

D. We must stimulate increased private investment in productive and efficient facilities and in output of goods and services.

V. Programs and policies for economic growth

A. For the security and well-being of the individual.

1. Tax relief at the lowest income levels.

2. Adequate protection against economic insecurity: improved unemployment compensation, old-age insurance, survivors benefits and health insurance.

3. Adequate measures for the relief of poverty: public welfare for dependent families and individuals.

4. Full economic opportunity without discrimination.

5. Education to the extent of individual capacity.

B. For more efficient private enterprise.

1. Incentives to modernize and expand our productive facilities at a sustainable rate, related to national needs.

2. Measures to protect and foster competition.

3. Aggressive aids to small business.

C. For investment in a better society.

1. Schools and colleges.

2. Housing: a gigantic program, public and private, underpinned by government guarantees and insurance, tax incentives and mass production.

3. Urban rehabilitation on a gigantic scale; including public facilities, etc.

4. Conservation: land, forests, water, flood control, beach protection, etc.

5. Recreation: local, regional and national facilities to meet the expanding population.

D. For facilitating the adjustments of individual and enterprises to the dynamics of a changing economy.

1. Anticipating the requirements of rapid population growth.

2. Aggressive development programs for depressed areas.

3. Industry adjustment to internal and international competition.

4. Re-training and re-settlement for the re-employment of individuals displaced by automation, resource depletion and changing economic patterns.

5. Redistribution of population from declining and stagnant areas of growth.

E. For fulfilling international commitments, as an accepted function of the economy and a recognized charge on economic resources.

1. Liberalizing international trade.

2. Developing an expanded export program: aggressive marketing and expert credit; attracting foreign tourists.

3. Aid to underdeveloped countries: as much as they can effectively use.

4. Foreign investments for the benefit of underdeveloped countries.

5. Positive use of rising United States agricultural and industrial capacity for economic development abroad.

F. Policies to effectuate these programs.

1. Fiscal policy: at all levels, federal, state and local.

a. To make the tax structure more progressive and ease the tax burden on lower-income groups.

b. To provide incentives to high priority investments in productive capacity, human needs and public facilities and services.

2. Wage-price policies which will assure the benefits of rising productivity to workers and consumers as well as to investors and thereby help assure adequate demand.

3. Monetary and credit policies to support an expanding economy and to avoid choking economic growth by restrictive policies.

4. International economic policies that will make it possible to deal with the balance-of-payments situation in ways which will not distort and restrict the U.S. economy.

VI. <u>Effective programming requires planning for economic growth.</u>

A. Planning is not only compatible with freedom and democracy but essential for the more effective functioning of our enterprise system.

B. Planning is needed --

1. To create a framework and an environment in which private and public programs fit together and reinforce each other.

2. To assure priorities for the many urgent needs which the market will not fulfill, e.g., education, low-income housing, conservation.

3. To facilitate adjustment to revolutionary changes in the economy and avoid catastrophic dislocation and suffering.

4. To keep demands on the economy consistent with resources and capabilities so that the economy is fully utilized but not over-burdened.

C. A national framework of planning is needed to fit together the many planning activities already established in the United States. There is planning in every budget of the Federal, State and local governments. The United States has proposed a ten-year growth plan for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and requires economic planning in the countries participating in AID. Planning is implicit in our foreign trade program. The Federal government requires economic planning for area redevelopment and urban renewal. Planning is recognized as an essential function of many private businesses.

D. The essential missing element is an overall framework, a National Economic Performance Budget, to fit together the other elements, to reinforce them and to give them added effect.

E. A proposal for a National Economic Performance Budget.

1. Amend the Employment Act of 1946 to provide ten-year projections of the national economy with national goals, sector goals and programs of public capital and current expenditures, ranged in priorities according to the commitments and needs of the nation. An annual Performance Budget would be required with the Economic Report and the Federal Budget.

2. Formulate fiscal policies to implement the National Performance Budget with incentives and disincentives, through tax and spending programs.

3. Adopt and adjust wage-price policies geared to the maintenance of required levels of investment and purchasing power.

4. Adopt international economic policies to link the foreign policy objectives of the United States, on the one hand, with the

capabilities of the American economy, on the other.

VII. <u>ADA programs to support positive planned economic growth, based on understanding of the functioning, the positive performance and the deficiencies of our economy.</u>

A. At the national level.

1. Publicize the program through pamphlets, conferences and speeches, etc.

2. Gear the legislative program to legislative support of high priority elements of the program for economic growth.

3. Give political support and currency to the idea that planned economic growth is an essential prerequisite to the national security and well-being.

B. At the local level.

1. Publicize the program and spread understanding.

2. Give legislative support to --

a. State and local planning, especially the economic growth aspects.

b. Tax and spending policies to stimulate economic growth.

c. Adequate unemployments compensation and welfare laws.

d. Urban rehabilitation and housing.

e. Public investment and public services.

f. Local area economic development and redevelopment.

g. Programs to facilitate the adjustments of individuals and enterprises to economic change.

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1341 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Preliminary Financial Statement
for Month Ending Jan. 31, 1961

EXHIBIT A

COMPARATIVE BALANCE SHEET

Jan. 31, 1961 and Dec. 30, 1960

		Jan. 31, 1961	Dec. 31, 1960
Assets:			
Cash in Bank		$ a/	$ 780.87
Revolving Travel Funds		200.00	200.00
Petty Cash Fund		100.00	175.00
Stamp Fund		150.00	150.00
Receivables:	Chapters	885.17	843.17
	Projects	251.98	251.98
	Miscellaneous	422.44	410.84
	Businessmen's Council	162.15	162.15
Furniture & Fixtures (nominal value)		1.00	1.00
Prepaid Expenses		2,054.45	1,940.62
	Total Assets	$4,227.19	$ 4,915.63
Liabilities:			
Accounts Payable:	Trade Creditors	$21,323.85	$21,649.25
	Miscellaneous	305.95	161.31
Bank Overdraft	a/	618.16	--
Taxes Payable:	Social Security	379.69	182.05
	Withholding	1,101.49	1,403.12
	Other	25.31	135.17
Loans Payable		2,700.00	2,700.00
Deferred Income		--	--
	Total Liabilities	$26,454.45	$26,230.90
SURPLUS (OR DEFICIT)		($22,227.26)	($21,315.27)

a/ Bank overdraft as of 1/31/61 covered by checks drawn in payment of certain trade creditors but held to be paid out of February receipts.

EXHIBIT B

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES

Months of January 1961, December 1960, and January 1960

	January 1961	December 1960	January 1960
Total Income (Schedule 1)	$ 8,881.13	$ 6,084.54	$12,380.51
Total Expense (Schedule 2)	9,793.12	9,667.65	9,895.12
Excess of Inc. over Exp. (or Exp. over Inc.)	($ 911.99)	($ 3,583.11)	$ 2,485.39

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF INCOME

SCHEDULE 1.

Months of January 1961, December 1960 and January 1960

	Month of: Dec. 1960	Nov. 1960	Jan. 1960
Income:			
Contributions: Labor	$ 250.00	$ 250.00	500.00
Other	2,909.03	3,064.00	4,311.44
Chapter Income: Per Capita	306.00	403.00	1,266.12
Quota	------	1,600.00	------
Promotional Mailings (net)	5,082.10	776.54	2,123.00
Roosevelt Day (net)	------	------	3,331.45
Convention (net)	------	------	------
Summer School (net)	------	------	------
Projects (net)	------	(44.00)	------
Memberships-at-large	334.00	35.00	848.50
Miscellaneous Income	------	-------	------
	$ 8,881.13	$ 6,084.54	$ 12,380.51

Preliminary Financial Statement For January 1961

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF EXPENSE

SCHEDULE 2.

Months of January 1961, December 1960 and January 1960

	Month of		
Expense:	January 1961	December 1960	January 1960
Office Operations:			
Salaries and fees	$ 3,370.87	$ 3,650.15	$ 3,198.73
Payroll tax expense	111.23	44.16	107.07
Telephone and Telegraph	415.70	534.09	399.56
Rent	383.00	(42.00)	383.00
Off. supplies, stat. & ptg.	168.32	25.23	260.02
Care of equip. & premises	60.00	82.50	110.21
Postage	362.64	202.50	311.76
Local transportation	23.08	15.75	79.05
General staff - travel	270.06	--	--
Exec. Comm. & Bd. mtgs.	39.40	45.32	537.05
Other Conf. & meetings	148.59	176.12	(27.00)
Bank Charges	18.60	10.85	26.60
Equipment Purchased	--	--	--
Equipment Rental	42.84	78.54	7.14
Personal Property Tax	--	--	--
Auditing	--	--	--
Miscellaneous Expense	121.70	128.02	25.58
Total	$ 5,536.03	$ 4,951.23	$ 5,418.77
Organizing Activities:			
Salaries and fees	$ 1,585.06	$ 1,847.40	$ 1,789.62
Payroll tax expense	53.17	12.22	60.68
Travel: Field Organizers	381.73	148.31	485.44
Other	73.11	--	277.49
Miscellaneous	74.01	85.50	228.83
Total	$ 2,167.08	$ 2,093.43	$ 2,842.06
Informational Activities:			
Salaries and fees	$ 1,537.31	$ 1,863.25	$ 602.98
Payroll tax expense	50.82	35.16	20.04
Travel	--	--	--
ADA WORLD	444.02	433.03	616.61
Pamphlets & Literature	(121.35)	(4.30)	18.24
Subscriptions	145.95	156.25	156.65
Educ. activ. & materials	5.00	26.90	2.00
Sundry publicity expense	28.26	112.70	217.77
Total	$ 2,090.01	$ 2,622.99	$ 1,634.29
TOTAL EXPENSE	$ 9,793.12	$ 9,667.65	$ 9,895.12

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1341 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

February 10, 1961

MEMORANDUM

TO: The National Board

FROM: Violet M. Gunther, National Director

SUBJECT: Staff Report - November - February

The period of transition from what Chairman Beer has characterized as the "Ike Age" to the "New Frontier" of President Kennedy has been one of considerable frustration -- but not of inactivity -- for the ADA staff. The long interregnum from November 7 to January 20 with the old Administration inactive and the new not yet activated, necessarily made programming of staff time and function difficult. The pre-occupation of many officers of ADA with problems incident to the inauguration of the new Administration precluded the kind of re-examination of ADA's role in the new political enviornment which the staff felt necessary and desirable. A series of discussions within the staff led more to a feeling of the need for appraisal of its -- and ADA's -- role than any concrete decision as to what change -- if any -- there may be in the role ADA has to play. The staff does recommend that this subject be a matter for discussion by the Executive Committee at its next meeting.

The rather enjoyable frenzy surrounding the inauguration of President Kennedy did not leave the ADA staff un-involved. On the contrary. Considerable time was spent in acting as an unofficial ADA Inaugural Committee for the many ADA members who cam to Washington for the festivities. We found ourselves in the position of securing rooms, tickets -- even galoshes -- not to mention dates for members from practically every city in the country. On Inauguration Day the staff arranged a reception after the Inaugural Parade for ADA members and friends in town. I believe the 200-odd people who attended found it fun -- as well as a refuge from the storm.

Looking toward the new Congress the ADA Legislative Representative, working with Vice-Chairman Rauh, played a leading role in efforts to change the rules of both Houses of Congress. Mr. Taylor co-ordinated a conference on majority rule in Congress held in Washington on December 28, at which forty participating organizations agreed to work for an end to the Senate filibuster and changes in the House Rule Committee.

In December, ADA issued its legislative program, calling for education, medical care, depressed areas, housing, civil rights, and foreign aid legislation. We have asked for the opportunity to testify before congressional committees on these and other measures.

The staff is also working on the development of a program for executive action in civil rights, and is cooperating with other organizations in legislative efforts to abolish the HUAC, to establish protection for migrant farm labor, and to regulate mass communications.

With the opening of Congress the publication of the Legislative Newsletter was resumed. The distribution of the newsletter has been increased about 2000 copies. The San Francisco and New York chapters now receive the LN copy directly and mimeograph it in their own offices for distribution to their membership. Pittsburgh and Chicago have increased distribution through special offers to their membership. The National Office would be happy to discuss similar arrangements with other chapters.

Field Organizer Richard Lambert has been working closely with chapters in the past few months in developing programs to capitalize on activity and interest aroused during the election campaign. Most of the chapters have held or are planning to hold public forums for discussion of national, as well as state and local issues. The discussion at the last Board meeting in November on Cuba has led to such forums on the Cuban problem. The National Office has supplied speakers for most of these meetings. A great deal of chapter activity in the past several weeks has been directed toward developing Roosevelt Day dinner plans. Unfortunately, the national staff has not been as helpful in support of these chapter efforts as it would like to be. In our 13 years of experience with Roosevelt Day dinners we have never had as much interest from the chapters in holding such dinners nor as little ability to satisfy requests for speakers. The change in the Administration is the direct cause of this. So many people upon whom we have relied on in the past to speak at the dinners, have been involved in the formation of the new Administration and thus with their own schedules uncertain and crowded with new responsibilities, it has been extremely difficult to find the kind of speakers that the chapters wanted. The National Office is making every effort to supply speakers for all of the dinners. We are very mindful of the importance of them to the chapters.

There has been in the last several weeks a number of requests for assistance from the national organization in the formation of new chapters. Within the next week, Mr. Lambert will meet with groups in Providence, Rhode Island and Wilmington, Delaware to assist in setting up chapters. Additional requests for help have come from Seattle, Washington, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Honolulu and Anchorage, Alaska. Mr. Pollack will visit Seattle and also plans to spend considerable time in Southern California to explore the possibility of a chapter there. There is considerable staff competition for the Honolulu assignment, but it is unlikely that we will be able to assist there directly an d will have to rely upon the mails. This is also true of Alaska where we to have very useful contacts through the offices of both Senators from Alaska.

Ohio held its first state conference in early December with well over a hundred people in attendance. Sidney Greenberger of Youngstown has been elected chairman. The new State Board has given priority in organizing chapters in Toledo, Columbus and Dayton.

The ADA staff took an active role in planning a December 15-16 conference on overseas aid in Washington, which provided an opportunity for organizations and individuals interested in this field to exchange ideas with President-elect Kennedy's advisors. Among the speakers were Chester Bowles and Averell Harriman. A report on the conference appears in the January issue of ECONOMIC WORLD, copies of which are available at the Board meeting.

The ADA staff is planning the program for a April 10-11 conference on disarmament in Washington, which is expected to attract some 300 participants from many organizations and from all parts of the country.

As a result of the discussion at the November National Board meeting, the National Executive Committee issued in December a statement on Latin America and Cuba, which appears in the January issues of the ADA WORLD. In view of the emphasis in this statement on moving forward from a "good neighbor" to a "good partner" policy, it is interesting to note that the "alianza para progreso" which President Kennedy pledged in his Inaugural Address is best translated as "partnership for progress."

ADA Trips Abroad has charter flight to Europe this summer, and is offering three tours as listed in the prospectus, plus transportation only for those who prefer individual travel. At this early stage, 17 ADA members have signed up for the tours and 111 additional members have made $50 deposits to reserve places on the plane.

Coverage of ADA news by the press and radio and television has been generally good the past few months.

Dr. Beer's press conference, at which he launched ADA's program of legislative priorities, was extremely well attended and resulted in excellent national newspaper, as well as network TV and radio, coverage. Interest in ADA at this point had unquestionably been stepped up by the Conference on Majority Rule in Congress held the day before, in which ADA had played a leading role.

An advance story on Roosevelt Day Dinner, which included the message the President had written especially for the Dinners, was used widely throughout the country.

Other ADA stories got varying receptions -- the statement of the Executive Committee urging a "good partner" policy in the Western Hemisphere was carried only in several papers.

The three-line statement from Dr. Beer welcoming "as a whole" President-elect Kennedy's cabinet and sub-cabinet appointments was carried, as it should have been, as a shirt-tail on longer stories, and it cropped up later as a line or two in columns.

Joseph Rauh's statement on the adverse vote on the change in Rule 22, in which he said that Senator Mansfield had betrayed the Democratic Party platform, was widely used in both news stories and in columns. Mr. Rauh's telegram to Secretary of Defense McNamara asking him to revoke the order for copies of the film "Operation Abolition" made by the House Unamerican Activities Committee, was carried in a number of papers, with especially good coverage on the West Coast.

Since the election there is a marked increase in references to ADA by columnists. For instance, in the Sunday TIMES, Arthur Krock wrote a column mainly about ADA and how it (and other liberal pressure groups) are pushing and will continue to push the President to redeem the Democratic Party's pledges. He said: "The ADA is only one of the 'liberal' groups that dominated the writing of the platform. But its priority list is common to them all, and this is the reason for citing it as reflective of pressures about to be concentrated on Mr. Kennedy."

It should be noted that Mr. Howard Smith of Virginia gave ADA a plug, though we can hardly assume he meant it to be such. Toward the end of his last-ditch and fortunately abortive effort to keep control of the Rules Committee, he held a copy of the latest ADA WORLD in his hand. Waving it in the air, he evoked a big laugh from the floor and the packed galleries when he asked if anyone there had ever heard of Americans for Democratic Action.

ADA

1341 Connecticut Ave., N.W. • Washington 6, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL DIRECTOR

May 24, 1961

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am happy to inform you officially of your re-election to membership on the National Board of ADA. You know that we on the ADA staff have valued our association with you in the past, and we look forward to working with you this next year.

The resolutions adopted at the Convention, and an account of the proceedings there, will be contained in the forthcoming issue of the ADA WORLD, which will be off the press next week. Should you have any questions about Convention decisions in the meantime, of course, I would be most happy to answer them.

The next meeting of the National Board will be held in September. You will be informed of the time and place as soon as the Executive Committee makes this decision.

Sincerely,

Violet Gunther

(Mrs.) Violet M. Gunther
National Director

Sorry you missed the convention - I hope all is well with you personally - the Alabama events are saddening but I think in the not too long run portentous of better ahead. V. G.

CAMPUS DIVISION
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1341 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.
January, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL

YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM AND THE ADULT RIGHT

Throughout the history of the United States there have existed numerous radical groups of the right and the left, from the communists, Trotskyites, I. W. W. and the Wallace Progressive to the America Firsters, Klu Klux Klan, American Nazi Party, White Citizens Council and the John Birch Society. As is often the case, radicals are prone to join and be associated with more than one group, and this is the case today.

Any new group which advocates a laissez-faire economy, is anti-labor, is basically isolationist, sees in unpleasant circumstances vast conspiracies, supports restriction of freedom of speech, press and assembly for the left, opposes social legislation, advocates strict control of the economic powers of the central government and states rights, is bound to attract the professional rightists, and the Young Americans for Freedom is no exception. 1/

YAF AND THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

Douglas Caddy, National Director of the Young Americans for Freedom, has stated that "we are a reasonable group and have no connection whatsoever with the John Birch Society." "Life Magazine" of May 12, 1961, states editorially that "YAF as well as Wm. F. Buckely's "National Review," have taken some pains to dissociate themselves from the Birchers." Is this true?

Today there are few people who like to be associated with the John Birch Society, and with good reason. This group can truly be described as the lunatic fringe of the Right. Robert Welch, head of the Birch Society, claims that 40 to 60 percent of the citizens of the United States are communists; that Earl Warren, John Foster Dulles, Chester Bowles, Charles E. Bohlen, Arthur H. Dean, Milton Eisenhower and Allan Dulles are reds: "my firm belief that Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated, conscious agent of the communist conspiracy is based on an accumulation of detailed evidence so extensive and so palpable that it seems to me to put this conviction beyond any reasonable doubt."

Although the John Birch Society operates like the Communist Party, secretly, in cells, without revealing members and finances, many of its leaders have come forth publicly. The National Advisory Board of YAF contains many Birch members including Clarence Manion, Edgar Hiestand, Gen. Robert McClure, Robert B. Dresser, Charles Edison, J. Bracken Lee, Adolphe J. Menjou, Prof. Ludwig von Mises, Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer, Gen. William H. Wilber, Gen. C. A. Willoughby are all members of the Advisory Board of "American Opinion," official publication of the Birch Society, and are on the National Advisory Board of YAF. Prof. Kenneth Colegrove, Gen. Bonner Fellers, Arthur Brooks Harlow, Mrs. Seth Millikin, Commodore F. G. Reinicke, Archibald Roosevelt, Professor E. Merrill Root and

Prof. Hans F. Sennholz are listed by the John Birch Society as members of their Committee of Endorsers. YAF also mails its members copies of the "Manion Forum," written by Dean Clarence Manion, member of the guiding council of the John Birch Society. YAF organized the Advisory Board in order to utilize "the rich experience and wise counsel of Americans of other generations who have taken leadership in the Conservative movement."

This conclusive evidence of the interrelationship of YAF and the John Birch Society was presented at the last National Congress of the National Student Association. These charges were flatly denied by the YAF. But then the Conservative Caucus (in reality YAF) invited Congressman John H. Rousselot, John Birch member from California, to address them. He finished his talk by asking the conservatives to join the John Birch Society after they had graduated from YAF.

YAF and the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee

The Citizens Foreign Aid Committee is a lobby in Washington which opposes all U. S. foreign aid. In fact, their testimony on June 21, 1961, suggested that "the underdeveloped countries should contribute toward the expense to which we are put in maintaining the enormous military forces which are the sole deterrent to Soviet Russia from embarking on imperialistic ventures." This group has been described as a front group for the John Birch Society; indeed, eleven members of the Council of the John Birch Society are on the National Committee of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee along with other rightists like William L. McGrath, Conrad Kohler, J. Howard Pew, Burton K. Wheeler, Gerald P. Nye, Gen. Robert E. Wood, and Dr. Charles C. Tansill.

Nine members of the National Committee of the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee are on the Advisory Board of YAF. The Sharon Statement, adopted by YAF at its formation, holds that U. S. foreign policy should stress victory over international communism, and that U. S. "foreign policy must be judged by this criterion: does it serve the just interests of the United States?" This narrow interpretation is the current approach of all the right-wing groups in the United States. At the June 21-24 convention of the Young Republican National Federation, YAF succeeded in getting a compromise platform passed, advocating that foreign aid be given only to countries with capitalist economies and which are committed to the West in the cold war.

YAF and the Committee of One Million

Anyone visiting the office of the Young Americans for Freedom in New York will discover that it is shared by the office of the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations, 2/ the old China Lobby, now headed by Marvin Liebman. William F. Buckley, Jr. has stated that Liebman is the "principal impresario and coordinator of successful conservative and anti-Communist organizations and demonstrations." Marvin Liebman has announced that when and if Mainland China is admitted to the United Nations he is going to transform his organization into the Committee Against U. S. Participation in the United Nations.

The late head of the China Lobby was Alfred Kohlberg, member of the guiding Council of the John Birch Society. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that the list of members of the Committee of One Million that appears on their letterhead reads like a "Who's Who" in the American Right Wing, with the Birch Society well represented. Twenty-four of these members listed are also on YAF's Advisory Board. YAF regularly mails out literature from the Committee of One Million, and has circulated the Committee's petitions against admission of China to the United Nations.

It is amusing to note that at YAF's "celebrated" rally in New York City on March 3, 1961, an award was presented "to the Republic of China for contributions to the preservation and maintenance of Freedom." The fact that Chiang has maintained an absolute dictatorship since he assumed control of the Kuomintang while prohibiting all of the civil liberties and freedoms we enjoy in the United States is of no consequence, because Chiang is "fighting communism."

YAF and the Racists

When it comes to civil rights, YAF emerges as one of the strongest exponents of states' rights and "personal freedom." YAF has opposed any intervention by the federal government to guarantee equality of opportunity and equal protection under the law; they have opposed civil rights legislation, the Supreme Court desegregation decision, federal support of integration, the Freedom Rides, the sit-ins, and the drives to register Negro voters. As a result, YAF finds itself following the same line as the John Birch Society, the White Citizens Councils, and the Klu Klux Klan -- that efforts to support integration are "part of the Communist conspiracy." The sincerity of YAF's position collapses when their organization supports the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security Committee, and all federal attempts to restrict individual civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution, revealing a gross inconsistency in their logic.

Because of this position, YAF has been the recipient of support from racists of various sorts. Senator Strom Thurmond, who ran for President on the Dixiecrat ticket in 1948, a leading spokesman for the racists and a darling of YAF, has defended the John Birch Society and holds that the Communists control the Supreme Court. Well-known White Supremacists who are members of the Advisory Board of YAF include Rep. William M. Colmer of Mississippi, Sen. Spessard Holland of Florida, and Rep. Richard H. Poff of Virginia. Gen. Charles Willoughby has denounced the NEW YORK TIMES as a "Jewish newspaper" for an editorial criticizing dictator Franco. Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer, a member of the Birch Society and the YAF Advisory Board, also writes for AMERICAN MERCURY.

YAF and the House Un-American Activities Committee

The Sharon statement says that "liberty is indivisible, and...political freedom cannot long exist without economic freedom." While YAF has worked hard for "economic freedom," they have strongly opposed political freedom. On most campuses today, YAF is most widely associated with the House Un-American Activities Committee, "Operation Abolition," and one of HUAC's former "investigators," Fulton Lewis, III. William Schulz, one of YAF's directors, is an assistant to Fulton Lewis, Jr., chief YAF supporter and HUAC confidante.

YAF has shown the film "Operation Abolition" whenever possible, on many campuses, usually starring "Buddy" Lewis as the chief propagandist. Only the John Birch Society, the Christian Crusade, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and the American Legion have shown the film more than YAF. At the YAF rally in New York City on March 3, 1961, YAF presented an award "to the House Un-American Activities Committee for contributions to American youth in the preservation of national security." Morgan Moulder, Francis Walter, and other members of the HUAC have praised YAF for support of its activities. Rep. Gordon H. Scherer, HUAC member and endorser of the Birch Society, has commended NEW GUARD, official publication of YAF, for its articles supporting HUAC.

The record of HUAC is clear to anyone who takes the time to do a little investigation. 3/ While YAF and HUAC feel that any organization which contains Communists is subversive, and that any man can be known from the company he keeps, this theory evidently does not apply to themselves. At the January 1961 picketing in Washington supporting HUAC, the conservative EVENING STAR reported (with photographs) that YAF members walked side by side with the American Nazi Party and a sort of "Young People's White Citizens Council," supporting HUAC. But this is not inconsistent with HUAC: Francis Walter has stated on television that he does not consider the American Nazi Party and the Klu Klux Klan as "un-American."

YAF and the Fundamentalists

One of the strangest developments in America has been the truly unholy alliance between the right-wing Irish Catholics and the "grass-roots" fundamentalistic Protestants; between men like Joseph McCarthy, J. B. Matthews, Francis Walter, William Buckley, Billy James Hargis, Dr. Fred Schwarz, and Carl T. McIntire. Despite the fact that the Birch Society was a distributor of anti-Catholic literature during the last Presidential election, the Society has received the public support of some leading members of the Catholic Church hierarchy.

Dr. Carl T. McIntire, head of the American Council of Churches, is a member of YAF's Advisory Board; and his son, Carl T. McIntire, Jr., is one of YAF's directors. Dr. McIntire, a deposed Presbyterian minister, has long been associated with hate-groups. During the 1930's, he was known as a virulent anti-Catholic, as can be readily seen by reading his Rise of the Tyrant and Twentieth Century Reformation. Yet he once spoke at a rally in New York City sponsored by the local followers of Father Couglin. His radio program from Collingswood, New Jersey, concentrates now on liberals, "leftists," "reds," the United Nations, integration, labor unions, "muzzling the military," central government, and especially the National Council of the Churches of Christ, which he says is controlled by "Communists like Bishop James A. Pike." Over the years, his radio program has featured such nefarious characters as Gerald L. K. Smith, head of the anti-Semitic Christian Nationalist Crusade; Rev. Gerald Winrod, editor of THE DEFENDER and defendant in the sedition case against Nazi supporters during World War II; Merwin K. Hart, a close friend of Dr. McIntire, who was head of the anti-Semitic National Economic Council, the American Union for a Nationalist Spain, and is now head of local chapter 26 of the John Birch Society; and Billy James Hargis, head of the Christian Crusade and We the People, author of much of the famous Air Force Manual's attack on the Protestant clergy.

YAF and the Isolationists

Modern-day American conservatives who oppose strong central government also view all international movements with suspicion; international relations appear as some sort of multinational collectivism, and therefore the United Nations and all other international organizations are designed to promote a "one-world state"; this is usually identified with "radical, left-wing, socialist, and communist goals." This is the opinion of the adult right expressed by its leaders -- Robert Welch, Carl McIntire, Billy Hargis, Fred Schwarz, Merwin K. Hart, Gerald L. K. Smith, and Senator Joseph McCarthy's disciples, to mention only a few.

These forces of isolation feel that they have been challenged by the serious threat of a foreign, radical, left-wing power. These adult right-wing groups proclaim the same philosophy as that set forth in YAF's Sharon Statement: "The United States should stress victory over, rather than coexistence with, the forces of international communism." But the American right, of which YAF is typical, approaches the problem from a traditional isolationistic, or unilateral, position. Their response is one of reaction, not positive action: get out of the United Nations; break off diplomatic relations with all Communist countries; all-out trade boycotts; military intervention; contempy for neutralism; support for colonial regimes; contempy for democracy; liberty and self-determination as a matter of principle; support of totalitarian governments with are "anti-Communist"; opposition to negotiations; opposition to foreign aid and any effort to secure arms control. This is the general philosophy of Senator Barry Goldwater, YAF's idol.

Therefore, it is not surprising to find on YAF's Board of Advisors Gen. Robert E. Wood, one of the founders and chairman of America First, a right-wing isolationist organization of the 1930's that distributed literature using information supplied by Dr. Goebbels. Federal investigators revealed that America First was heavily infiltrated by American fascists, and received financial support from the German-American Bund. This organization collapsed when Germany declared war on the United States, and has been succeeded by America's Future, of which General Wood is chairman.

YAF and the National Review

From its inception, YAF has had extremely close ties with William F. Buckley and his NATIONAL REVIEW, which is the bible of the "Little League John Birch Society." 4/ Buckley had issued invitations to about 150 college students to meet at Sharon, Connecticut, on the estate owned by his mother, to form a right-wing youth group to counteract the Americans for Democratic Action. Buckley, of course, is one of the leading prophets of the adult right -- he gained most of his fame from his staunch support of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

YAF has certainly paid due respect to its parents: it presented awards at its New York rally to William F. Buckley, Jr. and the NATIONAL REVIEW, to Professor Russell Kirk, columnist with the NR, and to Miss Taylor Caldwell, a NR contributor. No less than twelve staff members of the NR are listed on the Advisory Board of YAF: Buckley, William A. Rusher (publisher), L. Brent Bozell, Frank S. Meyer, Frank Chodorov, John Chamberlain, Henry Hazlitt, Russell Kirk, Thomas Molnar, Gerhart Niemeyer, E. Merrill Root, and Richard M. Weaver.

It is interesting to note that in spite of LIFE's statements, there are two known members of the Birch Society on the staff of NATIONAL REVIEW: Professor E. Merrill Root, and the notorious J. B. Matthews. Matthews' record as a professional rightist is well known. He was a member of the Constitutional Educational League in the 1930's, he served as chief aide to Senator Joseph McCarthy, and can be remembered for his statement in AMERICAN MERCURY that "the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." The public reaction forced McCarthy to fire Matthews, who now also serves as associate editor of AMERICAN OPINION, official publication of the Birch Society.

In addition, the headquarters of the Greater New York YAF Council can be found in the office of the NATIONAL REVIEW. William S. Cotter, Organizational Director of YAF, has worked for NR, and David Franke, YAF Director, is an editorial assistant for the publication.

YAF's Financial Support

It is difficult to identify the source of the financial contributions that support YAF. Although YAF acts as a lobby, it escapes registration of its financial support with Congress because of the loopholes in the existing law. 5/ Last year, according to its annual report, YAF received $69,173.64 in contributions. It advertises in the WALL STREET JOURNAL, soliciting money from businessmen and industrialists.

However, the sources of some of the contributions are known. The National Office of YAF in New York City is the office of the McGraw-Edison Committee for Public Affairs, and Douglas Caddy, National Director of YAF, is also employed as Executive Director of the Committee for Public Affairs of the McGraw-Edison Company. The President of McGraw-Edison is Charles Edison, member of YAF's Advisory Board and also member of the Advisory Board of AMERICAN OPINION. The Tuller Foundation for the Advancement of Economic Understanding sponsored YAF's summer-school seminars on conservatism.

Sizable financial contributions come from Herbert V. Kohler, Wisconsin manufacturer of bathroom fixtures and member of YAF's Advisory Board. His son, Herbert V. Kohler, Jr., also serves as one of YAF's directors. Kohler senior received YAF's award "for contributions to American conservatism in the field of business." Murray Kempton, reporter for the NEW YORK POST, compared this with giving General Patton the Nobel Peace Prize.

Other contributions come from Mrs. Seth Millikin, member of YAF's Advisory Board, whose husband owns numerous textile mills in the South. Mrs. Millikin is also listed on the Committee of Endorsers of the Birch Society. Admiral Ben Moreell, member of YAF's Advisory Board, President of Jones & Laughlin Steel Company, and Chairman of the Americans for Constitutional Action, the "right-wing ADA," also contributes to YAF. Other support comes from Admiral Lewis Strauss, member of the YAF Advisory Board and an officer of the Kuhn-Loeb banking firm.

Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, member of the YAF Advisory Board and Chairman of the Board of Eastern Air Lines, has mailed, in his name, requests for financial support for YAF. In a speech mailed to members of YAF, Captain Rickenbacker states that "as long as the John Birch Society is against communism, I will be for them." This is the sort of fuzzy thinking which, in the past, led another famous American flyer, Charles Lindbergh, to find himself in the position of supporting the German-American Bund at the beginning of World War II.

The close association between big business and industrialists with adult right-wing movements is an old story, and today is no exception. For example, three past presidents of the National Association of Manufacturers--William J. Grede, president of Grede Foundries of Milwaukee; Cola G. Parker, former president of Kimberly-Clark; and Ernest G. Swigert, Oregon manufacturer--all are on the national guiding Council of the Birch Society, along with several other former NAM vice presidents. As William Dunphy, professor of philosophy at Fordham University, has stated: "All YAF's problems are complicated by the fact that business interests contribute the major share of YAF's budget."

Conclusion

The record shows that there is a close, extensive relationship between the Young Americans for Freedom and the John Birch Society and other adult right-wing groups. Why are college youths being attracted to this movement? According to the Reverend Father Laurence Murphy, the ultraconservative groups

> "appeal to the psychology of people who are afraid of the dangers of our times, who react negatively....
>
> "The student today feels more insecure than at any time in the past; he wants to hang on to what he has....
>
> "It doesn't seem to me there is going to be any great trend to conservatism as such, at least not too much more than in the past.
>
> "What is happening is that this need for security, this sense of not wanting to become involved, is being personified in some national conservative leaders. College people want to identify themselves with intellectuals, so Senator Goldwater has become somewhat of a symbol, an image." 6/

How effective has the right-wing been in fighting communism? According to Anatoli Granovsky, a captain of political intelligence in the Ministry of State Security of the Soviet Union in 1945 and 1946, and earlier a member of the Soviet Secret Police (NKVD) who defected to the West:

> "The Soviet Union would sacrifice a thousand American Communists to save the John Birch Society, for instance. I don't mean the Birch Society is Communist-infiltrated. It doesn't have to be. By discrediting prominent Americans, it confuses the population about whom to trust." 7/

Footnotes -

1 There have been many articles and pamphlets written on the philosophy of YAF, of which the most widely circulated is "The Young Americans for Freedom and the New Conservatism," by Usher F. Ward, written for the Liberal Study Group at the Congress of the National Student Association. The Washington Co-ordinating Committee of Campus ADA hopes this paper will fill an existing void.

2 The Committee of One Million actually has about 6,000 members.

3 See Frank J. Donner, THE UN-AMERICANS, Ballantine paperback.

4 A term first used by the Madison (Wisconsin) CAPITAL TIMES to describe YAF

5 The ADA regularly complies with the Act by submitting a complete list of all its financial supporters.

6 Quoted in the NEW YORK TIMES, May 28, 1961.

7 Quoted in the WASHINGTON POST, July 14, 1961.

* * * * *

THE LIBERAL DEMOCRAT
Southern California Headquarters
11047 Hawthorne Boulevard
Lennox, California — OR. 3-2239

The liberal democrat

35c

California's Senator "X"

Fighting the Machine in New York

SPECIAL CDC CONVENTION ISSUE

January 1962

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AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

February 2, 1962

TO: Chapter Chairmen and National Board

FROM: Violet M. Gunther, National Director

RE: Material on the Right-Wing

The enclosed kit of materials is sent you to serve as background source material on the radical right. Our purpose in sending out this material is to help ADA chapters and members in their efforts to combat local activity of such groups as the John Birch Society, the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade and others.

We would appreciate comments on this material and, where available, additional material which chapters or members may be aware of that has not yet been called to the attention of the National Office.

You will be sent within the week, a sample of a pamphlet "What's Wrong with the Far Right", designed for mass distribution. Accompanying the pamphlet will be order blanks for chapter and members' use.

Enclosures:

1. Recent quotes on the extreme right.
2. Report of California Attorney-General on the John Birch Society.
3. Reprint of Broadcast Magazine article on "Red Threat" TV and radio programs.
4. Reprint of news article on propaganda efforts of the Right-Wing.
5. Reprint of a Catholic editorial.
6. Memorandum from the Campus Division on Young Americans for Freedom

(Additional kits may be purchased for 75¢ each)

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1341 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

February 1962

Recent Quotes on the Extreme Right

"Let us not heed these counsels of fear and suspicion. Let us concentrate more on keeping enemy bombers and missiles away from our shores, and concentrate less on keeping neighbors away from our shelters. Let us devote more energy to organizing the free and friendly nations of the world, with common trade and strategic goals, and devote less energy to organizing armed bands of civilian guerrillas that are more likely to supply local vigilantes than national vigilance.

"Let our patriotism be reflected in the creation of confidence in one another, rather than crusades of suspicion. Let us prove we think our country great, by striving to make it greater. And, above all, let us remember, however serious the outlook, however harsh the task, the one great irreversible trend in the history of the world is on the side of liberty -- and we, for all time to come, are on the same side."

President John F. Kennedy

(speech at Democratic Party dinner in Los Angeles, California, November 18, 1961)

* * *

"Common sense is the thing that detects and, you might say, throws out the extremists. Any ody that wants to go back to eliminating the income tax from our laws, and the rights of people to unionize - as a matter of fact, who is advocating some form of dictatorship - that is the kind of person that I label extremist, and if you go to the extremes there is something that is not completely honest in it. Because if we do believe in self-government, and if we do believe the right of our majorities to set up their governments and to pass its laws, then we cannot agree, for a second, that a would-be dictator should take over, and that is what some of these people almost, I might say, outwardly announced that they would like to do. I'd just say, again, that these people are self-defeating, and I think possibly their motivation is an avid desire for distinction, and any distinction is better than none..... I don't think the United States needs super-patriots. We need patriotism, honestly practiced by all of us, and we don't need these people that are more patriotic than you or anybody else that's a man of good intent and tries to be a good citizen."

Dwight D. Eisenhower

(speaking on CBS REPORTS, as broadcast on November 23, 1961)

* * *

"Unfortunately, there are those who make the very mistake the Communists are so careful to avoid. These individuals concentrate on the negative rather than on the positive. They are merely against communism without being for any positive measures to eliminate the social, political, and economic frictions which the Communists are so adroit at exploiting.

"These persons would do well to recall a recent lesson from history. Both Hitler and Mussolini were against communism. However, it was by what they stood for, not against, that history has judged them."

J. Edgar Hoover

(in his report, "The Communist Party Line," to a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, September 23, 1961)

* * *

"Some of the recently publicized extremist groups propose to use the conspiratorial methods of communism to fight communism.

"This was Hitler's line. It is completely un-American, completely

destructive of the freedoms which any truly patriotic, truly conservative American must defend with all his being."

Dr. Lewis Webster Jones, President,
National Conference of Christians & Jews,
in a speech to Synagogue Council of
America, December 3, 1961, New York City

* * *

"Unfortunately, several anti-Communist organizations in the United States today not only fail to distinguish between judgment and loyalty; they actively assail the loyalty of those whose views they oppose. They envision a vast, secret, conspiratorial Communist apparatus that is widely subverting government, schools and universities, research organizations, the churches and the various media for affecting public opinion....

"Communism is an external danger that demands from us the utmost in vigilance and sacrifice. But let us not be blind to the danger involved in policies of unbounded suspicion and the use of ruthless methods in so-called anti-Communist activities. If we become a nation of hate and distrust, then spiritually we are like the Communists. In fighting for the faith, we have lost charity. In defending our freedoms, we have ceased to be free men."

Father John F. Cronin, S.S., Assistant
Director, Dept. of Social Action,
National Catholic Welfare Conference,
in an article on "Anti-Communism and
Freedom," in AMERICA, April 22, 1961.

* * *

"From our point of view the Birchers, the crusaders, and the apostles of discord are ineffective battlers against Communists at best, and serve to distort reality for both their friends and critics at worst."

Statement by the Office of Church and
Society of the Board of Christian Education,
United Presbyterian Church U.S.A.,
in its journal, SOCIAL PROGRESS, Dec. 1961

* * *

"We view with increasing concern the growth and militance of ultra-right-wing organizations in the United States whose propaganda is anti-democratic and whose techniques of infiltration and slander are calculated to set group against group, neighbor against neighbor. At this time of grave international tension, when the American way of life is seriously threatened, our security rests in large measure on the maintenance of our rights and the guarantee of liberty and justice for all regardless of race or creed. We are fearful that rational discussion is being corrupted by the hatred and fear fomented by ultra-right-wing groups which exploit cold war anxieties and the frictions engendered by integration and other social problems....

"Groups such as the John Birch Society and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade include powerful political figures, are well endowed and exert influence on local and national levels. In the guise of anti-Communism, they weaken America by stirring division and hysteria.

"The democratic process requires the interaction of responsible conservatism and equally responsible liberalism, but may be endangered by political pressure groups which, in the words of Isaiah, 'call evil good, and good evil, that change darkness into light, and light into darkness.' To curtail their right to organize and speak out would constitute a violation of constitutional liberties, and an even greater danger to the democratic system. Our best defense lies in exposure, counter-propaganda, vigilance, and, above all, in the implementation of democratic freedoms in every area of life."

Resolution passed at 46th Biennial Assembly
of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations,
Washington, D.C., November 1961.

"Liberals and Conservatives in the United States have one abiding bond in common: their respect for law and their faith in the democratic process.

"The totalitarian right and the totalitarian left also have a bond in common: their contempt for law and their fear of the democratic process.

"As a consequence, the resurgence of the radical right in this country is a great worry to genuine liberals, and to genuine conservatives as well, because it is really engaged in a battle which, instead of undermining Communism, can only help it.

"The worst thing Americans can do is to lose our faith in freedom, since this is - above all - what distinguishes us from them. That is why we feel a solemn warning is necessary against those who, out of needless and unwarranted frustration, seem willing to sacrifice democratic decencies and ape the adversary. The answer to Communism - as ADA sees it, out of 14 years' experience in the fight against it - is not less democracy, but more."

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Vice-Chairman for
Civil Rights and Civil Liberties,
Americans for Democratic Action, in the
U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce magazine,
FUTURE, January 1962.

* * *

"This new right-wing coalition can no longer be dismissed as a miscellaneous collection of eccentrics, 'loners' and political misfits. The Far Right is now a public danger. It is the task of the liberal community to resist these forces even knowing that everying to the left of the John Birch Society will be labeled as subversive.....

"The outlandish attacks by Robert Welch of the John Birch Society against the patriotism of men like President Eisenhower cannot be attributed automatically to every ultra-conservative or super-patriotic body that regards itself as fighting against Communism.

"On the other hand, the constituency of the Far Right does share certain unmistakable social and economic premises that link them together in what appears now to be a growing political movement.....

"When every social advance of the past generation is reviled out of hand, this must be taken as a syndrome of reaction whose danger to the moral and political health of our nation is immediate and urgent."

Will Maslow, Executive Director of the
American Jewish Congress, in his report
to the Congress' national Governing Council,
New York City, January 27, 1962

Domestic Policy

Pursuant to the instructions of the National Board, the following compendium of ADA platform and policies has been prepared to serve as a starting point for the deliberations of this year's Convention. This has been compiled from the compendium published in the February, 1961, issue of the ADA WORLD, as modified by actions of the subsequent Convention. It has been edited by the officers and staff to eliminate anachronism, and somewhat compressed to fit within the limits of this special supplement to the ADA WORLD.

I. Democracy and Freedom

A. Civil Liberties

1. Congressional Attacks on the Supreme Court. We oppose the efforts in Congress to reverse the civil liberties decisions of the Supreme Court or to limit its jurisdiction. We recognize such efforts as reprisals against the historic desegregation decisions of the Court and condemn them as unjustified attacks upon the integrity and independence of the courts.

2. Legislative Investigations: While we recognize the vital need for legislative investigations in a free democracy, we condemn the perversion of that function to obtain political or public relations advantage. We urge that Congressional investigations be limited to obtaining information leading toward legislative action. We urge that the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives be discontinued. We favor the adoption of a Congressional resolution designed to protect witnesses before Congressional committees against slanderous attacks under cover of Congressional immunity; to guarantee them the right of effective and immediate reply to attack; and to limit questioning to the announced scope of the hearing after adequate notice. We oppose the Compulsory Testimony Act of 1954, which permits legislative committees to trade immunity for testimony; we oppose prosecution of defendants in Federal and state courts for the same offense.

3. Loyalty and Security: Recognizing the vital necessity of protecting sensitive agencies and private industry concerned with national defense from communist or fascist activities, we oppose the application of any Federal, state or local loyalty or security program to any except sensitive positions.

We urge that all government employees removed as loyalty or security risks under the Executive Orders of Presidents Eisenhower and Truman and other Government programs be given the opportunity to have their cases re-examined on their merits.

We oppose loyalty oaths other than the traditional oath taken by government employees to support the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

4. Political Freedom: We believe that the most serious communist threat to our internal security lies in espionage and sabotage, and that the Communist Party is a conspiracy toward that end. We wholeheartedly support energetic enforcement of the laws against espionage and sabotage.

However, we oppose any limitation on the right to advocate unpopular political proposals as being unrelated to the enforcement of laws against espionage and sabotage. We propose repealing statutory provisions which limit the right of free speech, free association and free political expression, such as are contained in the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Communist Control Act of 1954.

We urge the abolition of the Attorney-General's list of subversive organizations as being ineffective as a national security measure and not providing adequate protection in the determination of listings.

5. Wire Taps: We oppose wiretapping as an intolerable violation of civil liberties, whether practiced by the Federal government, by states or by individuals. Therefore, we urge Congress to reject pending legislation which would legalize wiretapping by Federal or state officials. We particularly oppose legislation which would legalize the use of wiretapping without court authorization.

6. Passports and Visas: We believe there is no security justification for imposing passport controls based on belief or association. No passport should be withheld, refused or revoked unless after full notice and fair hearing, subject to judicial review, it is determined that the applicant is not a citizen or engaged in unlawful activities. Both passports and visas should be issued to permit maximum international, educational, professional and scientific exchange, thus exploiting the democratic strength inherent in free travel throughout the world.

7. Academic Freedom: We oppose legislative interference with academic freedom. We believe that educational authorities, in judging the competence of teachers, should fairly judge every case upon its individual merits, without applying automatic criteria of disqualification. We believe such action should never be taken arbitrarily but only after written charges and opportunity to answer. Refusal to testify under the First and Fifth Amendments should be given only such weight as full inquiry shows to be warranted in determining the competency of a teacher.

8. Censorship: We oppose censorship of books, movies and other forms of communication or entertainment on the grounds of political or religious content or the political or religious affiliation of the authors or participants. We condemn the use of the secret blacklists now being used, particularly in the television industry, compiled on the basis of unsupported charges and applied to actors, actresses, writers and directors who have no means of defense of their good name or protection of their livelihood.

B. Freedom from Discrimination

1. Program of Executive Action

We urge the prompt issuance of Executive orders: (1) conditioning the extension of any form of Federal credit or assistance to housing upon the adoption of policies banning discrimination on grounds of race, creed, color or national origin and (2) conditioning all Federal assistance to public and private colleges and universities upon the adoption of policies banning racial discrimination.

We also urge the President to use the full powers of his office to speed nondiscrimination in : (1) institutions, facilities and services operated or maintained by Federal government and (2) all programs, services and facilities administered by state or local governments or by private institutions which receive any form of Federal assistance.

2. Program of Legislative Action

We urge Presidential support and prompt action by the Congress to require every school board operating a racially segregated public school to adopt a desegregation plan and file the plan with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. The Attorney General would be authorized to initiate Federal court action against school boards which violate the requirements of the Act.

In addition, we affirm our support for bipartisan legislation to:

1. enact Part III authorizing the Attorney General to take effective court action to prevent the denial of any civil right on grounds of race, creed or color;

2. provide administrative and court remedies for persons discriminated against in employment; make it a violation of law for any employer, business, labor organization or professional organization to discriminate in its membership, hiring, firing, or conditions of employment on the basis of race, color, creed or national origin; and extend the definition of unfair labor practice to include appeals to racial prejudice in organizing or pre-election campaigns;

3. secure the right to vote of every American citizen, by all available means, including the elimination of poll tax and literacy test requirements;

4. make the Civil Rights Commission a permanent Federal agency with strengthened fact-finding powers; and

5. bring about Federal and state action which will secure the right of all persons to equal and unsegregated access to eating and other facilities provided by business establishments which serve the public.

3. Discrimination in Housing

Discrimination in housing based upon race, religion, or nationality is not only morally indefensible in itself but is also the foundation upon which discrimination in many areas of our society rests. We therefore affirm our call for opening all our neighborhoods to minority groups. We urge ADA chapters to take the lead in bringing together community, civic, religious, business, and labor leaders to develop plans for speedy integration of housing. We commend those states which have adopted fair housing laws. We urge adequate financing and vigorous enforcement of these laws where already adopted and urge other states to adopt such laws as a major step toward the solution of the problem of big city ghettos.

C. Immigration and Citizenship

The McCarran-Walter Act, founded on suspicion and administered in hostility, treats both immigrant and citizen unjustly and destroys the world image of our nation as a haven of justice and opportunity for the oppressed. We urge that the national origins quota system be abandoned and a new policy created in its stead, incorporating such democratic and equitable principles as maintenance of family units, provision of asylum for refugees, and national acquisition of needed skills and diverse cultures. Red-tape barriers to immigrants and visitors should be sharply reduced, and a policy of hospitality inaugurated. Second-class status of naturalized citizens must terminate. Grounds for denationalization must be limited and harmonized with naturalization principles. We urge the adoption of a short statute of limitations on the bringing of denaturalization and deportation proceedings and requirement of just standards of due process and judicial review. Present grounds for involuntary alienation of citizenship acquired by birth should be abolished.

D. More Democracy in Congress

The filibuster in the Senate and the authority of the Rules Committee in the House of Representatives have too frequently been used to circumvent the majority will by preventing legislation from being brought to vote. We urge revision of Senate Rule 22 to provide that, after reasonable debate, cloture may be imposed by a majority of the Senate. We call for removal of the veto power of the House Rules Committee by permitting any bill to be brought to the floor by restoration of the 21-day rule or upon petition of a majority of a quorum.

E. Electoral Reform

We favor immediate action to provide for Congressional districts that are equal in population, contiguous, and compact; judicial review of action of state legislatures in establishing Congressional districts; and a Constitutional amendment to provide for direct election by popular vote of the President and Vice President.

F. District of Columbia

We favor: (a) immediate legislation for non-voting delegates from the District of Columbia to the House of Representatives; (b) a Constitutional amendment providing for locally elected voting members in the Senate and House of Representatives; (c) immediate enactment by Congress of legislation providing for a municipal government elected by and responsive to the citizens of the District of Columbia.

G. Hatch Act Amendment

We recommend the enactment of legislation amending the Hatch Act to permit Federal, state, and municipal employees some participation in political activities while at the same time protecting them from subtle or overt coercion to contribute to or otherwise assist a political organization or candidate.

H. Freedom of Information

Democracy requires that the electorate be informed. Restrictions on the release of sensitive information should be limited to matters clearly and intimately related to essential security. Our treasured tradition of a free press should never be infringed by the command or suggestion of government to withhold from Americans information which is already available to our enemies. In no event should American officials deliberately misinform the country.

II. A Dynamic Economy

A. Abundance through Economic Expansion

Full employment in an expanding economy must be vigorously reaffirmed as the cornerstone of American economic policy. Real economic growth and full employment mean more production and more jobs, but they mean much more than that: they represent the only means by which we can meet adequately both our public and private needs.

The high priorities of our public needs, along with national security, include domestic public investment in service and facilities related to the general welfare and investment in overseas economic and social development which will advance the cause of human progress under freedom.

The priorities of our private needs include the progressive reduction of poverty, the achievement of useful work opportunity for all who seek it—and thus the enlargement of economic and social justice as these terms are generally understood by the American people.

In both the public and private sectors of our society, we must recognize the critical need to assert the priorities which alone can "get America moving again"—and in the right direction. It is essential for both the private and the public sector that we pursue economic policies which will best ensure a strong and rapid recovery and a return to full employment and production. After full employment and production have been achieved, our total national output must continue to expand by at least five percent a year, in order to absorb the increases in productivity and the labor force. The low rates of growth during the past eight years would mean continuing deterioration of our economic position at home and the dissipation of our capacity to lead from strength in world affairs.

B. The Role of the Federal Government

The leadership role of the Federal Government is central to the achievement of growth and full employment. It should be clearly recognized that, through basic budget policy—spending and taxing—and control over the money supply and interest rates, the Federal Government and the Federal Reserve System together largely determine the level of activity and employment in our economy. In a very important sense, therefore, ours is a planned economy. The issue is what kind of planning we need and to what extent our needs are being met.

1. Spending Policy

The current spending programs of the Federal Government, and the proposals for the next fiscal year, are clearly inadequate to our needs. Measured by either our basic public investment needs or the necessary contribution of Federal spending toward full recovery and growth, the level of Federal spending must be raised by several billion dollars if we are to realize the gains which are well within our grasp.

The spending programs we urge should be rationally planned and integrated with other aspects of a total policy designed to meet our national goals. This requires that all national economic policies be geared to specific short-range and long-range goals for maximum employment, production, and purchasing power, and presented in a unified perspective in the President's Economic Reports, under the Employment Act of 1946. To this end, we recommend also the development of an effective system of capital budgeting. A proper capital budget will provide the needed focal point for intelligent long-term planning of government investment—spending for facilities vital to growth and welfare—and, at the same time, help put such government spending in balanced perspective for the public

2. Tax Policy

There is widespread agreement on the need for substantial tax reform. To date, the Administration has not offered the positive and constructive tax policies we need. The offer of almost two billion dollars in tax concessions indiscriminately to all investors in productive facilities through special depreciation privileges is, in our opinion, unnecessary and unwarranted. The key to sustainable increased investment in plant and equipment is a higher level of consumer demand—which, if any tax cut is considered justifiable, is far better suited to stimulation by tax relief than investment itself.

We are waiting for a tax program which will come to grips with the basic problems of sustaining economic growth, close the glaring loopholes which persist, and operate in a fashion consistent with the highest goals of national policy.

3. Monetary Policy

There is little point in establishing national economic goals and budgetary policies to implement them if monetary policy—control over the cost and availability of money and credit—is allowed to conflict with them. The level of interest rates and the availability of money and credit are in large measure determined—consciously planned—by the monetary authorities, the Treasury and the Federal Reserve System. Monetary as well as fiscal policy must be geared to higher levels of growth and full employment.

To achieve a more adequate expansion of credit and lower interest rates, essential to the achievement of our public and private investment goals, the Federal Reserve System must be made responsive to the priorities of

(See DOMESTIC POLICY, Page 2A)

Domestic Policy . . .

(Continued from Page 1A)

national policy, and not left free to pursue its own obsessive and (we are convinced) mis-directed concerns for inflation or the balance of international payments. Restrictive monetary policy should not be used as an exclusive tool to achieve relative price level stability; other methods should be devised to cope with this problem. In short, the Federal Reserve System should be burdened no longer with the responsibility of deciding for itself the rate at which the American economy will be allowed to grow. To that end, we suggest the remedies of appropriate executive or legislative action.

4. Conclusions

Because we see the Kennedy Administration drifting into the worst mistakes of the Eisenhower years—that is, improvisations for segments of the economy without adequate regard to long-range requirements of full employment and economic growth — we recommend to the Administration these long-range objectives:

1. A level of government spending clearly sufficient to meet our basic investment needs for national defense, overseas economic and social development and urgently needed facilities and services here at home.

2. Constantly expanding consumer purchasing power for a rising standard of living.

3. Systematic, selective policies to raise consumption by low-income families.

4. Expanding support for neglected segments of the economy—notably, housing, urban redevelopment, water conservation, depressed areas.

5. Levels of real saving such that investment in private plant and equipment and public facilities required for these purposes will be possible.

A tax system to meet these requirements must be carefully planned for the needs of the economy: to support Federal expenditures at full employment levels over a span of years; to eliminate the regressive burdens on consumption, especially in low-income brackets, and the high-income loopholes; to design incentive taxation that will provide incentives to planned objectives rather than indiscriminate windfalls; and to coordinate Federal with state and local tax systems so as to assure adequate revenues and a total progressive effect. Such a tax system would not result every year in a balanced budget—but, by stimulating full employment, it would minimize the deficit over a span of years.

The real meaning of fiscal and monetary responsibility resides in the pursuit of policies and programs which can produce a balanced economy.

C. Business Structure and Practices

1. We believe that competition furnishes an important safeguard of political and economic health in this nation, and that a dangerous degree of monopoly power now prevails in our economy, both with and without the sanction of law.

2. The failure of existing anti-trust law and administration to solve the problem of excessive concentration of economic power is signalized by the continued dominance of the giants in industry and finance.

3. Moreover, Government regulation, which was intended to protect the consumer by assuring him benefits equivalent to competition, has too often been perverted to opposite goals, as the influence of giant firms extends into the regulatory agencies supposed to govern them.

4. A strengthened anti-monopoly program requires adequate appropriations for the Anti-Trust Division and other agencies for the protection of small business and the consumer. It also requires personnel of undoubted integrity and loyalty to the public control philosophy of the laws. Among the statutory changes essential to an effective program are the following:

a. Provide a means for breaking up existing super-concentrations found to be larger than technology warrants. Such a statute would follow the pattern set by Section II of the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935. Where excessive concentration continues, because required by technological considerations or for other reasons, protection of the public interest will require public supervision of pricing and other practices of the dominant firms or, as a last resort, public ownership.

b. Declare that the restrictive practices specifically named in the Clayton Act are unlawful, without necessity to prove anti-competitive tendencies in a particular case, when the practice is engaged in by a dominant firm.

c. Prohibit restrictive licensing of patents by dominant patentees and the combination of dominant companies in patent pools.

d. Amend Section 5 of the Clayton Act to make it discretionary with the Court whether a consent decree shall be available to help private plaintiffs make out a prima facie case; in the alternative, provide a procedure for compensating all anti-trust victims upon the successful conclusion of any government case.

e. Amend the Motor Carrier Act to eliminate control of entry and rates, and effect corresponding changes in state regulatory laws. Direct the Federal Aviation Board to establish conditions which will make possible new entry into trunk line air transportation.

f. Declare by statute that regulatory agencies must give effect to a presumption in favor of competition. Where an agency has power to relieve from the requirements of the anti-trust laws, direct it not to do so unless there are no practicable alternative ways of promoting the regulatory goal.

g. Repeal the McGuire Act authorizing resale price control.

h. Create Federal and state "Departments of the Consumer," at Cabinet or independent commission level, to safeguard the interests of consumers as departments of commerce and labor now represent other aspects of public concern.

III. Natural Resources

America's natural resources are essentially the possession of all the people. They should be developed and used in the public interest.

Some of these resources, largely mineral, are running out. In 15 to 20 years America could find itself a "have not" nation. We believe an essential answer to this problem is friendly US encouragement of foreign production of the materials we will have to import on a greater scale as our own supplies dwindle.

America should embark on a large-scale program of exploiting lower-grade ores, research into materials conservation, development of timber resources on public and private lands, and enlargement of public recreational facilities. Off-shore oil lands should be returned to all the people.

1. We condemn the attempt to turn over control of the civilian uses of atomic energy to a few large corporations. We recommend:

a. Federal construction and operation of atom-electric power plants to provide a "yardstick" power program.

b. Marketing of publicly produced atom-electric power under the long-established principle giving preference to non-profit public projects and cooperatives.

c. Clearance of all reactor programs with the anti-trust laws to prevent the creation or maintenance of monopoly.

d. Compulsory licensing to all qualified applicants, at least until 1965, of all patents obtained in the field of civilian uses of atomic energy.

2. We urge Congress to take the necessary steps to establish unified multiple purpose river basin programs, following generally the Tennessee Valley Authority model, for all major river basins or water resources areas in the country, and to provide the necessary appropriations for such long-range programs to meet the country's need for municipal and industrial water supply, irrigation, soil conservation and reforestation, silt control, navigation, flood control, pollution control, hydro-electric power, fish and wildlife conservation, and recreation.

We call for development of a coordinated program for the integrated development and control of the water resources of the Great Lakes Basin.

3. Continuation of wholesale marketing of power developed at Federal and state projects through public transmission lines, with preference to public and cooperative distribution agencies.

4. Transfer of the civil functions of the Army Corps of Engineers to a single national resources agency and creation of a board of review on resources development projects.

IV. Labor and Management

B. Minimum Wage Law

4. Expanding support for neglected segments of the

The passage last year of legislation to raise the Federal minimum wage to $1.25 an hour and extend minimum wage protection to 3.6 million additional workers was a long overdue step in improving and modernizing the Wage and Hour Act. We deplore the exclusion of groups of low-wage workers, such as those in laundries, hotels and restaurants. Even so, this legislative achievement is the first major improvement in the Act in 23 years since the original Act was passed. ADA commends the Kennedy Administration for the successful accomplishment of this major plank in its legislative platform.

There is still much to be done to broaden the coverage of the Act in order to achieve its stated objectives of eliminating labor conditions detrimental to minimum standards of health and well-being. It is particularly important to bring under the protection of the Act, as soon as possible, groups who are now excluded—especially laundry, hotel and restaurant workers, who were sacrificed last year, and farm workers, who are the largest group now denied coverage.

B. Migratory Farm Workers

We urge the enactment of legislation to bring farm workers and food processing workers the protection of the right to organize and bargain collectively, minimum wages, social security coverage, greater limitation on child labor, and the benefit of other health and welfare legislation.

With respect to migratory farm workers, we urge the enactment of legislation along the lines of the bills introduced by Senator Harrison Williams, which would require (among other provisions) the registering and regulating of crew leaders, and would make available grants to states to provide for the following:

1. Special education needs of migrants' children;
2. Children's day care centers;
3. Adult education to improve migrants' literacy and hygiene levels;
4. Liberal financing terms for the construction of minimum adequate housing for migrant families.

V. Education, Health, and Welfare

A. Education

The ADA strongly urges a broad scale and comprehensive Federal program of financial aid to public institutions on primary, secondary and college and university levels. Such aid should include grants, loans, pledges of Federal credit, and scholarships.

We strongly oppose the use of public funds, directly or indirectly, to subsidize non-public schools, whether on the primary, secondary, or college and university level. Public funds should not be used to support non-public schools by direct grants, or indirectly by loans, pledges of public credit, scholarships which are disguised grants, or the provision of auxiliary services not a part of a specific non-educational health or welfare program.

We do, however, support scholarships to individual students studying in institutions of higher learning, whether public or non-public, where such scholarships are granted solely on the basis of genuine merit and proven need.

We further support grants to public and private colleges and universities for research projects performed on a contractual basis.

We support the right of teachers and students to full freedom of research and publication and to full discussion in and out of the classroom, free from restriction of unwarranted oaths, investigations and censorship.

B. Health

ADA believes in comprehensive health services, without discrimination, for every American.

We believe that a universal health insurance program would be the best means of bringing good medical care to all Americans, and we advocate the enactment of such a program. Meanwhile we urge, as immediate steps:

1. Immediate enactment of legislation providing that Federal funds be made available for (a) schools of medicine, dentistry, nursing, and public health; (b) national construction and modernization of hospitals and health centers, with particular attention to rural needs; (c) medical research, particularly in long-term illness, with priority given to research in mental illness; (d) local public health units; (e) expansion of non-profit health care plans which have a comprehensive coverage.

2. Use of the social security system for meeting the health costs of older people, comparable benefits to be provided, through Federal appropriations, for older persons outside the social security system.

3. Removal of age limits on disability benefits under social security, and measures to insure costs of medical care for beneficiaries of Old Age and Survivors Insurance.

4. Enactment of an adequate Federal and state program to expand and modernize facilities for the care of mental illness, and financial assistance for the training of professional personnel, including psychiatrists.

5. Increasing Federal loans to enable voluntary health agencies, under adequate standards, to expand facilities and services, particularly in rural areas.

C. Welfare

ADA believes that every American has the right to public protection from personal catastrophe resulting from sickness, disability, unemployment, and old age. These services must be given without harassment, humiliation and unwarranted restrictions. Therefore we support:

1. Further expansion of coverage and increase of benefits under the Federally administered Old Age and Survivors Insurance program toward the goal of adequate coverage and adequate incomes for all retired workers and their dependents.

2. The setting and enforcement of adequate Federal standards for size and duration of benefits and for eligibility under the unemployment insurance program; the provision of state reserves; the elimination of merit rating systems, which have served to weaken the entire program of unemployment insurance.

3. State legislation providing benefits for temporary disability.

4. Confidential status of public assistance rolls.

5. In view of the mounting nation-wide problem of juvenile delinquency, the inadequacies of present resources to meet this problem, and the need for concerted and coordinated action in this area, we support Federal leadership and such Federal funds as may be required to supplement state and local resources and to encourage coordination, planning and training among public and voluntary agencies.

6. We call for a coordinated approach by Federal, state and local agencies, public and private, to meet the growing needs of our senior citizens.

7. We view with concern the increasing tendency to transfer responsibilities in the area of social and economic welfare to the states and localities. We call for strengthening of state action in the welfare field. But so long as states vary widely in their ability and willingness to support welfare programs, and so long as they compete in holding down standards to gain tax advantages, we favor not less but greater Federal participation in the financing and setting of standards of welfare.

D. Housing and Urban Problems

ADA supports the right of every American to a good dwelling at a cost or rent that he can afford to pay. There is a pressing need for additional low-income and middle-income housing, including housing for the aging. Rehabilitation and proper maintenance of existing housing are needed to prevent the spread of blight and slums.

The level of construction to meet our needs should be two million units a year. Private enterprise alone cannot meet these needs. Existing programs fall far short of the requirements. ADA urges increased Federal, state and local aids and incentives to private enterprise to meet this goal.

We recommend the following Federal program:

1. Direct Federal loans and other aids for middle income rental, cooperative and single family housing.

2. Public housing for low income families and persons up to the full number authorized by the Housing Act of 1949. There should be greater autonomy for local housing authorities in the planning, execution and management of their programs.

3. A ten-year program of urban renewal with Federal grants of one billion dollars a year. We urge Federal acquisition, by local authorities, of land to be used for future developments.

4. A sound program for relocation service and financial assistance to individuals, families and business displaced by slum clearance, urban renewal, the highway program and all other government action.

We recommend state and local legislation authorizing long-term, low-interest state and municipal loans and municipal real estate tax concessions for limited profit and non-profit housing companies to provide rental and cooperative housing for middle income families.

ADA urges modernization and enforcement of building and housing codes and similar regulations so that existing housing may be brought up to the best practical standards, and so that new housing will comply with higher standards to effectively safeguard the safety, health and welfare of all occupants.

We call for the enactment of appropriate Federal, state and local legislation to prohibit discrimination

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Foreign Policy

Preamble

World peace requires a sober readiness to negotiate all differences with other nations, irrespective of ideologies. General war has become an intolerable option in the nuclear age. The obligation rests all the more on the United States to offer concrete and realistic proposals which will promote democratic liberties and lay the foundation for lasting peace.

American policy should be based upon the creation of a world environment under law, in which all sovereign states will have the opportunity to make their contribution to human civilization.

Support of the principles of the United Nations Charter should be the cornerstone of our foreign policy. But that support does not in itself constitute a foreign policy. We must make full use of the UN to weld, as rapidly as possible, a community of effort for collective actions broad enough to encompass the ideals and hopes, and allay the fears, of all the peoples.

Aggression, tyranny, hunger and racial discrimination anywhere are enemies of peace everywhere; and it must be our steady purpose to work with other peoples in their effort to enlarge opportunity and achieve justice. The need for such action is greatest of all in those parts of the world now awakening from centuries of oppression and squalor and seeking to make up for lost time in attaining national independence and raising their social and economic standards.

The great challenge to America is now political and economic at least as much as it is military. In the face of a military stalemate, we have tended to focus our attention on the military dangers and, as a result, have had an insufficient regard for the factors in the political and economic sphere which have become of over-riding importance.

History has thrust world responsibility on our country. We must respond to this challenge with the imagination required by a changing world. We must understand that, in the end, we are dealing with *people*—with their diverse characters, their individual aspirations and their legitimate hopes. To touch their minds and hearts, we must recognize that moral and social policies and attitudes are as essential as military strength.

Policy toward the Soviet Union should be guided by the concepts of defense without provocation and conciliation without appeasement. Top priority should be given to a relaxation of international tensions by negotiating agreement on arms controls and ultimate disarmament. The US should take advantage of any opportunities offered for closer cooperation with the Soviet Union which may result from relaxation and greater personal freedom within the Soviet regime.

United Nations

The basis of US foreign policy for the achievement of the world peace and the rule of law should be support of the UN, which should serve as the major instrument for our international cooperative effort.

We urge on our government, therefore, the following policies:

1. Strengthening the UN is imperative and necessary. The effectiveness of the Charter is increased primarily by its loyal use and application, with interpretation, practice and supplementary agreements offering abundant means for growth and flexibility. The US should support the principle of universal membership in the UN of all nations.

2. The great increase in UN membership requires the enlargement of its major bodies by charter amendments.

3. We oppose all efforts to divide and thus destroy the single responsibility of the Secretary General as fixed by the Charter.

4. The UN offers opportunities, either through the General Assembly or the Security Council, to any group of nations with special problems for negotiation and settlement, with the services of the Secretary-General available. East-West summit meetings should preferably be held under the auspices of the UN.

5. Permanent status should be accorded a UN police force composed of contingents from the smaller countries committed for fixed periods. The costs of such police forces should be integrated with the budget of the UN and should be obligatory, like regular expenditures, on all UN members. In addition, the UN should be in readiness to dispatch observers, upon invitation of the government or governments concerned, to any area where peace is threatened.

6. We welcome indications of a changed US policy in supporting the claims of non-self-governing peoples against our allies in NATO, and urge its continuing and consistent application.

7. American economic aid to African states should be channeled mainly through the UN in order to reduce great power competition and help preserve the economic as well as political independence of these new states.

8. We urge US ratification of the UN covenants on human rights and genocide.

9. The US, as headquarters of the UN, should be open to all foreigners having business with it. We urge the abandonment of the present restrictions upon the admission and stay of foreigners. They are unnecessary for national security and contrary to the policies of other host countries to UN agencies.

10. The development of world law should be encouraged through UN-sponsored treaties and covenants subject to judicial enforcement; through the use of the Court of International Justice and the expansion of its jurisdiction; and by other appropriate means. We urge the removal of the Connally reservation which clouds US acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Court.

International Economic Policies

ADA feels it is essential that all economically advanced countries recognize and act upon the premise that it is their joint responsibility to render massive financial and technical assistance to underdeveloped areas. US action to stimulate the participation of other countries is evidence that at last the real magnitude of the problem is being faced.

Economic Aid

We urge a program of sustained US help to underdeveloped countries covering a period of at least ten years and including the provisions of technical assistance, grants, and loans, and the encouragement of private investment. This should continue to be supplemented by the maximum effective use of US farm surplus. We favor US support for a substantial expansion of the UN Technical Assistance Program and the UN Special Fund.

ADA urges especially that the subscribed capital of the International Development Association for its first five years be raised from the totally inadequate sum of $1 billion to $10 billion — without any decrease in economic aid available through other channels — and that the Association be empowered to make grants as well as loans.

To make effective use of long term development assistance, countries should have long-term development programs. Today it is more urgent than ever for the international community: (1) to encourage the preparation of national programs aimed at targets that are realistic, both in the light of each country's own potentialities and of the expected course of development in other nations; and (2) to establish procedures making it more likely that the numerous potential sources of outside aid actually provide the right amounts, in the right forms, at the right times.

We urge also the expansion of OPEX, the UN program which recruits operational, executive, and administrative personnel for service in the underdeveloped countries where trained people are in short supply.

The deficit in the US balance of payments in the past few years is no basis for a reduction in our foreign assistance program. This country can and must afford the economic aid program, the trade policies, and the defense expenditures called for by the time in which we live.

We believe that the international economy is approaching a point where an International Reserve Bank is required to fulfill much the same function as the Federal Reserve Bank does for the US economy. The International Monetary Fund is the existing institution through which studies of this and similar proposals could be made.

International Trade

The Trade Agreements Act provides the Executive Branch with insufficient power to reduce tariffs. If we are to have adequate ability to negotiate reciprocal tariff cuts with other countries, the legislative authority to make greater reductions is needed. Moreover, the Executive authority to reduce tariffs must be on an "across-the-board" basis so that the United States is not handicapped by specific limitations in particular categories of products.

By increasing our own tariff-reducing powers, by developing new bargaining techniques, and by using them vigorously in tariff negotiations with other countries through a strengthened General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the United States can influence the new regional groupings to reduce the level of their external import barriers — to the advantage of our own economy, the economies of other countries, and of Western unity.

An integral part of our program to reduce US tariffs must be a program of trade adjustment assistance through which the Government would help affected producers, workers, and communities in a successful and constructive adjustment to increased imports. This should provide ways and means whereby both capital and labor would have alternative opportunities for remunerative employment.

We urge US participation in the international discussion of arrangements that might help to stabilize world trade in basic commodities. We are encouraged that the US Government has indicated a far more receptive attitude toward price stabilization in primary commodities in order to assure producing countries more constant earnings from their export trade.

Finally, we would urge that the US take the initiative in seeking agreement on an International Fair Labor Standards Code to improve labor standards, both in developed and in underdeveloped countries, in step with rising productivity.

Disarmament and Security

The world is drifting toward nuclear war. A diplomatic blunder or a technical mistake could result in the destruction of civilization. This danger is intensified by the ever-increasing global commitments of the major powers and the spread of nuclear weapons in a world of over 100 national sovereignties. To think in terms of "winning" a war in which nuclear weapons are used is illusory.

The situation demands a revolutionary effort, joined sincerely by the United States, to achieve general and complete disarmament subject to effective inspection and control.

In view of the slaughter and destruction experienced in so-called conventional wars and of the difficulty of preventing a conventional war, once started, from developing into a nuclear war, our aim must be nothing less than the ultimate complete abolition of the means of waging war of any kind.

1. ADA supports the President's declaration that general and complete disarmament under effective control is a basic objective of US policy.

2. We welcome the establishment of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and urge that it be more adequately financed and staffed to perform its important work.

3. We support the US "Program for General and Complete Disarmament in a Peaceful World" offered to the 1961 UN General Assembly, and urge that it be backed up with an intensive program of public education.

4. Stabilized deterrence (commonly called "arms control") or the freezing of levels of armaments must be regarded only as temporary steps on the road to total disarmament.

5. No nuclear negotiations or treaties can be meaningful without the participation of all nations who now have or will have in the near future nuclear weapon capability. All measures should be taken to assure that all those who stand on the nuclear threshhold, including the French and Peking governments, accept and be bound by the conclusions of such negotiations.

6. We urge the negotiation with the Soviet Union of an agreement banning atmospheric tests — without inspection provisions, since such tests are readily detectable. In view of the Soviet breach of the test moratorium last year, the US should not place complete reliance on such an agreement; on the contrary, it should keep in constant readiness to resume tests if the Soviet Union breaks the agreement and if at that time US tests seem advisable.

We urge that the US not resume atmospheric nuclear testing unless a sober assessment of its absolute necessity for the maintenance of peace with freedom requires it, such assessment to include the risks involved in a further acceleration of the arms race.

7. We oppose the transfer by any nuclear power of nuclear weapons or information on their manufacture to other nations or regional military organizations, as this would make more difficult the control of such weapons and would increase the possibility of nuclear war.

8. We suggest that our government give consideration to unilateral initiatives which might improve the atmosphere for multilateral disarmament negotiations provided that they do not impair our national security — for example, consideration should be given to the removal of US troops and armaments from those foreign bases whose provocative nature is found to outweigh their security value to the US.

9. While disarmament agreements are being negotiated, we must maintain our armed forces at their necessary strength. This is essential for a flexible and balanced policy, which alone insures that we can fulfill our defensive treaty commitments and protect our own country from attack.

Europe

The degree of free-world vigor has depended in the past decade on the measure of common purpose of America and its Western European allies and friends.

The past decade has seen startling accomplishments in Western Europe, in both economic integration and growth. Certain persistent issues have recurrently divided America and its European allies; to these, new conditions have added new problems. These differences and disagreements, while often seemingly intractable, do not blunt the great purposes which now unite the western alliance.

We favor US support for the continuing integration of Europe, and its closer association with the whole Atlantic community. We favor all immediate steps possible, through NATO, the Common Market, Euratom, the Coal and Steel Community and other similar channels to bring about increasing economic and political integration among the West European countries.

The changing technology of war and the Soviet threat require affirmation of the reciprocal obligations of mutual assistance which lie at the heart of the NATO treaty. The growing capabilities of the USSR in intercontinental missiles have radically changed the strategic problem which NATO was originally designed to deal with. While such changes should serve as the occasion for the devising of new strategies of defense, they should not prompt, among America and its NATO allies, policies mistakenly undertaken to develop unilateral capabilities impairing the common strategies of the West as a whole. In particular, we oppose the creation of an independent NATO nuclear capability or the sharing of nuclear weapons and Polaris submarines with our allies, since such actions would make more difficult the negotiation of nuclear disarmament.

The Western powers must continue to make it perfectly clear to the Soviet Union that they will resist capitulation over Berlin by every means—diplomatic, economic, and (if ultimately necessary) military. We refuse to believe that the narrow issue of Berlin and the broad issue of stability and security in Central Europe cannot be negotiated. We believe that solutions are possible, if there is the will and patience to achieve them.

We urge that the United States and its NATO allies, in return for appropriate concessions contributing to a stable Central European settlement, be prepared to consider acknowledging the permanence and legitimacy of Germany's present *de facto* frontiers with its European neighbors.

We believe that the United States and its allies should consider offering *de facto* recognition of East Germany in return for more reliable guarantees of Western access and Western presence in Berlin, underwritten by the Soviet Union and included in its peace treaty with East Germany, or an annex thereto.

We believe that there would be great advantages to a UN presence in Berlin (a supplementary international police contingent drawn from outside the great powers), in addition to Western forces there. To give Berlin a new status and significance, we suggest that it be the headquarters for important international agencies.

The US should continue, by its aid to Yugoslavia and to Poland, to encourage the survival and growth of such impulses toward freedom as exist. UN aid to selected areas in Eastern Europe could open another window to the outside world, and strengthen the groups

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Foreign Policy . . .

(Continued from Page 3A)

seeking greater independence for their nations. We therefore urge efforts to expand US trade with these nations and the amendment of the Battle Act to give the President standing authority to extend loans and grants to the Communist countries of Eastern Europe.

The Middle East

The first objective of US Middle Eastern policy should be to arrange for the exclusion of the Arab States and Israel from the theatre of the cold war. These efforts should be made to the maximum extent possible within the framework of the UN. The US should propose a great-power guarantee of the security and territorial integrity of the Arab nations and of Israel.

The legitimate aspirations of nationalism in the Middle East should be recognized and encouraged by US and by Western policy. But it should be made clear that legitimate aspirations do not include any right of aggression or other violations of the UN Charter.

The West must clearly show that its purpose is to help bring the benefit of technological advance to the Arab peoples, to raise their standards of living, and to welcome the Arab nations as equals in rights and dignity among the nations of the world. Its purpose should not be to protect the status quo or to dominate or exercise political influence in the internal affairs of the Arab countries of the Middle East, including Ethiopia and Sudan.

The US, as a member of the UN Conciliation Commission on Palestine and as the major contributor to the relief of the Arab refugees, should vigorously press for an equitable solution of the Arab refugee problem, along with a peaceful settlement of all other Arab-Israeli issues.

Patient pressure must be exerted for such a settlement by the encouragement of steps that lead to a recognition by the Arab peoples that Israel has the right to exist and is in the Middle East to stay.

We urge the US to make representations to the United Arab Republic, directly and through the UN, to permit passage of Israeli shipping through the Suez Canal on the same basis as the shipping of all other nations, in accordance with the UN resolution.

Asia

The future of democracy in Asia hinges upon the capacity of the free world to show that freedom and economic progress can go together. The economic-political-military mix which we have previously employed in our Asian policy must be reviewed and revised. Our past emphasis has been overly military. For example, fixed American bases in populous areas of Asia are becoming increasingly obsolete, due to changes both in the political climate and in military technology. But, more broadly speaking, until we join battle effectively on the economic and political fronts, all military aid to Asia is precarious. Laos is merely the latest example. We welcome the long overdue effort to create a neutral Laos. W have suffered from an excess of military emphasis in decisions about Asia, when in fact the basic preconditions for military strength there do not exist.

If our alliance with Japan is to grow in strength, economic relations must be kept healthy and expanding. To build up tariff walls is to tear down this alliance. We should also make our alliance with Japan more meaningful by broadening our political and cultural ties. It is not likely that Japan will be a major military ally of the United States, but she can be a major economic, political, and cultural ally if we pursue an enlightened policy.

In the Republic of Korea, the primary issues are those of meeting the demands of the Korean people for employment, economic stability, and an end to political corruption. We should give continued support to those elements in Korea who represent forces leading to economic, social and political democracy. The unification of Korea under UN auspices is a goal which the US should persistently pursue.

The future of India will determine to a great measure the future of freedom in Asia. Therefore, we believe the US should strengthen its economic and cultural ties with that hopeful nation. We urge the granting of continued economic assistance, on a long-term basis, to India in order that she may fully develop her human, natural, and industrial resources.

In Southeast Asia, we should press forward with the idea of a neutral buffer zone, which the present Administration has accepted with respect to Laos. Our effort should be to preserve the rights of small peoples living on the peripheries of major powers to maintain their freedom and separate way of life. We should seek to make possible conditions whereby in Asia there can be more Austrias and fewer Hungarys. We should not attempt to force military alignment upon these minor powers, but rather insist upon true neutrality—maximum economic and technical aid from external sources, and minimum military-political interference.

As never before, a successful Asian policy for us depends upon the cooperation of the Asians. It is time to listen to them, as well as talk at them. This is an age of partnership, not domination. Economic and political determinants will be basic for the future, if coupled with cultural relations based on mutual respect and cooperation in meeting Asia's vast educational needs. Trends here will play an overwhelming role in deciding the capacity of the Asians to resist totalitarianism.

China

ADA urges immediate initiation, together with our allies, of negotiations toward diplomatic recognition of the Peiping regime and its accreditation to the UN as the government of China, not as gestures of moral approval of its past actions but as means of establishing the normal channels of international communication. Such steps would increase our access to information on Chinese affairs and the possibility of affecting Chinese foreign policy. The admission of China to the UN should be linked to the condition that the inhabitants of Formosa shall themselves democratically decide whether they shall be admitted to the UN as an independent nation or shall rejoin mainland China.

Recognition of Communist China and its accreditation to the UN do not mean abandonment of Formosa. Until a UN solution is reached, the US treaty pledge to defend Formosa should remain unaltered, with the explicit understanding that this pledge does not include the defense of Quemoy and Matsu. We should press for immediate and democratic elections by the inhabitants of Formosa. US military aid should be limited to only such forces as are necessary to its defense.

We urge the removal of all passport barriers preventing travel by Americans to China (as has already been done in the case of journalists) in order that US relations with it may evolve through full and informed public debate.

The US should undertake as soon as possible a humanitarian program to make surplus food available to relieve famine in China. We further urge the lifting of barriers to trade, in recognition of the fact that trade builds understanding and our economic isolation from China's 650,000,000 people has achieved little.

Latin America

ADA believes that, in its "Alliance for Progress," the Kennedy Administration has a great and perhaps final opportunity to assure the future of democracy in the Western Hemisphere. The time has come for a hemispheric equivalent of the Marshall Plan, a cooperative and massive effort for economic development and social reform. Together we must work on the substructure of social and economic progress — education, low-cost housing, hospitals, roads, and better use of the land. Together we must work on the reform of tax, credit, and land tenure procedures. As in the Marshall Plan, the emphasis must be on helping people to help themselves.

In the long run, we must work together for more balanced economies in the Latin American countries and toward less dependence upon a narrow range of export commodities. Meanwhile, we must reduce or eliminate the tariffs and quotas which discriminate against imports from Latin America, and explore measures to achieve greater stability in the prices of basic commodities.

We should deal with Latin American states only on the basis of sovereign equality. The Organization of American States should be strengthened as the agency for collective action and for avoidance of unilateral intervention.

This country must make unmistakably clear that its advocacy of democracy applies to the Western Hemisphere. Moral and political support must be given to the democratic regimes of the Americas. Alleged anti-Communism should not be used as an excuse for US aid to dictators. Democracy should be encouraged through support of the system now projected by the OAS for protection by an inter-American judicial tribunal of civil, political and human rights.

Just as important as what we do is the spirit in which we do it. We must act as fellow citizens of one hemisphere, rather than as big brothers. Our men and women in Latin America, from ambassadors to technicians, must be chosen for their ability to understand and respect the people with whom they work.

Cuba

The experience of Cuba should alert us to the need for revolutionary changes in many parts of Latin America; it should alert us also to the dangers to the hemisphere if revolutionary movements are captured by the Soviet Union and exploited for purposes of the cold war.

Because it is part of the hemisphere, the Cuban problem is an integral part of inter-American relations, and nothing the United States can do unilaterally can solve it. As the case of the Dominican Republic showed, action against dictatorship in the Americas can be justified and can be effective only if it is multilateral, within the framework of the OAS. Actions by the United States to intervene militarily or to support military invasion by Cuban exiles or by others in violation of the Charters of the UN and the OAS would be not only wrong but self-defeating. The repercussions of the US fiasco in Cuba make this no time to take unilateral economic sanctions against Cuba or mobilize the OAS for action against Castro. We must leave the way open for US participation in hemispheric action.

We believe that the crisis resulting from the Castro revolution will be resolved as the Cubans realize that the rest of Latin America is moving forward. At such a time, we should welcome them into the Alliance for Progress, the hemisphere's great cooperative enterprise of economic, social and political development.

Africa

We welcome the emergence of the African peoples into the community of free nations. It is our hope and expectation that the remaining countries not yet independent will become so within a very few years; and we urge that all possible effort be made to assist them in the development of their resources, both human and material, to prepare for the responsibilities they will soon assume.

The immediate needs of these new nations for economic and social development provide opportunity to the US to work in close association with European as well as African nations toward the fostering of viable political and economic institutions. But US policy in the UN and elsewhere must be made independently, and not tied to that of any other nation or coalition of nations.

We recognize and respect the fact that the independence of African states will be characterized by an independence of judgment in foreign affairs, and that this will portend at least occasional differences with the US. We recognize that some such differences are inevitable and do not necessarily represent pro-Communist positions; indeed, we assert that efforts to polarize the new nations into one of two camps will probably work against our own interests.

We further recognize that there will be new and transitional forms of political and social organization developing in Africa for many years to come, and urge that a long view be taken of whatever final, stable institutions are likely to develop. Encouragement should be given to all efforts to protect and extend individual and minority rights as the moral obligation of their membership in the UN.

Educational facilities and opportunities on all levels in African nations need vast and rapid expansion. The US should lend all possible efforts to increase both the academic and technical facilities in Africa, as well as increasing the number of such opportunities for Africans in the US.

We support the censure of colonialism in Portuguese territories of Africa and urge US support through the UN of adequate preparation leading to self-determination for those territories. We further urge the US to work with persuasion and pressure for the improvement of educational, economic and political conditions within Portuguese Africa; such pressure might well include, after due warning, the elimination of military aid to Portugal. Discussions between African nationalists and the Portuguese should be encouraged.

We support the claims of the non-white peoples in the Union of South Africa for equal rights and human dignity. We call upon our government to support in the UN the movement to apply economic pressures against the Union of South Africa in protest against its racist policies. We recommend that South West Africa be placed directly under UN trusteeship, to be administered in accordance with the Charter, working toward self-determination.

We favor the proposal that arms in Africa be kept at a low level. To this end, we encourage African and arms-producing countries to reach an agreement limiting or regulating arms in Africa.

Domestic Policy . . .

(Continued from Page 2A)

based on race, religion or national origin in the sale, lease, or financing of all housing accommodations. We also urge positive action by Federal, state, and local governments to bring about truly integrated new housing developments and integrated housing patterns in urban renewal areas.

In view of the growing importance of urban problems, we recommend:

1. The establishment of a Department of Urban Affairs in the Federal government which will cooperate with other agencies in an integrated approach to urban problems, and supply research and direction.

2. The preservation and encouragement of mass transportation systems for urban metropolitan cities by coordination of highway and rail transit systems, and the establishment of a Federal Loan Agency to help local transit and rail commuter companies improve and extend their facilities.

VI. Intergovernmental Relations

The increasing complexities of economic and social life in our country call for adjustments in the structure and practices of our governmental machinery.

Local governments in urban areas are geographically and politically restricted so as to place the problems of the metropolitan complex beyond their sole solution.

State governments are geared almost exclusively to an agricultural economy and are unwilling or, because of built-in bias, unable to provide equity treatment to the urban citizen in intra-state relationships.

The Federal government has failed to acknowledge fully its interest and obligations in meeting the demands and needs of the citizen in a mobile national economic community.

The fact is, however, that we are to a large extent bound by our present governmental structure. And the most fruitful course to pursue in seeking improved governmental services and at the same time in attempting to strengthen democratic controls in the adoption and operation of government programs is to make improvements within the present intergovernmental relationship.

To this end we urge:

1. That the newly established Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations direct its immediate attention to an exploration of the use of the Federal government's progressive tax system to finance, through income tax credits, grants and other means, the services which have heretofore been strictly state and local responsibilities;

2. that state constitutions and statutes be revised to permit local self government consistent with the needs of communities to meet the problems and challenges of urban population concentrations; and

3. that, where grants-in-aid are used, the disbursement of funds from the Federal to the state governments and from state to local governments be based on the relative needs and tax capacities of the grant-receiving units.

* * *

(Omitted from this compendium for lack of space are the ADA planks on Broadcasting Policy and Regulation, Agriculture, Cooperatives, Penal Reform and Capital Punishment. These are available from the National Office on request.)

turn toward peace

from
The Progressive
FEBRUARY, 1962

A rising cause for cautious hope in recent months is the advent of a movement called Turn Toward Peace. It is designed to coordinate the talents and strengthen the efforts of scores of existing organizations already alerted to the urgent necessity for creating the conditions that might make peace possible.

The near-range goal of the movement is—no less—to turn the nation away from "the threat of war as a central thrust of American foreign policy" and direct it toward "alternatives which are not based on willingness to surrender either freedom or democratic values." Its long-range goal is "universal agreement on a disarmed world under law, safe for free societies." This is heady wine. But what impresses us is that while Turn Toward Peace reaches toward the stars, it seems to have its roots deep in the reality of our own perilous time.

Turn Toward Peace was conceived during the height of the Berlin crisis last summer, and while its leadership recognizes the urgent necessity of dealing with this and other immediate crises, the tone of its program is not the sound of strident notes signifying an emergency campaign, but rather a steady drumming to gather together for a persistent and continued effort those who recognize the need to "turn toward peace." Its stress is not primarily on protest and opposition, but on the creation of a climate of public opinion both here and in the Soviet world in which constructive proposals for peace might flourish.

As impressive as is the emerging program of Turn Toward Peace, even the remote possibility of its achievement makes sense only in the context of its skillfully structured organization. The idea germinated in the Seventh National Conference on World Disarmament and World Development, held last April in Washington, D.C., and attended by representatives of forty-three national organizations. The concept came to fruition last September under the guidance of the leadership of the Committee for A Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), the American Friends Service Committee, Robert Pickus, leader of Acts for Peace, a Northern California organization, and others. Pickus and Sanford Gottlieb of SANE are national coordinators of the effort, and Norman Thomas is national chairman. The movement has accomplished the feat of gathering under its loosely-woven tent such diverse organizations as the United Automobile Workers Union, the American Veterans Committee, the National Association of Social Workers, Americans for Democratic Action, and a score of traditional peace groups.

Achieving such cooperation and coordinated effort among even the fragmented pacifist organizations is unprecedented. "Our first organization meeting," Robert Pickus told us, "was on September 6, the day after the Soviet Union announced its intention to resume nuclear testing. The second formative meeting was held the day Dag Hammarskjold's death was announced. I felt that if only things would stay this bad (and not get worse) for six months, we might be able to build a coherent and connected peace movement. Things continued so bad that all the petty jealousies were silenced, and we had time to think through solutions."

By setting up graded categories of "membership" (although Turn Toward Peace is not an organization in itself, and there are no "members," as such), key organizations outside the peace movement can play an active role without feeling committed to any shade of pacifist ideology. "Cooperating organizations," which include the peace groups, SANE, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the American Veterans Committee, and others, agree to utilize their own channels and staffs to further the campaign. "Communicating organizations," which so far number a dozen or so AFL-CIO unions, ADA, the American Association for the United Nations, and similar groups, have agreed to support the Turn Toward Peace effort, to make its program known to their members, and to aid in the preparation of materials. In effect, this movement has created an opportunity for all the disparate peace organizations to relate their efforts harmoniously, and to bring them together with key groups from outside the peace movement, such as unions, professional societies, and political organizations. If sustained, this represents a high-water mark in concerted community efforts toward peace.

The movement's program promises to be no less impressive than its organization. Concrete programs are just now beginning to emerge, but already they include:

¶ A national roster of individuals who express a willingness to support the effort with work and financial support. This program is currently in progress in 300 communities, under the guidance of David Scott of the AFSC. The goal is a quarter-million signatures. Early signers include Eleanor Roosevelt, Walter Reuther, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Clarence Pickett.

¶ An "Opinion Leaders" program headed by Emily Parker Simon of the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament, to enlist community leaders, ministers, professors, and other opinion-makers, who will be available for radio, television, and other publicity activities.

¶ A drive to produce 10,000 telegrams directed to President Kennedy protesting the resumption of atmospheric nuclear testing.

¶ Informative pamphlet kits providing an analysis of and background on four immediate crisis areas: "Nuclear Tests and Disarmament" (in preparation); "Berlin and Germany," prepared by and available through SANE and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; "China and the World Community," now being drafted by ADA; and "Strengthening the United Nations," available soon from the American Association for the United Nations.

¶ A set of major proposals, tentatively mapped out by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Veterans Committee, which, according to Robert Pickus, "are not based on an optimistic view of Communist policy; which welcome but do not require prior Soviet agreement; and do constitute realistic steps toward a disarmed world under law."

So far, the major visible effect of the Turn Toward Peace effort is the achievement of bringing together such a large number of diverse organizations to work jointly toward a common goal. There seemed to be a widespread feeling of urgent need first to join forces on the basis of broad policy and general goals, and then hammer out a detailed plan. A program of alternative proposals for American action is now in the discussion stage and is expected to be ready soon.

Chairman Norman Thomas said of the movement in a recent interview: "In its confrontation of the realities of Communist policy, in its assessment of what is needed from America, in a carefully worked-through organizational framework which allows a wide variety of organizations to relate their work, in the details of local programs and organizational plans, it is *the* peace effort we have needed for so long."

'Freeing the Government'

But the most penetrating observation on the direction of Turn Toward Peace and the one that gives us highest hopes for its ultimate success is the concept of the proximate goal of the movement expressed by Pickus (and this is his emphasis): "It will provide a base for a peace movement *capable of freeing the government for creative action.*"

This strikes a note *The Progressive* has often sounded—that our leaders, of whatever political party, are lagging behind the aspirations of the vast majority of thoughtful citizens, who desire, more than anything else, to "turn toward peace," but who are given little guidance by the nation's leadership. If Turn Toward Peace can articulate this desire and focus the attention of our political leaders upon it, there is fresh hope that our foreign policy might yet take a more constructive turn.

Reprinted by

turn toward peace

A JOINT COOPERATIVE EFFORT
BY NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
CONCERNED WITH ACHIEVING
A JUST PEACE AND PRESERVING
DEMOCRATIC VALUES

OFFICES / NATIONAL, PO BOX 401 NEW YORK 3 NY / WASHINGTON DC, 245 SECOND ST NE / WEST COAST, 1730 GROVE ST BERKELEY 9 CAL

April 2, 1962

PROPOSED ADA STATEMENT ON HR 8556, N.S.F. BILL AMENDMENT

ADA opposes those sections of HR 8556, amending the National Science Foundation Act of 1950, which requires disclosure of criminal convictions by applicants for NSF scholarships (Section 16 (d) (1) B)) and make it a criminal offense for members of organizations considered communist by Subversive Activities Control Board to apply for such scholarships (Section 16 (d) (2) (A)).

The first provision, requiring disclosure of criminal convictions, other than juvenile crimes and minor traffic offenses, violates no constitutional rights and appears reasonable in content but its intentions are clearly spelled out in House Report No. 1029 to be the intimidation and exclusion of students who have become involved with legislative investigating committees, specifically HUAC. ADA feels that an applicant for support for purely educational scientific purposes should not be penalized for unpopular beliefs and associations, including the refusal, on First Amendment grounds, to testify before a Congressional Committee. The coercive effects of this amendment on the political or social development of our youth are felt to be greater than any potential benefits which can come from it.

The second provision, concerning membership in organizations required to register with the Subversive Activities Control Board, is felt to be a violation of First Amendment rights of speech and association unrelated to performances of illegal acts.

These two provisions, singling out the academic world as an object of suspicion, do violence to ADA's traditional beliefs in the value of the principle of academic freedom and in the right of the student to explore boldly the society about him. The present authority of the National Science Foundation is adequate to screen out the rare applicant of questionable character, while the proposed amendment can only add more intellectual intimidation to our already overly conforming society.

PRESS RELEASE

Americans for Democratic Action

1341 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

DEcatur 2-7754

Mrs. Page H. Wilson
Director, Public Relations

FOR RELEASE:

THURSDAY A.M.
APRIL 12, 1962

ADA CALLS ADMINISTRATION'S LITERACY TEST BILL
SMALL BUT SIGNIFICANT STEP

The case for proposed legislation to prevent abuse of literacy tests for voters is "so clear and forceful that it should command the necessary two-thirds vote to cut off a filibuster," Joseph L. Rauh, Vice-Chairman for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties for ADA, today told the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. "...Opposition to it is tantamount to opposition to any advance in civil rights," the Washington lawyer said.

The ADA spokesman called upon the Senate to pass the Administration's literacy test proposal promptly "and then get on to the important work of passing the Clark bill on school desegregation, Part III, FEPC, and the Hart election bill." He described these as more important civil rights bills than the one being considered. "The Clark bill should be Number One on the calendar of those Senators most deeply devoted to civil rights."

These are "the bills that the Congress should be grappling with today," Mr. Rauh told the Committee. They "would carry out the platforms of the two parties and the promises of their leaders. These are the bills that the civil rights groups have a right to expect of this Congress and of this Administration."

Although the four bills specified would accomplish far more in the civil rights field than the literacy test proposal, Mr. Rauh urged passage of the Administration bill, amended so as to include state elections. "There is no more warrant for allowing abuse of literacy tests in state elections than in federal elections," he said.

Passage of this bill would be "a small but significant step in the right direction."

(Full text of Mr. Rauh's testimony is attached.)

TESTIMONY OF

JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.

VICE CHAIRMAN FOR CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES OF

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

BEFORE THE

SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

APRIL 11, 1962

My name is Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. I appear here on behalf of Americans for Democratic Action, of which I am Vice Chairman for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties. Our organization appreciates the opportunity to appear before your Subcommittee today and express our views on proposed legislation to prevent abuse of literacy tests for voters.

Americans for Democratic Action supports the Administration bill (s. 2750) as a small but significant step in the right direction.

It is ADA policy to support all legislative advances in the civil rights field. Thus we supported the 1957 and 1960 voting bills, although we recognized that they were half-way measures at best. It is in the same spirit that we support s. 2750 -- some progress is better than none.

A far more important civil rights bill, for example, is Senator Joseph Clark's proposal (s. 1817) for legislation to require every segregated school district immediately to prepare and put into effect a school desegregation plan. Eight years after the Supreme Court's decisions holding public school segregation unconstitutional, there are still some 2,000 wholly segregated school districts in the nation. At the rate we are moving today, school integration will not be accomplished in this decade or <u>even in this century</u>. Hundreds of thousands of Negroes are ending their school days without the realization of their constitutional rights and for each of them the failure of Congress to act on school desegregation is a personal tragedy. The Clark bill should be Number One on the calendar of those Senators most deeply devoted to civil rights.

Also more important than the literacy test legislation is the enactment of Part III, which would give the Attorney General authority to bring actions in federal courts to enforce constitutional rights. Such legislation twice passed the House in recent years and the Senate's stubborn refusal to concur with the House on this measure has deprived millions of Americans of their constitutional rights.

More important, too, is Fair Employment Practices legislation. Majorities of both Houses have long supported this legislation The threat of filibuster has too long prevented its enactment.

More important, too, is Senator Philip Hart's bill (s. 3008) for direct federal administration of the election process in states which discriminate against Negroes. Congress has taken enough half-hearted steps in the voting field to know now that the only final solution to discrimination against Negro voters in any state is direct federal administration of elections. While the abolition of literacy tests will remove one more obstruction to Negro voting, no one has the temerity to hope that it will be the end of discrimination. Registrars will continue to be absent; threats will continue; additional methods will be invented. The real solution is in Senator Hart's proposal and Congress should give it early and careful consideration.

These are the bills that the Congress should be grappling with today These are the bills that would make major advances in the civil rights pattern of American life. These are the bills that would carry out the platforms of the two parties and the promises of their leaders. These are the bills that the civil rights groups have a right to expect of this Congress and of this Administration.

Although, as already indicated, we believe other legislation in the civil rights field would accomplish far more than the literacy test proposals, we nevertheless strongly appeal to this Subcommittee to report out s. 2750 favorably and strengthened.

If there is one thing that is absolutely clear today, it is that many southern registrars have abused literacy tests in their efforts to deny Negroes the right to vote. The Civil Rights Commission reports document these abuses, the Attorney General's testimony documents these abuses the Congressional Record is replete with report after report on these abuses. The case against the southern registrar for his abuse of literacy tests has been proven not only beyond any reasonable doubt but even beyond any peradventure of possible doubt.

The most difficult aspect of testifying in support of this bill is to find any valid argument against it requiring any sort of detailed answer. What is hard to understand about this legislation is not that it is under consideration now, but that it was not enacted long, long ago. It would be difficult to conceive of legislation with less against it.

Certainly no one can seriously object to stopping the proven abuse of literacy tests.

Certainly no one can seriously contend that a 6th grade education is not appropriate proof of literacy.

Equally certainly no one can seriously contend that the proposed statute is unconstitutional. The Fourteenth Amendment forbids any state to "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws" and provides that "Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article." The Fifteenth Amendment forbids the denial of the right to vote, "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude" and provides that "Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." The proposed legislation which would prevent state officials from denying Negroes the right to vote by abusing literacy test requirements falls squarely within the four corners of each amendment -- it enforces by appropriate legislation the letter and spirit of both articles.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The argument for turning the Administration bill into a constitutional amendment is thus wholly without substance. Since the bill is within the clear constitutional power of Congress, it would be a very real abuse of Congressional process to proceed by constitutional amendment. Actually, it would be a futile gesture, since the very states that threaten the filibuster against the literacy test bill would require few, if any, allies to prevent ratification of the amendment. Indeed, the whole idea of a constitutional amendment in the literacy-test area, as in the poll-tax area, is a newly-developed method of discriminating against civil rights. When Congress has the power to act in other fields, it passes legislation; when Congress has the power to act in the civil rights field, there is no more reason for going the constitutional amendment route -- except to block action.

ADA urges amendment of the Administration bill s. 2750 to include state elections. There is no more warrant for allowing abuse of literacy tests in state elections than in federal elections. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments give Congress the clear power to act in both federal and state elections.

We believe the case for s. 2750 (amended to cover state elections) is so clear and forceful that it should command the necessary two-thirds vote to cut off a filibuster. The bill is so simple and so moderate that opposition to it is tantamount to opposition to any advance in civil rights. We call upon the Senate to pass this legislation promptly (by cloture, if necessary, after reasonable debate) and then to get on to the important work of passing the Clark bill on school desegregation, Part III, FEPC, and the Hart election bill.

Let us move forward with big steps if we can, with small steps if we must But let us move forward.

ADA legislative newsletter

Michael Padnos
Legislative Representative

Second Session
87th Congress

Issue Number 6
April 20, 1962

(Every two weeks we summarize events in Congress as an information service to assist you in national affairs activities. We include brief analyses of legislative proposals together with factors of timing and politics as we see them. Subscription rate, $3 per year.)

* Education
* UN Bonds
* In the Committees
* Political Notes

EDUCATION

It has been clear since the middle of last session that the victory which the Administration won when the Rules Committee was enlarged in January, 1961, would be of all but no benefit to the proponents of federal aid to Education. Last year it was the religious issue which added enough disapproving votes to the traditional Republican opposition to education to halt any general aid for public education; this year bills of far less significance are being bottled up in the same dark corner. It is generally acknowledged that there is no possibility of enacting legislation this session for general and broad-scale aid to education: The opposition of Republicans and Catholics (and some Southerners) has insured this result. There is, however, some hope for legislation in other fields which are of lesser but still significant importance. The medical facilities bill, which provides for federal aid to medical and dental schools, and the higher education bills which would provide aid for construction of facilities, loans and/or grants for the construction of facilities, loans or scholarships for students, and matching grants to the states for the construction of public community (junior) colleges, are now before the Rules Committee, having been passed by one or another house of Congress and other bills (to reduce adult illiteracy, for example) are pending elsewhere before the legislature.

The most important of these bills is the higher education legislation which is now waiting in Rules for approval of confreres to be appointed to smooth out differences between House and Senate versions.

Two issues are blocking the movement of the higher education bills. First, the question of scholarships under the version of the bill passed by Senate. The bill would make scholarships available through federal funds but Chairman Smith has adamantly insisted that he will report out no higher education bill unless these scholarship provisions are eliminated.

The second stumbling block in the bill is the question of grants versus loans: The House favors grants, the Senate loans.

Chairman Smith, as usual, is opposed to any federal spending and all education programs must necessarily involve federal spending. The Administration is supposed to have at least a one-vote majority on this committee. In order to form this majority, however, on the education issue the President's supporters need the vote of Carl Elliott, Alabama Democrat. Carl Elliott will not be able to cast any vote in favor of education until after the Alabama Primary (in which he has been attacked as a "liberal") which will be held on May 29. Furthermore, the Administration is, at this point, very reluctant to use up its counters in the Rules Committee on education legislation when the major hurdle of foreign trade is still to come. Speaker McCormack (and majority leader Albert to a lesser extent) definitely feels that the education bills should be postponed at least until the trade program is out of the way.

What liberals are hoping for now is that they be able to bring out at least two of the bills pending before the Committee within the next month. If Chairman Smith succeeds in knocking out scholarships from the higher education bill and the Senate persists in its refusal to accept grants for the construction of facilities, this year's education legislation will consist of nothing but a higher education bill giving loans to students and grants to community colleges, plus a bill providing $32 million for educational TV: a tepid and insignificant piece of legislation indeed, in this year when education should be one of the priorities in the Congress.

> Action: Letters from all over the country to the Administration and the leader would be valuable on this subject. Write to the President or to majority leader John W. McCormack, tell them that you favor federal aid for scholarships to college students and for the construction of academic facilities. And when you see your own congressman -- who will be home for the entire week of April 23, let him know your views on this important subject.

UN BONDS

The Senate April 5, by a 70-22 roll-call vote, passed an amendment bill (S 2768) authorizing the President to loan up to $100 million to the United Nations. Without saying so specifically, the bill would permit the President, if he wished, to use the loan authorization to purchase UN Bonds. As reported to the Senate floor, S 2768 authorized the President to purchase outright $25 million of UN Bonds and to match purchases by other nations up to an additional $75 million. Under a substitute sponsored by Senate leaders Mike Mansfield (D Mont.) and Everett McKinley Dirksen (R Ill.) and agreed to by voice vote, language authorizing purchase of bonds was changed to authorize a "loan" but there was wide agreement that a purchase of bonds would be a loan. The UN Bonds, designed to enable the organization to meet a financial crisis caused by its operations in the Congo and Suez area, would bear 2 per cent interest and be redeemed over a 25-year period.

The interesting thing about the Senate discussions on the issue was the fantastic verbal whipping which leading Senate Democrats felt obliged to give the UN in order to bring this measure to final passage. Not only did Senator Jackson, Democrat of Washington, make a speech which friends of the UN felt was inflammable to the highest degree (he said, among other things, that "practices have developed which ... lead to an undue influence of UN considerations in our national decision making") but even Majority Leader Mansfield, finally appeared on the floor of the Senate in what most observers felt was a shocking attack on the United Nations. Although some commentators tried to cover up the monstrous speech as "constructive criticism" it is reliably reported that even the President saw the speech for what it was and was furious with the Majority Leader's action. In his television program on April 1, Adlai Stevenson, joined by Hubert Humphrey, made it very clear that there was another side to the question and that the UN is an extremely valuable instrument of United States policy.

Jackson is understandable. And perhaps Mansfield's speech can also be forgiven on the grounds that legislation finally did pass the Senate. But was it really necessary to say that the procedures of the General Assembly "invite disrespect" and that the "one-state, one-vote" balloting rule is a "distortion" of the concept that the Security Council should make the "responsible" decisions? Query whether the purchase of votes at this price is a worthwhile investment for the U.S., or whether the long-range effect of the Majority Leader's actions will not be to so undermine America's confidence in the UN that its usefulness as a policy instrument will be significantly vitiated. And finally, we can't help but recall that this is the same Mansfield who has prevented effective action on civil rights this session and last and who had announced his firm belief that medical care had no chance of passage (until he was corrected by the President). Let us hope that Mr. Mansfield's future leadership of the Senate will be an improvement over his actions in the past.

IN THE COMMITTEES

Wiretapping. The Senate Judiciary Committee has now completed its hearings on the legislation requested by the President to provide for limited wiretapping. Joseph L. Rauh, ADA's National Vice-Chairman for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, testified in opposition to any wiretap legislation. It is now supposed that the Committee will report out some sort of wire tap bill, hopefully one which does not permit the Attorney General to wiretap without a court order. The Administration's request for authority for the Attorney General to tap when his own judgment so dictates in certain kinds of cases is the most extreme wiretap bill which has yet been brought by any Administration, Democratic or Republican.

Civil Rights. S.J. Res. 29, the Senate-passed Constitutional Amendment to abolish poll tax, is now before the House. There are conflicting reports about the fate it will meet here. On the one hand it would seem apparent that the bill could not under any conditions get through the Rules Committee, for the Southern block under Judge Smith has been vituperative in its opposition to a poll tax. On the other hand there is a great deal of talk that the Administration wants this legislation, and is going to fight both the Southerners and the liberals who for different reasons are opposed to its passage. Hearings are scheduled in the House Judiciary for the week of May 14, and the likelihood would seem to be that this issue will die quietly in the House either at the hands of Mr. Smith or hopefully under the more judicious handling of Chairman Celler of the House Judiciary Committee.

HUAC. Approximately sixty subpoenas are reported to have been served on citizens of Los Angeles for hearings by HUAC beginning on April 24. These hearings will be the 32nd in that city since 1950, and the first outside Washington since the disastrous visit by the committee to San Francisco in 1960.

It is as yet unclear what the subject of these hearings will be and information is, as usual, not available from the committee. It is, however, an interesting coincidence that the first hearings that the committee has scheduled out of Washington in two years will be held in the city which is represented by Congressman Roosevelt, HUAC's most passionate enemy in the House of Representatives, and Congressman Rousselot, avowed Birchite whose reelection will be made doubly difficult by the pro-Democratic redistricting put through the California legislature this year. A major demonstration against the committee is now being planned for Los Angeles.

POLITICAL NOTES

Illinois. It is extremely difficult to see the Illinois Primary as anything but a smashing victory for Congressman Sidney R. Yates in his bid for election to the

Senate. The total vote cast in the Democratic Primary was close to 1,000,000 and the Republican vote was noticeably less. Observers were surprised by the fact that Lar (America First) Daly captured approximately one-third as many votes as Yates in the Democratic Primary, but the feeling that the votes for Daly represented a right-wing revolt within the Democratic Party seem to be groundless. The vast majority of Daly's votes came from those low-income sections of Chicago which traditionally give an overwhelming plurality to Mayor Richard J. Daley. The fact that Yates -- generally reckoned as only a long shot possibility -- came out of the election with more total votes than Dirksen must be regarded as an extremely encouraging sign for the Democratic Party in 1962 and as a significant boost to Yates' chances of getting into the Senate in November.

Connecticut. The Democratic Senatorial Primary fight between Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Ribicoff and Congressman Frank Kowalski is now well under way. The smart money has been pooh-poohing Kowalski's chances ever since he announced his candidacy, and most observers have seen Ribicoff as a shoo-in for the nomination. It is not at all clear, however, that this will be the actual result. Connecticut has a peculiar system whereby the nomination is given at a state convention, unless a second candidate has more than 20 percent of the convention delegates, in which case a state-wide primary must be held. It appeared in the early stages that Ribicoff would easily get the nomination without the necessity of a primary, but that possibility has now vanished completely, as Kowalski has lined up an increasing number of convention delegates. Kowalski's latest coup was to capture the entire delegation from Waterford from the Ribicoff forces, leaving Democratic National Committeewoman Beatrice Rosenthal, without a seat at her own state convention. This kind of hard work by Kowalski at the grass roots level combined with an extremely liberal voting record (and a series of blunders and mistakes which have alienated many of Mr. Ribicoff's former devotees), may well bring about the political surprise of the year.

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1341 Connecticut Avenue, Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.

15TH ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION
MAYFLOWER HOTEL
April 27, 1962

DRAFT RESOLUTION
Domestic Policy Commission

A POSITIVE PLANNED PROGRAM FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE 1960s

I. The United States needs a positive planned program for economic growth

A. Under present policies our economy, is not fully employed nor meeting essential commitments at home and abroad.

B. Unemployment persists at intolerably high levels.

C. Poverty is unnecessarily and stubbornly prevalent.

D. Unsatisfied needs of the American people require greatly increased production.

E. The American economy is undergoing profound changes, in agricultural and industrial technology, and in its international relationships, requiring adjustments which will be difficult in any event and will be far more difficult if they are undertaken in a slack, underemployed, unplanned economy.

F. The danger of inflation and of a drain of United States gold have been used as a smoke screen for contractionist policies which have retarded economic growth and threatened to defeat our broad national purposes.

II. The goals of positive planned economic growth

A. To make full use of our economic resources and to concentrate on filling essential needs of a free society and the free world.

B. To offer each individual the opportunity to develop and achieve his full potential.

C. To support whatever level of national defense is necessary.

D. To reach and maintain full employment of the labor force.

E. To encourage an efficient and competitive system of private enterprise and increase the productivity of the economy.

F. To abolish poverty in the United States.

G. To provide a standard of public facilities and public services at all levels of government - compatible with our ever-growing resources and needs.

H. To meet the international commitments of aid and trade indispensable to the security and well-being of the United States.

III. A "Positive planned program for economic growth"

A. It means weighing the performance required of the American economy to meet commitments to our own people and to the free world against the capabilities of the economy; and devising programs for employing the economy full to meet our commitments.

B. A national framework of planning is needed to fit together the many planning activities already operating in the United States. There is planning in every budget of the Federal, State and local governments. The United States has proposed a ten-year growth plan for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and requires economic planning in the countries participating in AID. Planning is implicit in our foreign trade program. The Federal government requires economic planning for area redevelopment and urban renewal. Planning is recognized as an essential function of many private businesses. The essential missing element is an overall framework, a National Economic Performance Budget, to fit together the other elements, to reinforce them and to give them added effect.

IV. Effective program for economic growth requires planning

A. ADA commits itself to give a high priority and substantial resources, nationally and locally, to a broad and comprehensive program of economic

progress and social advancement. The core of such a program is substitution of planning under freedom for random and improvised policies, programs and legislation.

C. Planning is not only compatible with freedom and democracy but essential for the most effective functioning of the enterprise system.

D. Planning is needed -

1. To create a framework and an environment in which private in which public and private programs fit together and reinforce each other.

2. To effectuate priorities for the many urgent needs which the market will not fulfill, e. g., education, low-income housing, conservation.

3. To facilitate adjustment to changes in technology so that these changes enlarge the public welfare instead of leading to human suffering and wasted resources.

4. To keep demands on the economy consistent with resources and capabilities so that the economy is fully utilized but not over-burdened.

E. A proposal for a National Economic Performance Budget.

1. Under the Employment Act of 1946 the President should provide long-range as well as short range projections of national needs and capacity, with goals for the national economy and its sectors, and programs of economic policy and action to effectuate the goals and priorities according to the nation's needs and commitments. An annual Economic Performance Budget, submitted with the Economic Report and the Federal Budget, would fit the government's operations and spending into the long-range programs.

2. The Government should formulate fiscal policies to implement the National Performance Budget with incentives and disincentives, through tax spending programs and other government policies.

3. The Government should adopt international economic policies to link the foreign objectives of the United States, on the one hand, with the capabilities and programs of the American economy, on the other.

V. <u>ADA programs to support positive planned economic growth, based on understanding of the functioning, the positive performance and the deficiencies of our economy</u>.

A. At the national level.

1. Publicize the program through pamphlets, conferences and speeches, etc.

2. Gear the legislative program to legislative support of high priority elements of the program for economic growth.

3. Give political support and currency to the idea that planned economic growth is an essential prerequisite to the national security and well-being.

B. At the local level.

1. Publicize the program and spread understanding.

2. Give legislative support to -

a. State and local planning
b. Tax and spending policies to stimulate economic growth.
c. Adequate unemployment compensation and welfare laws.
d. Urban rehabilitation and housing.
e. Public investment and public services.
f. Local area economic development and redevelopment.
g. Programs to facilitate the adjustments of individuals and enterprises to economic change.

Editors Marshall Windmiller & Thomas Winnett

The liberal democrat THornwall 3-8080 • 2440 Bancroft Way • Berkeley 4, California

THornwall 9-1571 1543 Shattuck Ave. Berkeley 9, Calif.

April 27, 1962

Dear ADA Member,

The liberal democrat is an independent journal of political news and opinion which should be of particular interest to you. This slightly heterodox publication from California is committed to political action for civil rights, civil liberties and peace. Its staff members are personally active in both non-partisan organizations and organizational partisan politics. It prints political news not available anywhere else.

In The liberal democrat's one-and-one-half years of publication, it has become an influential voice on the California scene. In recent months, especial attention has been directed toward the activities of the extremist right, the role of volunteer political activity, the fallout shelter controversy, and the implications of liberalism for foreign policy. A major editorial goal is to provide political leadership for progressive forces.

We think you will understand this election year of 1962 more clearly if you take a seat backstage with The liberal democrat. We need the support of all friends of liberal democracy. We want to help create the kind of an environment that will encourage a sane approach to foreign policy, domestic problems, and political discourse itself. Your subscription will help.

Attached is a statement of the magazine's philosophy which appeared in our first issue.

Thomas Winnett
Marshall Windmiller

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1341 Connecticut Avenue, Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.

15TH ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION
MAYFLOWER HOTEL
April 27, 1962

DRAFT RESOLUTION
Domestic Policy Commission

Ground work

A POSITIVE PLANNED PROGRAM FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE 1960s

Long Time Program

I. The United States needs a positive planned program for economic growth

A. Under present policies our economy, is not fully employed nor meeting essential commitments at home and abroad.

B. Unemployment persists at intolerably high levels.

C. Poverty is unnecessarily and stubbornly prevalent.

D. Unsatisfied needs of the American people require greatly increased production.

increased 3 times faster than

E. The American economy is undergoing profound changes, in agricultural/ and industrial technology, and in its international relationships, requiring adjustments which will be difficult in any event and will be far more difficult if they are undertaken in a slack, underemployed, unplanned economy.

F. The danger of inflation and of a drain of United States gold have been used as a ~~smoke screen~~ for contractionist policies which have retarded economic growth and threatened to defeat our broad national purposes.

II. The rational goals of positive planned economic growth

A. To make full use of our economic resources and to concentrate on filling essential needs of a free society and the free world.

B. To adapt to the processes to disarmament

B. To offer each individual the opportunity to develop and achieve his full potential.

C. To support whatever level of national defense is necessary.

D. To reach and maintain full employment of the labor force.

E. To encourage an efficient and competitive system of private enterprise and increase the productivity of the economy.

F. To abolish poverty in the United States.

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Trade unions Co-ops

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A. At the national level. - ~~Economics of disarmament~~ already legislation

1. Publicize the program through pamphlets, conferences and speeches, etc. I.V. - 2) Pamphlet - what are aims & how will we go -

2. Gear the legislative program to legislative support of high priority elements of the program for economic growth.

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f. Local area economic development and redevelopment.
g. Programs to facilitate the adjustments of individuals and enterprises to economic change.

Economic Schools in general literacy

Pamphlets could be on special sec on planning, etc long range budget and foreign aid

Labor force decrease - farm
automation - mfgs - displacement
of workers

ADOPTED

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1341 Connecticut Avenue, Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.

15TH ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION
MAYFLOWER HOTEL
APRIL 27, 28, 29, 1962

APPORTIONMENT

The vigor and effectiveness of state governments in meeting the social and economic needs of their people are seriously crippled by the unrepresentative character of their legislatures.

The decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Tennessee apportionment case (Baker v. Carr) is a turning point in the long battle for fair representation in the state and Federal legislatures of the United States. For many years A.D.A. has noted the dilution of the urban vote in our legislatures, with a heavy weighting in favor of the rural areas in the nation. During this same period, a number of organizations -- labor, civic, political reform, liberal -- have moved through a variety of channels to achieve redistricting or reapportionment to restore a measure of equality in our representative assemblies. At state and Federal levels, all these efforts have so far been almost uniformly unsuccessful, even when a majority of the citizens in a state have backed such reform proposals, because of roadblocks erected mainly by state legislatures, sometimes backed by attorneys general, state courts, or state constitutions.

The importance of the Supreme Court decisions lies not only in its immediate impact on Tennessee where the case was remanded to the district court to act on the open violation of the state constitution by the Tennessee legislature, but also in its long range impact on the thinking and action of an awakened and hitherto frustrated majority in our states and in our nation. The court decision has focused the attention of the nation on the problem of malapportionment and has, thereby, awakened millions of Americans to act. The court decision has also reinvigorated individuals and agencies, and organizations that have been discouraged since the court's decision in the Illinois case, Colegrove v. Green.

The Supreme Court decision represents a spring thaw after the ice age of Colegrove that had frozen inequity into our representational structure. This thaw marks a moment when the democratically-minded citizenry can act -- both at the Federal and State level.

Act we must, because the job of proper apportionment cannot be carried through by the Supreme Court alone. The Court can review and invalidate the unconstitutional, capricious and discriminatory acts of a state legislature, as in Tennessee; or it can remand a case to the courts for an examination to determine possible inequities and find remedies, as in Scholle v. Hare in Michigan. But, in the final analysis, it is unlikely that the Supreme Court will act as an apportioning agency.

The next great step, now that the court has broken the freeze, is citizen action at the state level: through court appeals, through initiative and referendum, through constitutional conventions.

At present, many state legislatures continue to violate their own state constitutions. Immediate action should be instituted in all these states to force compliance or election-at-large of all legislators until such time as they do comply.

In other states, the apportionment can be changed through initiative and referendum. This should be done. But in at least one state, the legislature proceeded to invalidate the initiative statute and was backed up in this action by the state court. Immediate action should be undertaken to challenge this roadblock to democratic reform.

In other states, popular referenda for constitutional conventions have been invalidated by executive agencies through tortured interpretations of the state constitutions. These decisions should likewise be challenged.

There should be legal examination of the state constitutions, (many of which have apportionment formulae embedded in them that are even more discriminatory then the capricious acts of state legislatures) with an eye to questioning their validity in the light of the Federal Constitution. A parallel examination should be made to establish more representative bases for state constitutional conventions in states where such conventions are as malapportioned as the state legislature itself.

Finally, Federal legislation should be pushed to establish standards for Congressional districting, requiring districts to be contiguous, compact, and equal in population with a numerical variance of no more than 10% from the state average. Such legislation should specifically provide for the right of a citizen to challenge districting in a Federal court.

To mobilize the energies for fair districting that have been released by the Court decision, this ADA convention instructs its incoming Board to establish a special committee to implement a campaign for redistricting and reapportionment along the lines outlined above. This committee should take all necessary steps to bring together the various political and nonpolitical elements in the United States in a broad new drive that will include wide-spread educational activities, court appeals, petitions, initiative, referenda, constitutional amendment, legislative action.

The many years that ADA has spent in preparing public opinion for Baker v. Carr should now be followed by a coordinated effort at state and federal levels, to make fair representation a reality in our expanding democracy.

ADOPTED

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1341 Connecticut Avenue, Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.

15TH ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION
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APRIL 27, 28, 29, 1962

Political Policy Commission

RESOLUTION ON RADICAL RIGHT

We hold that all people and all groups in our society have the inalienable right to free expression, free assembly, free association and free press. It is in this spirit that ADA, although regognizing fully that the John Birchers and the rest of the radical right would deny these freedoms to others, now speaks up for their right of free speech without congressional or other governmental harassment.

Though we defend the civil liberties of the radical right, we oppose them as an undemocratic force in the American political arena. They have no respect for democratic processes. They seek to silence their opponents with fear and slander. They neither accept the will of the majority nor respect the rights of the minority thus renouncing the very essence of democracy.

We are proud of ADA's role in the 1940's in throwing the Communists and their fellow travelers as totalitarians our of the liberal movement. We believe we won the right in that struggle to ask the conservatives to throw the radical right out of their ranks as equally totalitarian.

We call upon the conservatives of America, whether they be Republican or Democrats, to refuse all cooperation with the radical right in the 1962 campaign. We call upon them to stop slapping the John Birchers on the wrist, and to denounce the radical right once and for all with the same forthrightness as that with which the Communist movement in America has been denounced by ADA over the past fifteen years.

The radical right has almost unlimited funds to influence the results of the 1962 elections. We call upon all liberals to face up to this challenge by redoubling their efforts to elect liberal candidates to office, as an immediate goal to expose by an educational campaign the hypocrisy of the radical right and its failure to work within the democratic processes.

ADA CONVENTION
April 27-29, 1962

DRAFT RESOLUTION

Washington Chapter Statement on migration of New Orleanians

ADA deplores the callous cruelty of the Citizens Council of Greater New Orleans which to further its own ignoble ends has begun a program of shipping human beings from Louisiana to the North.

There can be no doubt that in the long run the victims of the Citizens Council's malevolence will be happier and better able to lead normal li lives than they would be if they remained in the South; indeed, a huge number of Southern Negroes over past decades have spontaneously come to this conclusion and changed their residences of their own free will. That the North is generally sympathetic to these normal aspirations is evidenced by the commendably understanding statements of Northern public officials and the material opportunity offered the family already arrived. However, the prevailing economic lethargy presages unemployment and despair for many of the earnest pilgrims.

In the Citizens Council's desperate effort to perpetuate an immoral caste system based on race, they have sunk to the depths of making innocent and uneducated people the victims of their viciousness. We ask, "Has the Citizens Council informed these people of the employment situation in the cities for which they are headed? Has the Citizens Council told them of existing public welfare regulations? Has the Citizens Council taken any responsibility unto itself for fortifying our faltering economy so we can provide the opportunity for a respectable existence?" In short, has the Citizens Council acted with the meagerest scintilla of human decency in its cavalier attempt to ship human beings around like cattle?" The answer to these questions is obviously "no", and the reaction of every American to the mocking of the self respect of these individuals can only be final and shuddering condemnation.

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Proposed Act of Congress to Put Teeth in Anti-Discrimination Regulations

Any official or officer of the United States Government, whether by appointment or career, found guilty of discriminatory practices or condoning such practices knowingly, shall be removed forthwith from his post and either dismissed or re-assigned to a position of non-supervisory nature.

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
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15TH ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION
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REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

Samuel H. Beer

to the 15th Annual Convention, Americans for Democratic Action
at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.
April 27 - 29, 1962

This 15th Birthday Convention of ADA marks the end of an era. It signals the beginning of a new period of growth and responsibility for ADA. This convention will be devoted to a discussion not only of the policies which will shape our activities in the years ahead but must arrive at important decisions on the implementation of these policies. It is not my intent in this report to the convention to analyze what our role has been or the impact of our work since 1947, nor to project into the future. That will be the job of our keynoters. I will report to you my impressions of ADA during the year since we met in this same hotel.

When we met here a year ago we met in celebration of a presidential election. ADA had worked hard for John F. Kennedy and we rejoiced in his election. Today we find ourselves in fundamental agreement with the policies of his Administration. But from that happy fact arises a problem.

One of the pleasures of being in ADA--and one of its main values to American politics--is that we attempt at one and the same time to operate in the sphere of political ideals and in the sphere of practical politics. This creates certain tensions and acute problems of tactics which are never entirely resolved. Such a problem of tactics is raised when ADA confronts an Administration with which, as at the present time, it is fundamentally in agreement. Our commitment to practical politics means that we must try to build strength for such an Administration. On the other hand, the fact that we have our own program--that we are an independent organization--means that we cannot simply become a political arm of the Administration. This very real problem for us cannot be solved by any simple formula. We must at times be critical--as we have been. Where we wish to see the Administration move faster and do more we must say so. Yet we must avoid simply piling our own criticism on top of the antagonism generated by the forces of conservatism. ADA's tactical problem is at once to be behind the Administration...and also out in front of it.

During the past year we have, I think, handled this tactical problem with success. On occasion we have been critical--particularly with regard to civil rights and economic growth. We have also, I hope, made clear our large areas of agreement.

At this moment, I want particularly to stress agreement. At last year's convention I said that this is "a brilliant and progressive Administration". I say that again today and with even deeper conviction. I never pretend to speak for every member of ADA, but I find that most of my political friends share this growing admiration. Increasingly, we identify our best hopes with the promise of John Kennedy's Presidency.

Foreign affairs, of course, raises the great questions. Looking back over the past year, I find myself with few exceptions at one of the President in his strategy, tactics and sense of priorities. I am not thinking only of the Alliance for Progress, the Administration's new view of foreign aid and its wise and skillful support of the United Nations--as, for instance, in its Congo operations. In these fields, it is not immodest to say that the Administration is applying and developing with imagination and success many ideas that ADA has ardently championed for a long time.

Perhaps the boldest and most original of the President's proposals in the field of foreign affairs are his moves to strengthen the Atlantic Community, in particular his trade and tariff proposals now before Congress. The democratic nations of Western Europe and North America are the core of power -- of force, wealth and intelligence--upon which the whole world's best hopes for peace and ordered freedom primarily depend. With the President's efforts to strengthen the Atlantic Community I find myself deeply in sympathy.

When I speak in praise of the President's policies, I am also thinking of his confrontation of the doom-laden alternatives of the cold war. Here also--in Laos, in Berlin, in the arms race--in situations where there are no perfect solutions or obvious decisions, where every course is darkened by the threat of vast danger, the President has, in my opinion, made the best possible choices.

The tone and temper of this Administration is like the tone and temper of ADA: not ideological, not hysterical, not perfectionist, but rather steady, rational, realistic and at the same time vigorous, unrelenting and basically optimistic.

In many ways this has been a most unusual twelve-month period for the ADA. After the excitement and emotion of a presidential election year our chapters, our national officers and our national organization settled down to the job of promoting the issues and programs to which ADA is committed. This continuing day-by-day activity is the very senue of our existence. The local elections, the chapter meeting, the lobbying and testimonies in Washington and the state legislators, the issuance of public statements on public issues, the work of our students on the campuses, our cooperation with other organizations, the publication of pamphlets--all of these are the day-to-day programs which make up the total of our organizational life. Unfortunately we do not as an organization always or even often get the recognition or the attention which this activity merits.

In the past year however, because of the change in the national political climate the ADA has become almost as well known as the major league scores at the height of the baseball season. I do not mean to denigrate the worth or effectiveness of our chapters or our national organization when I attribute the recent public attention given ADA not to ADA itself but to the enemies of ADA, the enemies of the things for which we stand.

You are all very familiar with the resurgence of what has become known as the radical right. Not even in the days of McCarthy has there been such a proliferation of groups, some small and insignificant, others very large and dangerous, dedicated to the destruction of these democratic ideals which are the basic political philosophy of the Kennedy Administration and to which ADA as well as all thinking Americans are committed. The right wing and most especially the extreme right in American politics has singled out the ADA for attack. This should be no matter of particular concern or pride to us. It is simply a fact.

As always the irresponsible over play their hand, General Walker takes a poke at a reporter; the Steel industry raises its prices in arrogant defiance of public interest. And the more the irresponsibles attacked ADA over the past year the more they generated public interest, newspaper attention and editorial support of ADA, not to mention new membership and a broader base of financial support. Among the many generally objective feature articles written about ADA in the last several months were a seven-part series in the Los Angeles Times, a three-part series in the Dallas News, and lengthy stories in the Denver Post, the Chicago Daily News, and the Louisiana Courier Journal as well as a two-part feature story by the Associated Press which was carried in hundreds of papers around the country. Among papers carrying editorials which laid canard of equating ADA and the Birch Society were the Eugene (Oregon) Register Guard, the Toledo (Ohio) Blade, and the Washington World, a conservative weekly. Thomas O'Neil of the Baltimore Sun wrote a column of particular interest which started by taking Richard Nixon to task for making the ADA-Birch Society parallel and ending with an excellent recapitulation of ADA's origin and history.

All of this is not to say, of course, that the American press is having a love affair with ADA. Every month we can count on a good score of anti-ADA editorials and a better number of columns, including that of Barry Goldwater.

Attacks on ADA by Goldwater, by the usual complement of Southern Senators and the avowed Birchites in the Congress, have generated and still generate a spate of letters to the editors, many mouthing their reactionary line but a surprising and satisfying number pointing out the nonsense of their charges and supporting ADA.

Over the past year ADA has, as always, been busy and articulate on Capitol Hill. We have testified before Congressional Committees in support of the Department of Urban Affairs, Equal Employment Opportunity, the Act for International Development, liberalizing immigration and naturalization policies, the Truth in Lending Bill, the U. S. Disarmament Agency, public Ownership of Communications Satellites, abolition of literacy tests in voting, the Trade Expansion Bill, the Supreme Court's School Desegregation Decision and other civil rights proposals.

Our major legislative efforts in the last few months have been in the field of civil rights and in support of public ownership of the Communications Satellites Systems. In this latter area ADA has been almost alone among public interest groups in support of public ownership of this vast new national resource. I think that we can take considerable pride in our work in generating interest both on and off the Hill in support of public ownership.

In the field of civil rights we have, as always, worked with the other organizations banded together in the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. In addition to lobbying and testifying on the Hill in support of civil rights legislation ADA's staff people were very involved in the recent mass demonstration in support of civil rights legislation held here in Washington.

For the remainder of the season ADA will continue to work on civil rights, in support of the president's program to provide medical care for the aged, for a government owned Communications Satellite Corporation, in support of the UN Bond proposal, in opposition to any extension of Wire Tap legislation, and in support of the President's request for mass transit legislation.

One of the most gratifying developments during the past year has been the stabilizing and development of the campus division of ADA. Under very able student leadership and with the help of the national staff our student body has grown not only in numerical strength but in responsible programming. New campus chapters have been organized just since the beginning of this year at the University of Connecticut, University of Wisconsin, University of Florida, California at Berkley and at Sarah Lawrence College. In addition to this there are student groups now in the process of organization at a dozen universities as wide spread as the University of Colorado to the University of South Carolina.

The campus division deserves great credit for an extraordinary job of organization and programming. In our ADA students we have a healthy and potent antidote to the all-too-strong rightists and conservative groups in our colleges. In mid March, on very little notice and with practically no budget, the campus division in the Eastern colleges was able to muster a very effective counter-rally to the Madison Square Garden meeting of the Young Americans for Freedom. They were able to demonstrate at the ADA opposition rally, where Hubert Humphrey and James Wechsler spoke that the voice of intelligent liberalism was very much abroad on college campuses.

ADA membership generally has increased over the past year. The national office has been besieged with requests for organizing help from practically every state in the union; and while the base of our financial support has broadened greatly in the past year--with almost two-thirds of our budget coming from contributions of less than $10.00--we unfortunately still do not have the financial resources to expand in any degree commensurate with the interest and demand for ADA organization.This is a problem and a challenge to this convention.

In the area of Foreign Affairs, ADA has continued to participate actively in "ad hoc" committees of Washington representatives of national organizations concerned with specific Foreign Affairs Policies--overseas aid, trade legislation, disarmament, and the UN. In addition, our own ADA Foreign Policy advisory group continues to meet from time to time to deal with important current issues. During this past year ADA was voted into the membership of the Conference Group of U. S. National Organizations on UN.

ADA Trips Abroad enjoyed a record season in 1961 with a charter flight to Europe and three tours visiting England, France, Austria, Italy, Greece, Israel, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Soviet Union . This summer ADA has scheduled its first tour to Latin America to be led by ADA Trips Abroad founder, Frances Adams.

Last summer some one hundred ADA members and friends attended our annual summer workshop at Bard College. For this year we have scheduled two weekend work shops and Bard for July 20-22 and July 27-29.

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
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15TH ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION
MAYFLOWER HOTEL
APRIL 27, 28, 29, 1962

Domestic Policy Commission
Resolution ADOPTED

CIVIL RIGHTS

1. Legislation

Legislation to protect the right to vote, by establishing completion of 6 years in a public school or an accredited private school as satisfactory proof of literacy and by outlawing the poll tax, will be a useful step forward. ADA believes, however, that such proposals fail to deal effectively with the most flagrant denials of basic constitutional rights. We urge the Administration to give all out support to a comprehensive civil rights program including bills (1) to require the immediate filing of school desegregation plans with civil enforcement power vested in the Attorney General; (2) to establish equality of opportunity in employment through a fair employment practices commission vested with authority to issue enforceable orders; (3) to further protect the right to vote through the establishment of a system of federal registrars; and (4) to improve the administration of justice along the lines suggested in the 1961 Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

2. Executive Action

A. The Administration has made a small beginning toward assuring that Federal funds will be spent in a non-discriminatory manner. But massive federal aid in the fields of housing, education, employment and health still goes to state and local governments, educational institutions, builders, banks and other organizations which discriminate on the basis of race. We again urge the President not only to issue a long overdue housing executive order, but also to issue such other orders as will assure that federal funds will be administered in a non-discriminatory manner.

B. We commend the Justice Department for its announced intention to file law suits to desegregate public schools receiving assistance under the Federal Impacted Program. We urge the President to direct the Attorney General to institute further suits to enjoin school boards from continuing to enforce segregation, whether or not they receive specific federal assistance.

C. Several of the states of the United States have acted in gross violation of constitutional rights in instituting criminal proceedings against individuals for peacefully protesting segregation. We urge the Justice Department to participate in these cases in a manner which will deter the spurious use of criminal processes as a weapon against individuals and groups seeking to exert their basic human rights.

15th ANNUAL ADA CONVENTION
April 27-29, 1962

FOREIGN POLICY RESOLUTION
ADOPTED

DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY

The world is drifting toward nuclear war. A diplomatic blunder or a technical mistake could result in the destruction of civilization. This danger is intensified by the ever-increasing global commitments of the major powers and the spread of nuclear weapons in a world of over 100 national sovereignties. To think in terms of "winning" a war in which nuclear weapons are used is illusory, and the United States should never be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The situation demands a revolutionary effort to achieve general and complete disarmament subject to effective inspection and control.

In view of the slaughter and destruction experienced in so-called conventional wars and of the difficulty of preventing a conventional war, once started, from developing into a nuclear war, our aim must be nothing less than the ultimate complete abolition of the means of waging war of any kind.

1. ADA supports the President's declaration that general and complete disarmament under effective control is a basic objective of US policy.

2. We welcome the establishment of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. In staffing this agency, the emphasis should be on people who have a record of a dedication to disarmament rather than on those reconciled to a continuation of a modified armaments race. This agency should be more adequately financed and concerned with developing bold, vigorous and new insights to the problems of negotiations for peace and disarmament. We urge more research into the political and economic consequences of disarmament rather than the almost exclusive concentration on technical aspects.

We urge in addition a greatly increased appropriation for the specific purpose of public education to create a favorable climate for disarmament.

3. We support the US "Program for General and Complete Disarmament in a Peaceful World" and the Report of the 1962 United Nations Committee of Experts on the feasibility of a change-over to peace economies.

4. The freezing of levels of armaments (commonly called arms control) must be regarded only as temporary steps on the road to total disarmament. In the interim, our objective should be deterrent capacity and not the illusory goal of overwhelming superiority of arms. Our policy must be to reduce and reverse the arms race which exacerbates the cold war.

5. No nuclear negotiations or treaties can be meaningful without the participation of all nations who now have or will have in the near future nuclear weapon capability. All measures should be taken to assure that all those who stand on the nuclear threshhold, including the French and Peking governments, accept and be bound by the conclusions of such negotiations.

6. We deplore the resumption of nuclear tests. We urge the continuation of negotiations seeking a ban on nuclear testing and especially an agreement banning atmospheric tests -- without inspection provisions, since such tests are readily detectable.

7. We oppose the transfer by any nuclear power of nuclear weapons or information on their manufacture to other nations or regional military organizations, as this would make more difficult the control of such weapons and

would increase the possibility of nuclear war.

8. We suggest that our government give consideration to unilateral initiatives which might improve the atmosphere for multilateral disarmament negotiations provided that they do not impair our national security -- for example, consideration should be given to the removal of US troops and armaments from those foreign bases whose provocative nature is found to outweigh their security value to the US.

9. Since the armaments race is the result of unsettled political issues, disarmament requires at least a simultaneous settlement of those issues. We therefore urge continuous concentration of the national effort upon the unsettled political issues, such as Germany, South Vietnam, Taiwan. It will be impossible for us even to approach a satisfactory settlement of these issues unless we decide upon a policy which will be carried through, even though one or the other of our Allies might not agree with us.

10. While disarmament agreements are being negotiated, we must maintain our defensive armed forces at their necessary strength. This is essential for a flexible and balanced policy, which alone insures that we can fulfill our defensive treaty commitments and protect our own country from attack.

ADA 15th ANNUAL CONVENTION
April 27-29, 1962

FOREIGN POLICY COMMISSION
RESOLUTION

SOUTH VIETNAM

ADOPTED

We view with grave anxiety and concern the military intervention of the United states in South Vietnam without invoking the good offices of the United Nations, without deference to the International Supervisory Commission under the 1954 Geneva Treaty, without coordination with our SEATO allies, and without making clear to the Congress and the American people the reasons - if they exist - which would necessitate and justify such unilateral military intervention on our part.

The civil war in South Vietnam has been presented to the American people as having been caused primarily by foreign intervention. In truth, that civil war is in the main the result of the decay of totalitarian Diem regime. This regime has lost popular support, and the people of South Vietnam are either actively hostile or indifferent to it.

We do not oppose, indeed we favor, reasonable military aid to countries which are seeking to maintain their independence from external aggression, including externally aided and directed subversion, even though we may not wholly approve of their governments. But we vigorously oppose the unilateral commitment of America's own military power and prestige to sustain governments in Asia or elsewhere against the resistance of their own people.

No one is in a position to predict whether Red China or the U.S.S.R. will intervent against us, or the gravity of the consequence of her intervention. But no one can deny that unilateral military intervention involves an important moral problem and grave political and military risks, which may imperil the whole future of America. The American people have not been informed of these risks and they have the right to know and knowingly to share in decisions which may irrevocably affect their destiny.

The ADA therefore calls upon the Administration at Washington:

(1) First to use pressure upon the Diem regime to institute political, social, and economic reforms, or, failing these, to seek a viable alternative to that regime;

(2) To consult with friendly Asian countries having a concern in the matter no less than our own with the aim of establishing a broad political mutual-guarantee system, preferably based upon the principle of neutralism, with the framework and in every respect subject to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations;

(3) If the Administration alone or in consultation with America's allies, and other friendly concerned countries in the area, should decide nevertheless that there exists an actual threat to the peace by reason of existing conditions in Vietnam, to bring the matter before the United Nations for appropriate action.

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1341 Connecticut Avenue, Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.

15TH ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION
MAYFLOWER HOTEL
APRIL 27, 28, 29, 1962

Domestic Policy Commission
Resolution ADOPTED

NDEA AND NSF

We oppose the provisions of the National Defense Education Act and the National Science Foundation which require applicants for the benefits afforded by these laws to execute a loyalty oath and affidavit. We also oppose proposals to substitute a provision to make it a crime for a member of the Communist Party to apply for these benefits.

Whether or not these provisions violate any constitutional rights or principles of academic freedom, we think that they are unwise.

A democratic society differs from a totalitarian society precisely because it treats even its enemies like human beings. We also believe that the most effective way to sever the ties of young people with the Communist Party is to help them to obtain a higher education. Punishing them may only confirm the conceptions which lie at the root of their hostility to our society.

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1341 Connecticut Avenue, Northwest
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15TH ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION
MAYFLOWER HOTEL
APRIL 27, 28, 29, 1962

Domestic Policy Resolution ADOPTED

FEDERAL AID TO HIGHER EDUCATION

The ADA strongly supports a broad scale Federal program of aid to education. Such aid should include grants, loans, pledges of Federal credit, and scholarships.

We favor the employment of Federal funds to subsidize the educational development of accredited colleges and universities, both public and private, provided the institutions are non-sectarian.

(present platform position against aid to private, elementary and secondary schools would stand.

ADA 15TH ANNUAL CONVENTION
April 27-29, 1962

DOMESTIC POLICY COMMISSION
RESOLUTION

ADOPTED

CRIMINAL ANARCHY IN LOUISIANA

ADA urges that the Federal Administration acting through the U.S. Department of Justice effectively, participate with all means at its disposal in the cases of Charles McDew, Robert Zellner, and Ronnie Moore who are charged with criminal anarchy by the State of Louisiana for the peaceful exercise of their constitutional rights. ADA further urges the President of the United States to exert his political and moral influence to prevent the prosecution of the Louisiana criminal anarchy cases. ADA realizes that the State of Louisiana has acted in gross violation of basic constitutional rights and strongly recommends that these judicial atrocities be remedied by Federal intervention.

ADA 15th ANNUAL CONVENTION
April 27-29, 1962

DOMESTIC POLICY COMMISSION
RESOLUTION

ADOPTED

CIVIL RIGHTS

We urge that school boards, state anti-discrimination agencies and other governmental bodies take appropriate action to end school segregation in the North as well as in the South.

Where necessary, legislation should be supported to prevent existing and future school districting from promulgating segregation.

ADA 15TH ANNUAL CONVENTION
April 27-29, 1962

DOMESTIC POLICY COMMISSION
RESOLUTION

ADOPTED

A POSITIVE PLANNED PROGRAM FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE 1960s

I. The United States needs a positive planned program of economic growth

A. Under present policies our economy, is not fully employed nor meeting essential commitments at home and abroad.

B. Unemployment persists at intolerably high levels.

C. Poverty is unnecessarily and stubbornly prevalent.

D. Unsatisfied needs of the American people require greatly increased production.

E. The American economy is undergoing profound changes, in agricultural and industrial technology, and in its international relationships, requiring adjustments which will be difficult in any event and will be far more difficult if they are undertaken in a slack, underemployed, unplanned economy.

F. The danger of inflation and of a drain of United States gold have been used as a rationale for contractionist policies which have retarded economic growth and threatened to defeat our broad national purposes.

II. The goals of positive planned economic growth

A. To make full use of our economic resources and to concentrate on filling essential needs of a free society and the free world.

B. To adopt to the process of disarmament.

C. To offer each individual the opportunity to develop and achieve his full potential.

D. To support whatever level of national defense is necessary.

E. To reach and maintain full employment of the labor force.

F. To encourage an efficient and competitive system of private enterprise and increase the productivity of the economy.

G. To abolish poverty in the United States.

H. To provide a standard of public facilities and public services at all levels of government - compatible with our ever-growing resources and needs.

I. To meet the international commitments of aid and trade indispensable to the security and well-being of the United States.

III. A "Positive planned program for economic growth"

A. It means weighing the performance required of the American economy to meet commitments to our own people and to the free world against the capabilities of the economy; and devising programs for employing the economy full to meet our commitments.

B. A national framework of planning is needed to fit together the many planning activities already operating in the United States. There is planning in every budget of the Federal, State and local governments. The United States has proposed a ten-year growth plan for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and requires economic planning in the countries participating in AID. Planning is implicit in our foreign trade program. The Federal government requires economic planning for area redevelopment and urban renewal. Planning is recognized as an essential function of many private businesses. The essential missing element is an overall framework, a National Economic Performance Budget, to fit together the other elements, to reinforce them and to give them added effect.

IV. Effective program for economic growth requires planning

A. ADA commits itself to give a high priority and substantial resources, nationally and locally, to a broad and comprehensive program of economic progress and social advancement. The core of such a program is substitution of planning under freedom for random and improvised policies, programs and legislation.

B. Planning is not only compatible with freedom and democracy but essential for the most effective functioning of the enterprise system.

C. Planning is needed -

1. To create a framework and an environment in which private , in which public and private programs fit together and reinforce each other.

2. To effectuate priorities for the many urgent needs which the market will not fulfill, e.g., education, low-income housing, conservation.

3. To facilitate adjustment to changes in technology so that these changes enlarge the public welfare instead of leading to human suffering and wasted resources.

4. To keep demands on the economy consistent with resources and capabilities so that the economy is fully utilized but not overburdened.

D. A proposal for a National Economic Performance Budget.

1. Under the Employment Act of 1946 the President should provide long-range as well as short range projections of national needs and capacity, with goals for the national economy and its sectors, and programs of economic policy and action to effectuate the goals and priorities according to the nation's needs and commitments. An annual Economic Performance Budget, submitted with the Economic Report and the Federal Budget, would fit the government's operations and spending into the long-range programs.

2. The Government should formulate fiscal policies to implement the National Performance Budget with incentives and disincentives, through tax spending programs and other government policies.

3. The Government should adopt international economic policies to link the foreign objectives of the United States, on the one hand, with the capabilities and programs of the American economy, on the other.

V. ADA programs to support positive planned economic growth, based on understanding of the functioning, the positive performance and the deficiencies of our economy.

A. At the national level.

1. Publicize the program through pamphlets, conferences and speeches, etc.

2. Gear the legislative program to legislative support of high priority elements of the program for economic growth.

3. Give political support and currency to the idea that planned economic growth is an essential prerequisite to the national security, well-being and preparation for disarmament.

B. At the local level.

1. Publicize the program and spread understanding.

2. Give legislative support to -

a. State and local planning
b. Tax and spending policies to stimulate economic growth.
c. Adequate unemployment compensation and welfare laws.
d. Urban rehabilitation and housing.
e. Public investment and public services.
f. Local area economic development and redevelopment.
g. Programs to facilitate the adjustments of individuals and enterprises to economic change.

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1341 Connecticut Avenue, Northwest
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15TH ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION
MAYFLOWER HOTEL
APRIL 27, 28, 29, 1962

DRAFT RESOLUTION
Domestic Policy Commission

RESOLUTION ON IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC ISSUES

1. We commend the Kennedy Administration for stating that the achievement of full employment has top priority among its economic goals. We strongly object to the lack of vigor in pursuing that goal and to the unsatisfactory definition of full employment it has adopted. Four percent of the labor force out of work is much too large to be considered a satisfactory performance of the economy.

The Administration is in fundamental error in giving ~~lip servi~~ce to the principle of a balanced budget and placing undue emphasis on the balance of payments at the expense of achieving full employment. In order to achieve full employment, we advocate:

1. Public projects, which increase welfare, should be expanded to eliminate the waste of human and material resources.

2. Tax cuts should be enacted which increase consumption by primarily benefiting the low income groups.

3. The scope of the United States Employment Service should be expanded by requiring information to be exchanged among states and all vacancies to be registered. (This would have the additional desirable effect of opening job opportunities to minorities.)

4. Relocation allowances should be provided for workers who are in surplus in a particular locality and in demand elsewhere.

5. The start which the Administration has made on employees retraining should be commended, but we urge the rapid expansion of these programs. (Once a national register of vacancies exist, both relocation allowances and retraining programs can be more efficient.)

(to be clarified)

II. Agricultural policy should seek to give the consumer the benefit of our abundant agricultural resources, instead of continuing to present irrational stopgaps, we urge the adoption of a plan designed to accomplish these objectives.

III. We commend the Administration's drive to liberalize our trade policy.

IV. We object to the continued existence and expansion of the loopholes in the personal and corporate income tax codes. We deplore the Administration's proposal for a tax credit for investment.

Public Works program go into effect

stand - by program

Americans for Democratic Action
156 Fifth Ave., New York 10,N.Y.

RESOLUTIONS ON DOMESTIC POLICY

prepared by N.Y. State ADA Board of Directors for National ADA Convention

April 27 - 29, 1962

SHELTER PROGRAMS

The nature of modern war today makes it impossible for governments to offer substantial protection to civilian populations, who are now considered in the front lines should thermonuclear war occur. In addition, shelter-building programs tend to create a state of mind that accepts as inevitable a duo-suicidal thermonuclear war. In balance, we believe shelters, in their concept and reality, are a menace to moral values and to peace. We urge our government to transfer fallout shelter funds to a study of how to reduce cold war tensions and to discontinue all federally supported shelter programs.

CIVIL RIGHTS

(To be added to "Program of Legislative Action", P.1A of present platform)

We urge that the problem of de facto school segregation due to districting be brought before state anti-discrimination agencies. Where necessary, bipartisan legislation should be supported to prevent existing and future school districting from promoting segregation.

Mrs. ~~Emily Gaffney~~ - ~~Mass shelters~~

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
1341 Connecticut Avenue, Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.

15TH ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION
MAYFLOWER HOTEL
APRIL 27, 28, 29, 1962

FINAL DRAFT
Domestic Policy Commision

MINORITY REPORT ON FEDERAL AID TO HIGHER EDUCATION

The ADA strongly supports a broad scale Federal program of aid to education. Such aid should include grants, loans, pledges of Federal credit, and scholarships.

We favor the employment of Federal funds to subsidize the non-sectarian educational development of accredited colleges and universities, both public and private.

(present platform position against aid to private, elementary and secondary schools would stand.)

ADA

legislative newsletter

Michael Padnos
Legislative Representative

Second Session
87th Congress

Issue Number 8
May 28, 1962

(Every two weeks we summarize events in Congress as an information service to assist you in national affairs activities. We include brief analyses of legislative proposals together with factors of timing and politics as we see them. Subscription rate, $3 per year.)

* MEDICAL CARE
* CONGRESSIONAL BRIEFS

MEDICAL CARE

The President has earmarked two issues for the earnest consideration of the second session of the 87th Congress: The Trade Bill and medical care for the aged. After a long, furious and concentrated drive, the Trade Bill has now been reported out of the Ways and Means Committee. The President has now turned his attention and the massive machinery of the Executive Branch to the problem of medical care for the aged.

Probably no issue before Congress is so confused in the minds of the American people as medical care. What, in fact, has the President proposed?

The King-Anderson Bill, H. R. 4222, is a plan to help persons covered by Social Security meet the expenses of hospital and nursing home care, diagnostic, laboratory, and X-ray services. It provides absolutely no funds for surgeon's or physician's fees. It provides some appropriation for home health services--up to 240 visits a year including therapy, home maker services, medical social work, etc. (but no physician's fees). Its provisions would cover the costs of drugs used in a hospital, but no other drugs.

This, in broad outline, is the total coverage of the President's medical care bill. As presently envisioned, approximately 15 million people would be covered by 1964, including all the beneficiaries of the Social Security and Railroad Retirement Systems. It is estimated that the total cost of the bill would be $1 1/4 billion. The legislation would become effective October 1, 1962, with the exception of the nursing home provisions, which would become effective July 1, 1963.

The bill has two major shortcomings: First of all, no surgeon's or physician's fees are covered (contrary to the allegations of the AMA); secondly, the bill contains a deductible provision which would require a beneficiary to pay $10.00 per day for the

first nine days of hospitalization. The deductible feature of the bill is undesirable because many older patients will be unable to pay the $90.00 which would be required for their hospitalization; and the "no physician's services" provisions are undesirable because such costs as surgeon's fees and the charges which may be accrued over a long period of physician's home visits can be the most overwhelming aspect of prolonged illness. Futhermore, by excluding physician's fees for at-home services, the tendency of the plan may be to force indigent elderly people in need of some professional care to enter hospitals as the cheapest way of meeting their medical expenses. A plan which permitted patients to receive financial assistance for at-home doctor's services would remove this incentive to enter hospitals unnecessarily, would encourage patients to receive cheaper and still-effective care in their own homes, and would have the further advantage of permitting physicians who have a large practice unconnected with a hospital (for example, X-ray specialists whose work is mainly private practice) to effectively contribute to the care of the aged. It should be noted in passing that this bill would work a hardship on physicians in private practice who derive much of their income from the elderly, because their services will continue to cost money while the same services if provided by a hospital would be free.

In 1960, the proposal which was the subject of so much campaign debate was the Forand Bill, which differs in several significant aspects from the milder, watered down King-Anderson Bill. The Forand Bill provided full payment of surgeon's fees, and would have covered 17.5 million people, including employed aged and younger dependents. However, it only provided for 60 days a year hospitalization (as opposed to 90 in King-Anderson), 120 days of nursing home services (180 under King-Anderson), and no home health services (240 visits a year in K.A.). Although the Forand bill was obviously a better bill in a number of respects than the King-Anderson Bill, it seems clear now that it is a dead letter and stands no chance of passage, although it is generally regarded as a more liberal bill and is favored by a number of Congressmen and Senators.

Three Republican bills have been introduced which have assumed importance: Senator Javits' bill, S.2664, (as amended May 2, 1962) and the bills introduced by Congressmen Lindsay (H.R. 11253) and Bow (H.R. 10755).

Most important of these bills is the Javits Bill. Briefly, the Javits bill would use Social Security financing plus general revenue financing to provide benefits for elderly persons. Formerly subjecting all participants in the plan to a means test, the Javits bill has now been amended so that only persons between the ages of 65 and 72 are so discriminated against. Under this plan the beneficiary would select from among plans offering short term benefits with no deductible, long term benefits with deductible, or payment by the government of up to $100.00 toward premiums for approved private health insurance policies. The short term plan would provide 21 days of hospital care, 12 days of physician's services and up to $100.00 in ambulatory, diagnostic, laboratory, or X-ray services, and 24 days of organized home health care services. The long term plan would provide payment of 80 percent of the costs in excess of $125.00 incurred by the beneficiary. This would include 120 days of hospital care and the surgical services provided during that period, plus skilled nursing home services after transfer from a hospital, and organized home health care services. The insurance companies providing services under the private option plan would be required to provide benefits as great as those provided under the plans described above.

The Javits bill is looming larger and larger as a major threat to the enactment of King-Anderson. It offers a method of financing which, if adopted, could very possibly vitiate the entire program. First, as long as the private option is provided, the sales pressure which insurance companies could bring to bear on the so-called "good risks" might be such that these people would all turn to the private companies, leaving the government to provide service for the persons whose care will be the most costly, thereby destroying the actuarial soundness of the plan. It is essential that a social insurance health plan be based on community rating, combining good and bad risks in one group, if the plan is to be fiscally sound. Second, option provisions would mean that social insurance contributions would be used to pay profits to private insurance companies, thus spending dollars which provide no protection.

In spite of rumors to the contrary, it seems clear that Congressman King and Senator Anderson are adamant in their refusal to accept the Javits bill as a compromise with the Administration's proposal. Furthermore, at his News Conference on May 23, the President made it clear that he too rejects out of hand any such possible modifications. The only fly in the ointment--the only important figure who has yet failed to make a public statement completely repudiating the Javits' "option" proposal--is Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Ribicoff. With no official denial, Washington remains abuzz with rumors that the Secretary has privately expressed a willingness to compromise on this issue, and such rumors pose a grave threat to the passage of the King-Anderson bill. Mr. Ribicoff's apparent desire to become known as the "great compromiser" (Remember the education fiasco of 1961?) gives countenance to these rumors and his known foot-dragging on the issue of medical care makes it of urgent importance that he state clearly and for the record that he is one hundred percent opposed to the compromise of a Javits nature.

The Lindsay bill and the Bow bill represent the two other alternative approaches which have been proposed by the Republicans. The Lindsay bill (worked out in cooperation with Governor Rockefeller and his staff) would combine the King-Anderson bill with (1) a cash option for individuals having private insurance of specified requirements and (2) coverage for persons not under Social Security, under a system of "buying in." (In order to insure coverage of persons not eligible under Social Security, the states would be given an opportunity to "buy in" and provide insurance for these persons.) The Bow bill takes a completely different approach and would authorize a tax credit up to $125.00 a year for premium payments to private companies for specified types of insurance purchased by or on behalf of persons 65 and over. The Lindsay proposal is King-Anderson with a tail that may wag the dog so furiously that he is destroyed; the Bow proposal, like so many Republican alternatives to the "spendthrift" policies of the Democrats, would cost the government approximately double the money involved in the Administration's proposals. Lest these three different plans give the mistaken impression that there is only minor chaos in the Republican camp, it should be added that Messrs. Dirksen and Halleck disapprove all of these approaches, and recommend legislation to radically overhaul the Kerr-Mills law--by making it easier for applicants to demonstrate a need for health insurance.

The King-Anderson bill is a moderate, gentle, first small step approach to the health problems of the aged, closely analagous to the first Social Security Act enacted under the Roosevelt Administration. It can honestly be said that it does not begin to solve the problems of prolonged and expensive illnesses which so plague

the elderly; it is less adequate than the plans already in effect in almost every country in West Europe. It is, however, an absolutely necessary first step toward the solution of these problems.

Administration pressure to bring about the passage of King-Anderson has been great in spite of the unfortunate statement by the President in the Madison Square Garden Rally on May 20 that he would push for passage "next session" if it fails in 1962. What is necessary is that the Democrats hold the line with absolute firmness: all Administration spokesmen must stand behind the bill, no word of compromise can pass the lips of any official, and every possible pressure must be placed on recalcitrant members of the Ways and Means Committee. For the most part, this approach has been firmly adhered to by the Administration.

Experts now estimate that the chances of getting some bill out of Ways and Means are good. Rallies throughout the nation, plus the barrage of mail from elderly constituents which all members of Congress have received make it increasingly difficult for Congress to resist the passage of the bill. The exact form which the bill will finally be reported will take is as yet unclear, but it seems probable that even the gentle King-Anderson bill will be further scaled down in the benefits it provides. The Administration will have achieved a major victory if a bill containing the provisions for social security financing and excluding the private option of the Javits plan is finally reported out of Ways and Means.

Congressional Briefs

Anti-Civil Liberties decisions have been flowing out of Congressional Committees like water out of a broken cup. We reported last week the emergence of H. R. 3247, which would overcome the effect of the Yates decision, from Senate Judiciary: now H. R. 3, the infamous bill which would authorize States to enact anti-subversion laws, has been reported out of House Judiciary; and Congressman Walter has placed on the Consent Calendar a bill to make statutory the government's imperfect industrial security program. At the first reading, the bill was objected to by Congressman Lindsay (R., N. Y.) and is anticipated that the required three objectors will remove the bill from the Consent Calendar next time it is before the House. What is this summer madness in Washington? Surely the heat is not already affecting the Congress?

The Communications Satellite issue is fast ripening in the Senate, and mid-June is the best guess for probable floor action. Senator Kefauver has now firmly committed himself to filibuster, he will be joined by Senators Yarborough (D., Tex.) and Morse (D., Ore.). This issue can be won; but it can be won only if Mr. Kefauver gets enough co-filibusterers to stop the AT&T bill by sheer power of talk, and this needs one thing and one thing only: bodies. It is not enough for Senators to say (as many of them have) that they will vote with Kefauver on the final vote, for the if it comes to a vote it is absolutely lost. Every liberal Senator must talk, and talk his heart out if this battle is to be won.

If you live in a state with a liberal Democratic Senator, write or wire him now. Tell him, urge him, beg him, to help Kefauver kill this shocking giveaway.

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MRS. A. L. ZWERDLING

1341 CONNECTICUT AVENUE NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 6, D. C. DECATUR 2-7754

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

February 19, 1963

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

ADA has been in existence now for little more than fifteen years. We have never made any pretenses about being a "power complex" in American politics. But neither, I think, do we have any cause to be overly modest about the impact that ADA has had on the national political pattern during the decade and a half of our existence. On the national level and within local political communities, I think that there can be no dispute that ADA has been and still is an important force for political leverage from the left.

In 1947, with world political forces still in a state of confusion and flux, and domestic political forces reflecting this international confusion, ADA was established as a sort of center of reason, as an anti-communist, left-of-center fulcrum for political theorists and activists. The political balance internationally has drastically changed in the past fifteen years, and so have political relationships within the United States--and so has ADA's mission.

Those of us who have been close to ADA over the years think it is time now to talk among ourselves about what is the role and political posture of ADA in 1963. Would you join us in this kind of discussion--no preconceptions, no holds barred and no sentimental preclusions. What we would like from you is an expression of opinion as to your idea of what ADA should be doing and how, both on a local level and as a national organization. A group of officers and friends of ADA will be meeting to discuss this in mid-March and we would like your ideas as part of the basis for our discussion. For your convenience, I am appending a list of questions suggestive of the subjects we think may need looking at. This is not a "questionnaire;" it is illustrative only, and I hope you will respond freely on these or any other subjects you would like us to consider. But please do respond.

Sincerely,

Edward D. Hollander

Edward D. Hollander
Chairman, Executive Committee

An Independent Liberal Organization

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY

AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

at its

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 3, 4, 5, 1963

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N.B. Several Foreign Policy and Domestic Policy Resolutions have been referred to the Executive Committee of ADA for action and clarification.

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May 3, 4, 5, 1963

Foreign Policy Resolution
Adopted 5/63

CHEMICAL, BIOLOGICAL AND RADIOLOGICAL WARFARE

While we recognize the most immediate need in the field of disarmament to be the control of nuclear arms, we urge our government to ratify the June 17, 1925, Protocol prohibiting the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare.

ADA urges the Administration to conduct a thorough study of ways of effectively outlawing the use of chemical, biological, and radiological warfare, and to call for an international convention to update the June 17, 1925, Protocol and to enlarge the number of signatory nations.

Meanwhile, we call upon the United States to repudiate the use of lethal chemicals in Viet Nam.

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CUBA

We believe that the ultimate aim of our policy should be the establishment of democratic liberties in Cuba. We do not believe that actions contrary to our international obligations under the OAS and UN charters, or reckless sporadic raids upon Cuban territory or ships in Cuban waters are proper or effective means of achieving this goal. We especially urge the United States to commit itself to the support of a Cuban government dedicated to effectuating the democratic social and political aims implicit in the original Cuban revolution which Castro has betrayed.

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EUROPE

Amend second full paragraph on page 8 of "A Program for Americans" (additions are underlined):

We urge that both East and West give thoughtful consideration to plans for thinning out of Soviet and American forces and of conventional arms and the banning of nuclear weapons in Central Europe, including at least the two Germanies, Czechoslovakia and Poland, taking into account the number of serious proposals advanced along these lines, notably those of Anthony Eden in England, Adam Rapacki in Poland, and George Kennan in the United States.

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INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICIES

The goal of global economic strategy should be the vigorous growth of the underdeveloped world with expansion in world trade and an increase in growth investment to levels which each nation can absorb and effectively use. ADA feels it is essential that all economically advanced countries recognize and act upon the premise that it is their joint responsibility to render massive financial and technical assistance to underdeveloped areas.

We believe that the U.S. should substantially increase its overseas aid for economic development and continue to encourage the participation of other countries so that all nations contribute in proportion to their resources and capabilities.

ECONOMIC AID

ADA reaffirms its support of a bold and positive foreign economic policy within a system of general priorities which are designed to promote a condition of self-sustained growth in underdeveloped nations. We therefore urge a program of long-term U.S. help to underdeveloped countries covering a period of at least ten years and including the provisions of technical assistance, grants, and loans, and the encouragement of private investment. This should be supplemented by the maximum effective use of U.S. farm surplus. We favor U.S. support for a substantial expansion of the U.N. Technical Assistance Program, the U.N. Special Fund, and the Alliance for Progress. ADA also urges that the capital of the International Development Association be increased sufficiently to take care of outright grants as well as loans foreseeably adequate for the next decade.

ADA opposes the policy of the Hickenlooper Amendment and the Clay Report barring AID financing of government industries which would compete with local private industries in recipient countries.

TRADE EXPANSION

As long as new barriers to world trade are not created, the U.S. should continue to support the development of integrated regional economic and trade groupings and access therein for the major trading nations. The exclusion from regional integration of any friendly neighboring countries tends toward restrictive rather than free trade and economic development.

We urge the Administration to advance a vigorous program to assist American business to vastly expand American exports.

We commend the Congress and the Administration for passing the Trade Expansion Act which coincides with the policies advanced by ADA in the 1962 platform. We now urge that the Administration move rapidly to effect the provisions of the Act, and ask for the enactment of the Douglas-Reuss amendment to make the "dominant supplier" bargaining authority effective for the benefit of the great majority of the people.

Economic and development programming is necessary for a country which receives aid if it is to utilize the aid effectively.

While the U.S. in its aid program may find it necessary to withhold aid from a country whose leadership is unwilling to make and implement the minimum commitments necessary for the constructive changes that lead toward a society based on freedom and social justice, the adoption of such a position should under no circumstances be used as an attempt to dictate the economic or social institutions of the recipient countries, many of which may be committed to establishing planned economies.

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PANAMA

In the Panama Canal Zone and the Republic of Panama the United States has the opportunity to use a unique political relationship to demonstrate both its purposes in Latin America and the potentialities of the Alliance for Progress. While maintaining a wealthy and often haughty presence in the Canal Zone under the terms of a perpetual treaty, we have done little to clarify our intentions and eliminate the inequities which have contributed to so much political unrest in Panama.

We support the present continuing discussions between the United States and Panama and urge that they include the subjects of: U.S. recognition of residual Panamanian sovereignty in the Canal Zone; wage policies; and materiel procurement. The opportunities for a significant alliance for mutual progress are large, and the time for cordial and voluntary action grows short.

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PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

The world is drifting toward nuclear war. A diplomatic blunder or a technical mistake could result in the destruction of civilization. This danger is intensified by the ever-increasing global commitments of the major powers and the spread of nuclear weapons in a world of over 100 national sovereignties. To think in terms of "winning" a war in which nuclear weapons are used is illusory, and the United States should never be the first to use nuclear weapons.

In view of the slaughter and destruction experienced in so-called conventional wars and of the difficulty of preventing a conventional war, once started, from developing into a nuclear war, our aim must be nothing less than the ultimate complete abolition of the means of waging war of any kind.

The measure of our national security may be taken not in the development of new weapons, but only in a reduction of existing weapons. Effective control becomes meaningful as weapons and delivery power are reduced by all. The degree of risk becomes less, the measure of confidence in one's antagonist becomes greater when the weapons of total destruction are reduced, not increased.

The cold war hysteria and the arms race must be checked both to keep us alive and to give us an opportunity to tackle the deeper issues. Peace is the concern of all, and it is clearly in the best interest of everyone to work for it.

ADA believes that:

a) The continuous build-up of arms is a dangerous and unacceptable treatment of international problems.

b) Although mutual concessions are necessary for the success of any negotiations, any strategy that advocates or leads to surrender or appeasement is utterly rejected.

c) An adequate peace strategy must be comprehensive. It must be concerned with all aspects of the international situation -- the atmosphere of hostility and tension, which hinders fruitful negotiations, the continuation of the arms build-up, and the underlying ideological and power conflicts.

d) A workable peace strategy must take a realistic view of human nature. It cannot, as a prerequisite, demand fundamental changes in the nature of man or the structure of society.

e) A successful peace strategy must provide for effective international institutions to help establish and to guarantee the peace once it has been achieved. It must work toward the development of an international system in which conflicts are limited to non-violent means and must encourage an atmosphere in which freedom and justice are within the reach of all.

In order to begin to move in the direction of world peace, ADA urges that:

1. The aim must be to achieve general and complete disarmament, subject to effective inspection and control. It must also be pointed out that continuous increase in the levels of arms increases international tensions and adds to insecurity.

An agreement for this purpose should be negotiated as soon as possible, on the basis of the following principles:

a) All national armed forces and armaments must be reduced to the levels agreed to be necessary for internal security. In determining the limits of "internal security" the advice of disinterested scientists and other specialists should be sought.

b) The elimination of conventional and nuclear armaments must be so phased that at no stage will any country or group of countries obtain a significant military advantage. This, however, does not necessarily require that the reduction by each side be identical in either the kind or the number of weapons disarmed. The U.S. should renounce the unending race for nuclear superiority and should proclaim to the world its intention never to use nuclear weapons except in response to nuclear attack if the necessary adjustments are made as specified in the remainder of this platform.

Any freezing of levels of armaments must be regarded as only a temporary step on the road to total disarmament, to be implemented through multilateral disarmament of all the major powers. The policy of the U.S. must be to reduce and reverse the arms race which exacerbates the cold war.

c) In respect of each phase there should be established, by agreement, effective machinery of inspection, which should come into operation simultaneously with the phase of disarmament to which it relates.

d) The principal military powers should continue and intensify direct negotiations without delay in close contact with the United Nations, which is responsible for disarmament under the Charter. Since peace is the concern of the whole world, other nations should also be associated with the diaarmament negotiations at the earliest possible moment.

e) Disarmament and inspection are integral parts of the same question and must be negotiated together. It must, however, be recognized that no safeguards can provide 100 percent protection against error or treachery. Nevertheless, the risks involved in the process of disarmament must be balanced against the risks involved in the continuance of the arms race.

f) It is clear that the problems of disarmament and international confidence are closely linked. Therefore, while striving for the abolition of armaments, all nations must actively endeavor to reduce tension by helping to remove other causes of friction and suspicion.

2. We welcomed the establishment of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. In staffing this Agency, the emphasis should be on people who have a record of dedication to disarmament rather than on those reconciled to a continuation of a modified armaments race. This Agency should be enlarged and adequately financed. Of particular importance is the need to find better ways to introduce consideration of arms control and disarmament earlier in the decision-making process of the Federal Government.

We urge in addition a greatly increased appropriation for the specific purpose of public education to create a favorable climate for disarmament.

3. We urge the formation of an International Institute for Disarmament Research under U.N. auspices. This agency should be concerned with the political, economic, scientific and psychological factors. Because of the difficult financial situation of the U.N. and because of the urgent need for adequate financing of such an institution, this institute might be set up on a $1 a year budget and be financed by contributions.

4. We deplore all nuclear testing. A test-ban treaty barring all tests in all environments should be signed as soon as possible -- a treaty along the lines now being discussed, with compromised provisions to deter violations, would be in the security interest of the U.S. Both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. agree that verification of the observation of a test ban in its three major areas -- namely, outer space, the atmosphere, and the seas -- can be made without the establishment of inspection stations within national territories (see A below). Efforts should be launched to attain an overwhelming vote of ratification for a treaty by the U.S. Senate.

We further urge that both nations immediately desist from describing each other's proposals as "propaganda" and publicly recognize the extent of agreement between their respective positions; that is, take the argument on cessation of tests out of the cold war.

We further urge that these nations make every effort possible to bridge the remaining gap concerning underground testing; in particular by the immediate establishment of a Russian-American-Nonaligned Study Group under the auspices of the United Nations. Until the Study Group has completed its work, both sides are urged to agree to:

a. An immediate ban on tests in the three areas in which there is already agreement that no national inspection is necessary, namely in outer space, the atmosphere, and the seas, and

b. The introduction of a six-to-twelve-month unpoliced moratorium in the fourth area of underground inspection; and to committing themselves to the setting up within that period of a system of inspection according to the findings of the above-mentioned group.

We further urge that once such a treaty is negotiated between the two major powers, both the United States and the Soviet Union should turn their urgent attention to including among their signatories all countries which might potentially produce or possess nuclear weapons, in order to reduce the likelihood of further spread of these weapons.

5. We oppose the transfer by any nuclear power of nuclear weapons or information on their manufacture to other nations or regional military organizations, as this would make more difficult the control of such weapons and would increase the possibility of nuclear war.

6. We suggest that our government give consideration to unilateral initiatives which might improve the atmosphere for multilateral disarmament negotiations.

7. We urge the formation of regional denuclearized and ultimately demilitarized areas including Africa, Latin America, Southeast Asia, Israel and the Arab states.

8. Since military expenditures represent 10% of the total production of the U.S. and more than half of the Federal budget, we recognize there is legitimate concern that general and complete disarmament would result in major economic and social dislocations.

The U.N. report on the Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament, supported by recent published studies of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, establishes that sufficient planning and bold programming would offset major dislocations. Systematic and detailed studies and planning must now be undertaken by government and non-government agencies. Studies should be made of the regional and industrial proportion of the economy supported by military production and their phased re-allocations. Capital and labor may be somewhat assured of production and employment by planned high levels of government expenditures, foreign aid, tax reductions and retraining programs to be effective with a phased disarmament program leading to a peacetime economy.

9. The Convention recommends to the National Board that ADA further intensify and increase its activities in the peace effort.

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SOUTHEAST ASIA

ADA wishes to express its grave anxiety over the continued Communist success in Southeast Asia generally and in South Viet Nam and Laos in particular. Recognizing, as does the Mansfield Senate Group report, that the United States has expended over 5 billion dollars worth of military and economic aid in Southeast Asia since 1950 and that the area remains one of continuing instability, we call for a fundamental review of American policy. The goal remains that of strengthening those countries which seek to maintain their independence from external aggression and subversion through firm governmental action based on economic and political policies that draw support from their people. The new policy should build on the efforts by the independent Southeast Asian states to promote bilateral and regional cooperation of an economic and political nature. It should aid these states to avoid military alliances and the crushing burden of military expenditure by actively promoting a policy of major power agreement to guarantee the neutrality, peace, and security of these states. The aid program of the United States must be directed toward realizing these objectives. We do not favor the continuation of aid to regimes that by irresponsible economic policies and repressive social and governmental practices undermine the bases for stability and peace of the area and pave the way for totalitarian rule.

Viet Nam

We view with grave concern the continuing escalation of the American military effort in South Viet Nam. As the Mansfield Senate Group report noted, some 2 billion dollars has been expended since 1955 in South Viet Nam and yet "substantially the same difficulties remain if indeed they have not been compounded." We do not feel that the American people have been adequately informed about the policies pursued and the consequences which might result from ever-increasing American unilateral involvement in a deteriorating situation. We have always supported the efforts of the people of the Republic of Viet Nam to rid their state of Communist guerrilla and subversive activities, which for the most part have been aided and directed from North Viet Nam in violation of the Geneva Agreements of 1954. However, the plain fact is that the Communists have gained in South Viet Nam because the Ngo Dinh Diem regime is a repressive authoritarian regime that has alienated itself from its own people. The continued support and commitment of American military power and prestige to such a government is self-defeating. Internationally, we are compromised by an official policy which affirms that American military personnel are in South Viet Nam simply in an advisory capacity and not as combat troops, when those 12,000 "advisers" engage in logistical support, the piloting of battle planes, operational bombing, and group combat operations against the Vietnamese Communist guerrilla forces. In South Viet Nam, we contribute to the further demoralization of genuine nationalists who cannot play a needed political role in creating a viable regime enjoying the support of the people of South Viet Nam. In view of the foregoing, ADA calls on the Administration:

1. To halt the escalation policy and the commitment of American personnel to combat operations in South Viet Nam.

2. To inform the Diem government that future American aid will be contingent upon basic political, social and economic reforms that will include the creation of a new broadly based nationalist regime that can provide a suitable political framework for winning the contest for the loyalty and support of the Vietnamese people.

3. To support the strengthening of the International Supervisory Commission so that it can fulfill the purpose for which it was devised under the 1954 Geneva Treaty and to make use of the Geneva Powers Conference machinery to help restore peace in Viet Nam.

Laos

We welcome the initiatives taken by the Administration through Averell Harriman to promote peace in Laos. The attempt to make Laos a neutral area by reconciling the warring factions should be continued. The position of the International Supervisory Commission must be strengthened to minimize opportunities for the resumption of hostilities and the subsequent break-up of the existing coalition government. The United States should join its efforts with those of other interested Powers to provide economic support to help stabilize the Government of Laos and provide opportunities for the people of Laos to peacefully reconstruct their country.

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UNITED STATES - SOVIET RELATIONS

ADA urges the Soviet and American Governments to take the following steps toward more peaceful relations:

1. Massive expansion of current programs for cultural and technical exchange.

2. Removal of restrictions on entry of books, periodicals, newspapers, and other literature entering each country from the other.

3. Expansion of trade relations between the two countries where trade would not interfere with the national security policies of either nation.

4. Increased participation in multilateral programs of economic and technical aid to underdeveloped countries by channeling through the UN or other international bodies a greater portion of funds now given unilaterally.

5. Removal of restrictions governing free travel between and within the two countries. Encouragement of greater tourism.

6. Cooperation in research and development in non-military fields such as space, communications and exploration, medicine, health services, meteorology and geophysics.

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ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Traditionally, academic freedom has been thought of as pertaining solely to professors and university officials. However, we believe in the intellectual abilities of the American college student and in his capacity to evaluate ideas. The right of the sutdent to hear all ideas in his pursuit of the truth should not be curtailed. To arbitrarily prevent the discussions of unpopular ideas or to dismiss a student because he advocates such ideas is to abnegate the educational responsibilities of the university. Students should have the right to organize in support of their ideas. By organizing they gain a realistic awareness of democratic political processes.

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Alabama Resolution to be added to the Civil Rights Resolution

Americans for Democratic Action, meeting at its 16th Annual Convention in Washington , D. C., wishes to express to you its shock and dismay over the flagrant violation of the natural and legal rights of citizens to the security of life and limb, not to mention the affront of human dignity, now taking place in Birmingham, Alabama, and in widespread areas of the South. No civilized nation can tolorate barbarism. No United States Administration should tolerate brazen defiance of the assurances given in the 1st, 5th and 14th Amendments to the Constitution.

During the previous Administration, we were often critical of the lack of moral indignation and leadership in the highest office in the land. We heartily endorse your statement that the office of the President is one of moral leadership. We respectfully urge you not only to set in motion the full machinery of the Federal Government for prosecution of civil rights violations under existing legislation, but also to put the prestige of your office behind the struggle for human rights by an immediate personal visit to the South to assure government officials and private citizens alike of the gravity of your concern for equal application of the laws.

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BUDGET
(Proposed Addition)

We also recommend that Congress increase the ability of the President to activate budget policy by delegating to him the authority to alter temporary personal income tax rates within specified limits subject to Congressional disapproval within thirty days if Congress is in session and three months if Congress is adjourned.

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CONGRESSIONAL REFORM

The constitutional principle of "checks and balances" has been one of the fundamental features of the American system of government since the founding of the nation. This principle does not, however, call for, nor justify, legislative practices which distort the impact of national elections upon the distribution of power in Congress. The current campaign for more accurate representation of the American people in their national legislative body (as well as in their state legislatures) may prove to be of limited significance, unless the procedures in Congress are reformed so as to produce more timely and considered action, in which the decisions of Congress will truly reflect the wishes of the electorate.

The needs of our democratic society require responsible, forceful leadership and disciplined performance by both parties. As Congress now operates, a handful of legislators unresponsive to party platform or to nationally elected leadership exercises undue influence on legislative decisions.

We call upon Congress to establish a special commission composed of public members as well as members of both Houses of Congress to undertake a comprehensive study of Congressional procedures for the purpose of improving their effectiveness, responsiveness and responsibility.

In the meantime, the following reforms should be initiated without delay:

1. The rigid system of seniority in the selection of committee chairmen should be replaced by a system which would establish more responsible Congressional leadership. A rotation of committee chairmanship within each committee would promote this goal without impairing the value of experience.

2. The committee rules should insure a vote on the floor of all measures recommended by the Administration. Each legislator should have the opportunity to debate and record a vote on these measures. Further, the discharge procedures in the House of Representatives should be liberalized so that one third of the members may bring any measure to the floor for consideration.

3. The power of the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives should be limited to its proper role of providing a schedule for debate on the floor of the House. It should not have the power to bury bills or to control debate to such a degree as to determine the contents of bills. We call for removal of the veto power of the rules committee through the restoration of the 21-day rule and through adoption of a rule setting a seven-day limit for sending a bill to conference.

4. We urge revision of Senate rule 22 to provide that after a reasonable debate cloture may be imposed by a majority of the Senate.

5. Congress should adopt strict conflict-of-interest regulations for its members, starting with a full disclosure of financial holdings and sources of income.

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COUNCIL ON STATE GOVERNMENTS

The Council of State Governments has proposed, and a number of state legislatures have adopted, amendments to the Constitution of the United States which would:

1. prohibit Federal court review of state legislative apportionment;

2. establish an amending process to the Federal Constitution whereby state could amend the Constitution of the United States without approval of Congress or a national constitutional convention; and,

3. establish a Court of the Union composed of 50 State Chief Judges whereby the chief judges of the highest courts of each of the fifty states would decide matters of Federal-state jurisdiction without reference to the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The adoption of these amendments would undermine our Federal structure by turning the clock back to the Articles of Confederation, 1783-89. They would permit a minority of fifteen percent of our voting population to destroy our democratic institutions. We therefore urge the Democratic and Republican Parties to oppose the adoption of these amendments on the state and local level.

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Deerfield Freedom of Residence Case

We are distressed at the silence of the Administration in the Deerfield Freedom of Residence Case.

We urge the Administration to act vigorously to avoid appearing to back by silence segregation by condemnation.

We urge the Attorney General to file an amicus curae brief with the U. S. Supreme Court calling for review of the Deerfield case.

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EDUCATION

ADA supports a massive broad scale federal program of aid to education. It is self-evident that state and local governments and private facilities alone cannot attain our educational goals. Only by a soundly conceived Federal program will the nation develop its most precious resource - its young people. Through our neglect, comprehensive federal aid to education remains a critical unmet need. An increased erosion of our human resources is the end product of our failure to provide for our educational needs. The nation is the permanent loser because we have regularly neglected to develop the talents of our young people. It is high time that we educate all our citizens adequately, facing up to what we must do to implement our national goal -- educational opportunity for all.

Support for federal aid to education is the only effective beginning. Non-support for an adequate elementary and secondary school system is one of our great failures. Here lies the root of the problem. The fault is ours, if we agonize because drop-outs increase and flood the job market -- unskilled and ill-prepared for our increasingly complex society.

We applaud the President's recommendation incorporated into the National Education Improvement Act of 1963, for its comprehensiveness. However the President's public expenditure suggestions fall far short of what modest estimates project education requires.

In 1961 the Administration believed that nearly a $2,300,000,000 federal aid program for elementary and secondary school education was needed. This year's proposal calls for only $1,500,000,000 to be spent over a four-year period. Since 1961 our educational needs have increased and no benefits from substantial federal assistance have been received. If nearly $2,300,000,000 was needed over a three-year period two years ago, then we submit that $1,500,000,000 spent over a four-year period will have at best a limited impact. The authorization for appropriation should at least be increased to reflect the average yearly appropriation suggested by the Administration in 1961. Furthermore, reducing the authorization for appropriation for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1966 and June 30, 1967 guarantees in advance that we will not meet our educational requirements simply because the school age population is increasing by approximately 1,000,000 each year.

Since the cost for public education will increase rather than decrease, we must be prepared to invest in our educational needs whether or not the expenditures will unbalance the budget.

It is necessary to recognize that automation is a fact subject neither to denial nor rational opposition. What this technical revolution is doing is to diminish greatly the proportion of unskilled jobs available in the economy, on the other hand it will increase greatly the proportion of semi-skilled, skilled, technical and professional jobs. Thus, it will put demands upon our educational system which it has never had before. When children leave high school because of inadequate facilities, caused by overcrowding or unqualified teachers or programs lacking in adequate vocational

Education - continued

training, they create an unemployment problem running in excess of 13 percent of youth between the ages of 14 and 19. This high rate of unemployment not only leads to criminal activities but is a frightening waste of human resources.

In view of the above, education is a most serious and is in fact the vital need that faces the country in our struggle for survival in world leadership.

1. We favor the use of Federal funds to aid the educational developemnt including construction of public elementary and secondary educational schools.

2. We favor the use of Federal funds to aid teachers' benefits. If we want quality we must compensate teachers as professionals. We must encourage them to enter and remain in the teaching profession.

3. We favor the employment of Federal funds to subsidize the educational development of accredited colleges and universities, both public and private, providing the institutions are non-sectarian.

4. We support scholarships to individual students studying in institutions of higher learning, whether public or non-public, where such scholarships are granted solely on the basis of genuine merit and proven need. We favor a substantial increase in the number of graduate fellowships, awarded under the National Defense Education Act, with an increased share of these fellowships allocated to study in social sciences and humanities.

5. We recognize that emergency situations necessitate special aid. We believe that this program has mushroomed into a substitute for any real and purposeful aid to education programs. Therefore, we suggest federal aid for impacted areas only if such aid is made part of a general aid to education program which provides for the nation's needs in all areas of education.

We share with the President the belief that "this country reserves its highest honors for only one kind of aristocracy -- that which the Founding Fathers called an aristocracy of achievement arising out of a democracy of opportunity." We will have neither an "aristocracy of achievement" nor a "democracy of opportunity" unless we acknowledge that a quality educational system, in sufficient quantity, must provide federal assistance. Unless we provide for the future we shall admit to our children that over crowded classrooms, inadequate facilities and equipment, lack of help for the gifted and mentally disadvantaged children and poorly paid teachers are part of our affluent society.

Americans for Democratic Action
1341 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

16th ADA Annual Convention
Shoreham Hotel
May 3, 4, 5, 1963

Domestic Policy Resolution
Adopted 5 / 63

FAMILY PLANNING

The Federal Government pays a large share of the cost of state welfare and social service programs. Recently, the government has adopted the policy of prodding the states into enlarging the rehabilitative and remedial aspects of their programs by conditioning enlarged grants on such improvements of their programs. We urge the Department of Health, Education and Welfare -- which has the responsibility for setting and policing federal standards for these grants -- to offer its cooperation to the states to make family planning counseling and services available.

Americans for Democratic Action
1341 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

16th ADA Annual Convention
Shoreham Hotel
May 3, 4, 5, 1963

Domestic Policy Resolution
Adopted 5 / 63

HOME RULE

Telegram to Congressman McMillan, Chairman, House District Committee.

Americans for Democratic Action deplores the absence of local self-government in the District of Columbia. We protest the continued denial of this basic political right to the citizens of this city.

We are encouraged by your promise to hold full and open hearings on Home Rule legislation for the District of Columbia before the House District Committee during the 88th Congress.

On the occasion of our 16th National Convention, we strongly urge you to use your position as Chairman of the District Committee to bring effective Home Rule legislation to a vote before the full House of Representatives.

Americans for Democratic Action
1341 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

16th ADA Annual Convention
Shoreham Hotel
May 3, 4, 5, 1963

Domestic Policy Resolution
Adopted 5 / 63

TAXES

We support the Kennedy Administration in its stated intention to give full employment top priority among economic goals and to use positive fiscal policy as a means to achieve it. But we protest that so little has been done so late, while unemployment remains intolerably high.

Restoring and maintaining full employment requires not only an overhaul of the tax system but equally a level of Federal expenditure adequate to the country's growing population and accumulating needs. Tax reductions brought by curtailing necessary spending will be self-defeating: it will not bring full employment and it will add to the accumulated neglect of public investment, public services and public welfare.

We believe that President Kennedy deserves the respect of all Americans for his wisdom and his courage in formulating and presenting such a program. This is the first time in our entire history that a President has come forward with a constructive proposal designed to use discretionary fiscal policy, consciously and purposefully, as an instrument to stimulate economic growth. There have been proposals in the past for overcoming the waste and suffering associated with depressions, but never has there been a positive fiscal policy such as that proposed by President Kennedy at a time when the country has not been in a depression. On this score, ADA strongly commends the President.

We favor tax cuts which will increase consumption and stimulate investment by strengthening the purchasing power of low-income taxpayers. To accomplish this we advocate tax cuts this year totalling $10 to $12 billion a year, to be achieved by;

a. Increase of personal exemptions from $600 to $800 per person.

b. Reduction of the basic rate on taxable income below $1,000 from the present rate of 20% to 14% or less.

The Administration's tax reduction proposal is far too heavily weighted to the advantage of higher-income taxpayers and corporations, and far too little to the relief of low incomes. These tax cuts should be fully effective immediately since reductions over three years would only defer the stimulating effects on the economy. And now the Administration's retreat even from this proposal further increases the danger that the country will get tax relief primarily for high incomes with little or no tax reform.

There is widespread recognition of the need for substantial tax reform to close loopholes through which billions of revenue escape. Only when these have been closed will there be justification for further reductions in taxes on corporate and personal incomes in the high tax brackets. Meanwhile, we advocate speedy action for low income tax relief.

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AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

May 9, 1963

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

It is a pleasure to inform you that you have been reelected to the National Board of ADA at its Sixteenth Annual Convention. We hope that you will find your continued association with ADA rewarding and stimulating. We look forward to your continued participation in our deliberations.

We shall shortly be forwarding to you copies of the resolutions adopted at this year's Convention. The next meeting of the Board will be in October, and we will inform you of the date as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Roy Bennett

Roy Bennett, Chairman
Nominating Committee

An Independent Liberal Organization

ADA legislative newsletter

David Cohen
Legislative Representative

First Session
88th Congress

Issue Number 9
May 17, 1963

(Every two weeks we summarize events in Congress as an information service to assist you in national affairs activities. We include brief analyses of legislative proposals together with factors of timing and politics as we see them. Subscription rate - $5 per year.)

* CIVIL RIGHTS - LEGISLATIVE
* CIVIL RIGHTS - EXECUTIVE
* MEXICAN FARM LABOR

CIVIL RIGHTS - LEGISLATIVE

The recent demonstrations in support of Negro equality have vigorously stirred the drive, among civil rights supporters, for full civil rights legislation. This legislation is now receiving committee consideration. The House Labor and Education Committee recently completed FEPC hearings and the House Judiciary Committee is now conducting hearings on other civil rights matters. Within a week hearings in the Senate will have begun on initiation of school integration and assuring permanency to the Civil Rights Commission with broadened powers.

FOR CITIZEN ACTION, SEE PAGE

The use of police dogs and fire hoses in Birmingham against the Negro demonstrators emphasizes again the need for strengthened Federal protection for those who seek their promised but unfulfilled constitutional rights. Such legislation includes the famous Part III which civil rights advocates have long sought. Part III permits the Attorney General to institute an injunction against persons or officials who deprive, or so threaten, any person, group or association of any right guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. If Part III were law the Attorney General could have sought an injunction against Governor Wallace and "Bull" Connor. Although Part III legislation has some congressional support, its chances are greatly diminished at this time because the President failed to urge specifically its enactment in his civil rights message.

Part III legislation would serve to increase existing government authority and protect adequately those seeking their constitutional rights. As Senator Morse has pointed out, the Justice Department could enforce the statute that "makes

it a punishable offense for anyone 'under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, (to) willfully subject any inhabitant of any State, territory, or district to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States.'"

Senator Morse, in a brilliant, well reasoned speech that unfortunately received no newspaper attention, sharply challenged the Administration's policy in Birmingham--a policy limited to mediation prior to the alerting of the troops last Sunday evening.

With his characteristic legal craftsmanship, Senator Morse advocated his case:

> ". . .there is an intent to deny the right of peaceful assembly and freedom of speech to the demonstrators in Birmingham, Ala. The use of hoses and dogs upon peaceful demonstrators is such evidence. . .
>
> "I hope the Department of Justice will reexamine its legal weapons in these cases. I hope it will recognize that the courts will never tell it when to move in to protect American rights; it is up to the Justice Department to act within the rules already laid down by the courts and proceed to test by action whether or not the courts agree with its interpretation of its powers.
>
> "For this enforcement arm of the National Government to do nothing, except to send mediators and await reports from the combat zone, is a shameful commentary on American democracy. If indeed, the Justice Department does act in defense of American rights and is not upheld by the Federal courts, then it should seek whatever new legislation is necessary to empower it to act.
>
> "It will never be good enough for this, or any administration of the Federal Government, to wring its hands over the inadequacy of legislation in this field. The test of this administration is whether it is willing to exercise its existing authority to the full, and then seek from Congress whatever additional authority is needed to put an end to the police atrocities which have been occurring.
>
> 'To the extent that these demonstrations are against segregation of public facilities in Alabama, and the denial of the right to vote in Mississippi, they are against something already known to be illegal. The demonstrators are asking that the law simply be upheld. . ."

The Justice Department is derelict in its duties. It refuses to test its powers under existing legislation literally wringing "its hands over the inadequacy of legislation." It further refuses to urge improved legislation; namely, Part III.

In Congress today the possibility of meaningful legislation with adequate enforcement powers is dim. The President's legislative proposals, no matter how moving in rhetoric, is limited to satisfy those legislators who wish to take what they think is a correct stance on civil rights and nothing more. The President's support of proposals limited in advance undercuts those Congressmen and Senators who support equality now. The President's proposal increases the power of those legislators who support indefinitely postponing implementation of full constitutional rights.

The legislative situation is one of "passing the buck." The full complement of civil rights needs is being severely compromised in advance of either body voting on such legislation. The rationale for advance compromise is that legislation must run the gamut of the Rules Committee and the Senate filibuster.

The most necessary legislative action on civil rights is to urge your Congressmen and Senators to support comprehensive civil rights legislation that encompasses the following: 1) authorize the Attorney General to take effective court action to prevent the denial of any civil rights on the grounds of race, creed or color (Part III); 2) require the immediate filing of school desegregation plans, with civil enforcement power vested in the Attorney General; 3) establish equality of opportunity in employment through a Fair Employment Practices Committee vested with authority to issue enforceable orders; 4) amply protect the right to vote through the establishment of a system of registrars to participate in Federal, state and local elections; 5) abolish literacy tests as a prerequisite for voting in Federal, state and local elections; 6) improve the administration of justice to protect against jury exclusion, police brutality and forms of private violence such as lynching; 7) make the Civil Rights Commission a permanent Federal agency with authority to render assistance to government agencies, organizations and individuals; 8) secure the right of all persons to equal and desegregated access to public accommodations and other facilities provided by business establishments which serve the public; 9) render financial and technical assistance to desegregating school districts.

CIVIL RIGHTS - EXECUTIVE

Pressure on the Executive branch in support of civil rights advances is often beneficial. An amicus curiae brief from the Justice Department urging review of the Deerfield case involving housing segregation by local government action is necessary before the Supreme Court will consider granting review. Failure of the Justice Department to file an amicus curiae brief will allow the Deerfield local government to have pursued governmental "action resulting in the exclusion of minorities" as reported by the Civil Rights Commission.

The Supreme Court has granted Modern Community Developers Incorporated, the home builders of integrated housing, until May 24 to file for a rehearing.

WIRE ATTORNEY GENERAL KENNEDY TODAY URGING THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TO FILE AN AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF IN THE DEERFIELD CASE SUPPORTING EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAWS.

President's Committee On Equal Employment Opportunity. The Washington Post of May 13 reported that the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, headed by Vice President Johnson, indirectly answered criticisms that it has been ineffectual in its efforts to end racial discrimination in Government contract work. The Committee compared its record to the one chaired by Richard Nixon. There is no question that this comparison is favorable. But the Johnson committee's record must be measured by how well it is integrating work forces in Government contract work, and not against the record of its extremely ineffectual predecessor.

In testimony in support of enforceable FEPC legislation, Virginia civil rights attorney, W. Hale Thompson said that voluntary programs supported by Vice President Johnson are being contravened and therefore make a mockery of the words "equal employment opportunity." He pointed out that many concerns surveyed in Atlanta have failed to comply with the Executive Order barring racial discrimination by firms that do business with the Federal Government.

The background story stems from a Southern Regional Council report issued in January 1963. This group, a private Southern interracial group, well respected for reporting facts accurately, stated that only three firms are actively creating equal job opportunities in Atlanta pursuant to the Executive Order.

The Southern Regional Council report prompted an Army, Navy and Air Force investigation. The conclusions from the investigation are reported to be disputed within the government. But one fact agreed upon is that the Atlanta firms operating under the voluntary plan have neglected to develop a broad recruitment policy complying with the non-discrimination goals incorporated into the Executive Order.

The New York Times of April 17 carried a story that other government officials are reported to believe "that the investigation bore out the conclusions of the (Southern Regional) Council's report. It was substantially correct, they thought, in its implication that the obligations under Plans for Progress and the Executive Order did not mean very much to many of the Atlanta branches."

MEXICAN FARM LABOR

The House Agriculture Committee, to no one's surprise, recently voted a two year extension of Public Law 78--a law that benefits primarily large farm growers and hurts American farm workers. The Rules Committee, acting speedily, has granted a rule on this bill.

CITIZEN ACTION - WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMAN OPPOSING EXTENSION OF P.L. 78.

Three Congressmen (Rosenthal, D-N.Y.; Olson, D-Minn.; Matsunaga, D-Hawaii) serving in the House Agriculture Committee have filed a minority report which serves as the rallying point for those who oppose the importation of Mexican

farm laborers. Their strong dissent put the issue in a nutshell:

> "No matter what reforms are put into effect, the existence of Public Law 78 with its inexhaustible supply of cheap, docile labor is bound to have a depressing effect on wages and job opportunities for U.S. farmworkers. As long as Public Law 78 and its importation exist, they must, by their very nature, adversely affect U.S. agricultural labor."

For the first time there is a fighting chance to defeat this program. The Administration proposal recommended a one-year extension and some minimal reforms. This procedure was so unpopular that no Congressmen offered to sponsor the legislation, which is highly unusual.

The choice for Congressmen is a two-year extension and no improvement in the American farm worker's life or abolishment of the importation program with increased farm wage and employment opportunities for the exploited American farm laborer. It is this latter alternative that ADA supports.

P.L. 78 was first enacted in 1951 as a temporary measure to bring Mexican farm workers, otherwise known as braceros, to American growers who were suffering a labor shortage because of the Korean War. Like other temporary measures (Federal school aid to impacted areas), it now seems to have perpetuity. This lucrative protection to the nation's large growers is now considered a vested right by them. Indeed, only two percent of American farms use Mexican farm laborers and these are mostly large corporation farms.

In testimony before the appropriate House Agriculture Subcommittee, ADA set the tone of its opposition to P.L. 78:

"ADA believes that the Congress should end its support for measures that will increase the guaranteed poverty of American farm workers and that will increase their unemployment. Extending the importation of Mexican farm laborers is such a program.

"The evidence indicates that agriculture in modern America is a business. Aside from the differences in detail that one can find whenever any two industries are compared, it is hard to discover any fundamental differences between the Detroit auto industry and large-scale commercial farming. There may be differences in detail but there are no differences in kind.

"Agriculture has a privileged position in the labor market. There is no valid economic reason for continuing to provide agriculture with a separate and distinct labor supply which is isolated in the mainstream of the American economy. We might note that unemployed Mexican workers living in Mexico ought to be able to have the right to work in industrial plants in California. Yet, even though this were possible no one would suggest that we undertake to import and make available jobs in industrial plants for thousands of Mexican workers. We expect this industry and others to establish a level of wages and working conditions sufficiently competitive to that offered by other industries to

enable it to draw from the domestic labor market the volume and kind of workers it requires. There is no reason in justice why agriculture cannot be expected to do the same. Until we require this, however, it will not happen."

Although P.L. 78 seeks to provide against "adverse effect" in wages to domestic farm workers, the importation program keeps down farm wages and further limits their employment opportunities. The ironic fact is that the bracero program prevents the law of supply and demand from working and therefore negates part of the American ethos--the free enterprise system.

The program works in the following manner: A bracero-seeking grower offers work at perhaps 60¢ per hour. Since the wage is so inadequate, American farm workers refuse to work for starvation wages. The grower, of course, does not raise wages. He merely tells the Federal government that he can't get American farm laborers. Needless to say the poverty of Northern Mexico is so great that braceros are available at wages of 60¢ per hour.

The growers sanctimoniously allege that the bracero program prevents prices from rising and helps Mexico. Both statements are false.

Two of the most important crops on which braceros are used--cotton and sugar beets--are price supported. Furthermore, farm labor has increased in productivity but the workers receive practically no share of their employer's increased savings.

The bracero program causes so much family dislocation in Mexico that many Mexican clergymen and other non-governmental leaders oppose extension of the program.

July 1963

PUBLIC POLICY REASONS IN SUPPORT OF

ADA CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATIVE ACTION PROGRAM

The following points should be stressed in communications and visits with legislators:

Public Accommodations

All facilities, both interstate and local, that seek public patronage should be prohibited from discriminating.

1. The size of the establishment has no bearing on whether it may discriminate. Small establishments have no more right to discriminate than large establishments. Although the small rooming house in which the owner resides--"Mrs. Murphy's rooming house"--retains many of the characterics of a home, and there may be some reason for protecting the right of privacy of the home owner, there is no privacy in a store or restaurant or entertainment facility open to the public. All such facilities, large or small, should be covered by the bill.

All thirty states that have legislatively prohibited discrimination in public accommodations, cover all public facilities whatever the size. This is the applicable parallel for the Congress to follow. Those who suggest that Congress follow the minimum wage legislation pattern, which exempts certain businesses from coverage are drawing a misleading parallel. The minimum wage exemptions were granted for economic reasons. State experience shows that economic criteria have no relationship with prohibiting public facilities from discriminating. Therefore no sound policy reason exists for Federal legislation to permit exemptions in public accommodations.

2. Another compromise proposal being suggested in some quarters is to take the court enforcement provisions out of the bill. Desegregation would only occur voluntarily. Conciliation efforts would therefore be seriously hampered since it is valuable only if there is ultimate court enforcement behind it.

Another argument in support of court enforcement is that the omnibus bill does not require criminal penalties. The bill calls for civil injunctive powers only. If a restaurant owner, for example, is found to discriminate he will have to stop discrimination or be in contempt of court. It is the party that discriminates that makes the choice. These civil injunctive powers should be an effective tool to end discrimination.

Part III

All civil rights protected by the Fourteenth Amendment should be effectively protected by authorizing the Attorney General to bring suit in any situation where persons are denied their rights because of race, color, religion or national origin.

Including Part III would guarantee an immediate effective legal outlet for implementing the constitutional rights of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Such a provision would not only reach hospitals, libraries, parks and other public recreational facilities, public buildings etc., not covered by the Administration's bill, but would also give the Attorney General power to enjoin state interference with peaceful protests as in Birmingham and elsewhere.

FEPC

The principal issue in an FEPC bill will center around commission or court enforcement. Court enforcement means that every charge of discrimination must be tried separately by a court. Commission enforcement is therefore essential for an effective law. Commission enforcement grants the FEPC authority to issue enforceable orders to cease and desist job discrimination against both employers and/or unions. Commission enforcement is based on state-local and Federal experience. The latter experience includes the successful work of the NLRB and the Federal Trade Commission. State and local FEPC laws indicate that Commission enforcement is more speedy and more workable. Commission enforcement allows for effective conciliation. In the event that the discriminating party--union or employer--refuses to abide by the Commission's enforcement of equal employment opportunities the Commission's decision will be upheld by the courts.

Washington, D. C.
July 1963

WHAT THE PRESIDENT'S CIVIL RIGHTS BILL CONTAINS

The President's civil rights program has been introduced in the House by Congressman Celler as H.R. 7152 and in the Senate by Senator Mansfield and 45 others as S. 1731. It is the most comprehensive civil rights bill ever to receive serious consideration from the Congress of the United States.

The "Civil Rights Act of 1963" contains eight titles relating to voting rights, public accommodations, school desegregation, Community Relations Service, Civil Rights Commission, non-discrimination in Federal programs, Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and miscellaneous provisions.

TITLE I -- Voting Rights

The first title relates to voting rights. It repeats, without substantial change, the Administration's voting bill sent to Congress in February of this year. It would:

(1) Prohibit the application of any standard, practice or procedure in determining qualifications to vote in any Federal election different from those applied to individuals similarly situated who have been found qualified to vote by State officials.

(2) Prohibit denial of the right to vote in Federal elections because of immaterial errors or omissions in registration applications or other acts requisite to voting.

(3) Require literacy tests given in connection with registration to vote in Federal elections to be in writing or transcribed.

(4) Establish sixth-grade education as a presumption of literacy in connection with any test given to qualify to vote in a Federal election.

(5) Amend the 1960 Civil Rights Act to provide that, when less than 15 per cent of potential colored voters are registered in the area, the court shall issue orders entitling qualified Negro applicants to vote and may appoint temporary referees to take applications for registration pursuant to its order.

(6) Provide for expeditious handling of voting cases in which the United States is plaintiff.

These voting provisions constitute improvements in the operations of the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts. But it is readily apparent that they are both moderate

and limited and wholly within the spirit of the 1957 and 1960 Acts. Indeed, the first four provisions noted above apply only to Federal elections, although there would appear to be constitutional authority to apply them to state elections as well.

The first two provisions, although primarily declaratory of existing constitutional and statutory requirements, will help persuade some reluctant judges by making the constitutional requirements clear.

The requirement that literacy tests be in writing or transcribed would make proof of discrimination simpler in many instances.

The provisions relating to a presumption of literacy based on a sixth grade education would make arbitrary denials by state officials more difficult and, when any arbitrary denials are challenged in court, this provision would take effect and create a presumption of literacy in favor of the person applying to register.

The provision for court orders entitling qualified Negro applicants to vote when the complaint alleges that fewer than 15 per cent of the Negroes of voting age in the area involved are registered to vote, makes possible meaningful interim relief during the customary lengthy litigation period. And the provision for temporary voting referees, despite the failure to date of the referee provisions of existing law, may nevertheless help persuade some judges to move ahead on this front.

The provision for expediting voting cases brought by the United States cannot make hostile judges act quickly, but it can be useful in some situations and will expose those judges who deliberately slow down judicial proceedings in voting cases.

There are stronger proposals in the voting field than those contained in the Administration bill. One of these, for example, is the Federal registrar system proposed by the Civil Rights Commission in 1959 and rejected by the Congress in the 1960 legislative battle. Administrative action of this character can provide mass enfranchisement which the court-centered programs never can accomplish. Yet every legislative advance cannot be obtained at once and the Administration proposals outlined herein will reenforce the 1957 and 1960 laws and give the Department of Justice additional tools in this important area.

TITLE II -- Public Accommodations

This is the most important title in the Administration bill. It would establish the right to service free from discrimination in places of public accommodation and business establishments. Included would be (i) any hotel, motel, or other public place furnishing lodging to transient guests from other states or traveling in

interstate commerce, (ii) any motion picture house, theater, sports arena, stadium, exhibition hall or other public place of amusement customarily presenting entertainment which moves in interstate commerce, (iii) any retail shop, department store, market, drugstore, gasoline station, restaurant, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other public eating places, if goods and services are provided substantially to interstate travelers, or goods held out to the public have moved in interstate commerce, or the activities or operations substantially affect interstate commerce.

Those refused service would have the right to sue for preventive relief. In addition, the Attorney General could enter suit on receipt of a written complaint, if the complainant is unable to bring suit because of financial reasons or fear of reprisals. If successful, a complainant would be entitled to reasonable attorney's fees.

Before filing suit, the Attorney General would be required to refer the complaint to the Community Relations Service provided under Title IV of the bill and to any appropriate state agency with authority to prohibit the discriminatory practice.

The bill relies on both the Fourteenth Amendment and the interstate commerce clause for its constitutional base, although the Attorney General in his June 26th testimony before the House Judiciary Committee relied almost exclusively on the interstate commerce power. Some Republicans prefer the Fourteenth Amendment route and it would probably be well to urge that the bill continue to be predicated on both constitutional bases. Added emphasis on the Fourteenth Amendment would also obviate the necessity of drawing lines between interstate and local facilities as does the Administration bill.

The President has acted decisively in meeting the problem of discrimination in places of public accommodation and this provision is certainly the most significant provision of the Administration's civil rights package. By the same token, it will inevitably engender the most opposition in Congress and the most efforts to compromise it.

One such compromise proposal is already being discussed -- namely, a limitation on the size of the establishment covered by the provision. It is true that a small rooming house in which the owner resides, the so-called "Mrs. Murphy roominghouse", retains many of the characteristics of a home and there may there be some reason for protecting the right of privacy of the home-owner. But there is no privacy in a store or restaurant or entertainment facility open to the public and, all such facilities, large or small, should be covered by the bill.

Even more dangerous - far more dangerous - is the compromise being suggested in some quarters to take the enforcement provisions out of the bill and leave it as entirely voluntary through conciliation. But conciliation is only valuable if there is ultimate enforcement behind it and anything that deprives the Administration package of an enforceable public accommodations title would be a tragic defeat for civil rights. What happens on the effort to take the enforcement provisions out of the public accommodations title will be a measure of success or failure for the Administration's bill.

TITLE III -- School Desegregation

Under this title, technical assistance, grants and loans would be made available to school boards to meet problems arising out of school desegregation or the adjustment of racial imbalance in schools.

The more important part of this title authorizes the Attorney General to institute civil actions for school desegregation upon receipt of complaints and a determination that the complainants are unable to institute legal proceedings.

As the Attorney General made clear in his testimony on June 26th, this title "would thus combine a program of aid to segregated school systems, which are attempting in good faith to meet the demands of the Constitution, with a program of effective legal action by the federal government . . . these programs would smooth the path upon which the Nation was set by the Brown decision. The school desegregation title is second only to the public accommodations title in furthering civil rights in America.

As in connection with the voting provisions of Title I, the moderate and limited nature of the President's proposals on school desegregation should be noted. The school desegregation provisions contain no requirement that school districts begin compliance with the Supreme Court's decision in 1963 as was promised by the Democratic Platform and as is contained in S. 772 and H.R. 1766, the so-called Clark-Celler bills. Furthermore, the Attorney General is limited in the Administration's bill to bringing suits only where complainants are unable to institute legal proceedings, a restriction on his freedom in school desegregation cases which was not included in the 1957 grant of authority to act in voting cases. Finally, it should be noted that there is no provision in this title or elsewhere in the bill for an across-the-board Part III authorizing the Attorney General to bring suit, not only in school cases, but in all situations where persons are denied their constitutional rights because of race, color, religion or national origin. Such a provision (which could be offered as an amendment to the President's bill) would not only reach

hospitals, libraries, parks and other recreational facilities, public buildings, etc., not covered by the Administration's bill, but would also give the Attorney General power to enjoin state interference with peaceful protests as in Birmingham and elsewhere. But moderate and limited as Title III is, it is a major step in the direction of integrated schooling and a vital and necessary part of any civil rights package.

TITLE IV -- Community Relations Service

A new agency, Community Relations Service, would be established under this title of the bill. Its purpose would be to help resolve problems arising from discriminatory practices by bringing together the people of influence in both races.

Such an agency would serve a useful function if the bill is finally enacted provides strong protection for the constitutional rights of minority group citizens. It could in no way be considered as a substitute for enforcement authority. As a complement to enforcement authority, it should have real value.

TITLE V -- Civil Rights Commission

Title V would extend the life of the Commission on Civil Rights for four years and authorize it to serve as a national clearing house to provide information, advice, and technical assistance to private and public agencies.

Because of its fine record, the Commission is deserving of support for extension and additional grant of authority. It could be hoped, however, that the agency could be made permanent in order to free it of the necessity of constantly revising its plans and to give it the stability it needs to conduct a continuing operation.

TITLE VI -- Withholding of Federal Funds

This title would authorize withholding of Federal funds from any program or activity that receives Federal assistance, directly or indirectly, by way of grant, contract, loan, insurance, guaranty, or otherwise, when discrimination is found in such a program or activity.

Again the moderate nature of the President's civil rights bill is evidenced by this provision. Many persons believe that the Presient already has the authority to withhold federal funds from any program or activity in which unconstitutional discrimination is found. Nevertheless the President has asked for this authority from Congress, apparently to buttress with Congressional approval what he desires

to do in this area. While the President would probably be in a position to act on his own initiative, this provision would add Congressional support for his action and should have the full support of all the groups. Federal funds contributed by all the people should never be utilized in a way that discriminates against some of the people who contribute those funds.

TITLE VII -- Equal Employment Opportunity

Under this title, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity would be reestablished as a Commission and given statutory authority under which to operate.

The authority proposed should be granted. The present Committee is handicapped by limited funds and manpower. It is also apparent that it is reluctant to exercise its full authority because of fear of Congressional reprisals. A Congressional grant of authority with subsequent financial support could considerably strengthen the agency in fulfilling its mission.

The enactment of this provision is not, however, a substitute for national FEPC. Such a law with strong enforcement procedures, as promised in the 1960 Democratic platform, is one of the most necessary legislative requirements. Several bills establishing an FEPC are pending in Congress. The adoption of one of these as an amendment to the Administration's civil rights bill should be strongly supported and the President's message to Congress gives his stamp of approval to this effort.

TITLE VIII -- Miscellaneous

The last title authorizes necessary appropriations and provides a separability clause in the event any provision of the bill is held invalid.

* * * * *

As we have seen, the President's bill is wholly necessary if freedom and equality are to win out in America. It is a strong and a good bill. Yet, as we have also seen, it is far from an extreme or all-encompassing measure. There is no room for compromise or weakening. The task of the groups who are meeting and mobilizing is to see that neither the House of Representatives nor the Senate weaken this vital measure.

ADA legislative newsletter

SPECIAL REPORT - NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY

First Session
88th Congress

Issue Number 14
August 6, 1963

(Every two weeks we summarize events in Congress as an information service to assist you in national affairs activities. We include brief analyses of legislative proposals together with factors of timing and politics as we see them. Subscription rate - $5 per year.)

NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY

The proposed Nuclear Test Ban Treaty neither commands the support of two-thirds of the Senate nor the opposition of one-third plus one of the Senate. Senate ratification remains uncertain.

Impressive bi-partisan pro-test ban treaty support that exists among business, religious, scientific and civic leaders represented, for example, in the Citizen's Committee for a Test Ban Treaty, is alone insufficient to win ratification. (The Citizen's Committee includes, among others, ADA National Chairman John P. Roche, UAW President Walter Reuther, President Eisenhower's chief test-ban negotiator Ambassador James Wadsworth, Eisenhower Cabinet members Marion Folsom and Arthur Flemming.)

The Treaty's most vigorous Senate supporters believe that the quality and quantity of individual citizen's letters supporting treaty ratification will largely influence the Senate's final decision. Strong right wing generated activity already evident in opposition to ratification increases the importance of pro-treaty individual citizen participation.

CITIZEN ACTION -- WRITE YOUR SENATORS TODAY AND SUPPORT SENATE RATIFICATION OF THE TEST BAN TREATY.

1. Prohibiting atmospheric, underwater and outer space nuclear testing is a first and vitally significant step in avoiding the risk of nuclear war among the U.S., U.K. and U.S.S.R.

2. It is a step in controlling the spread of nuclear weapons to countries now without such capabilities.

3. It will drastically reduce, and eventually end, the hazards of radioactive fallout.

This limited test ban treaty is a necessary step in reducing world tensions, by beginning to control nuclear weapons, without jeopardizing U.S. security.

Taken individually these three reasons merit treaty ratification. Taken together these three reasons compel ratification. Unless the Senate ratifies the treaty the U.S. cannot make any further advances in disarmament or arms control measures.

Effective citizen participation in the test ban issue requires an adequate layman's knowledge of possible objections to ratification. It is reported that the ability of Undersecretary Harriman and Secretary Rusk to answer well critical questions raised in closed committee session has favorably influenced many Senators of the Foreign Relations, Armed Services and Joint Atomic Energy Committees. Expertise required of government officials is, of course, not required of citizens. Lack of expertise should not foreclose communications with your Senators for the ability of the constituent to communicate adequate layman's knowledge about the issues will be most advantageous in the treaty vote.

The remainder of the Newsletter will deal with the probable reasons Senators may use to oppose the treaty. Close attention should be paid to published reports which indicate questions or objections Senators may have about ratification. CITIZEN ACTION may require writing more than one letter to your Senators. The most decisive influence on uncommitted Senators will be substantively sound letters supporting ratification.

1. Treaty Reservations. It has been reported that some Senators have raised inquiries about offering possible treaty reservations. Any Senator who supports a test ban only if it includes reservations is in effect an opponent of ratification. The adoption of even one reservation could be disastrous since it could easily result in Soviet refusal to ratify the treaty with the reservation. The treaty amply protects U.S. security and therefore requires no reservations.

2. Should we not test to develop the anti-missile (ballistic) missile (ABM)? While it is not inconceivable that further large atmospheric tests may improve the chances of developing the ABM, this weapon, once perfected, would not be a totally protective defensive weapon. The ABM defense can be saturated by large quantities of incoming missiles that include decoys launched simultaneously with the real missiles. Every probability exists that the decoys will lead some defensive ABM weapons astray. Therefore some offensive missiles will reach their target, rendering the ABM defense less than perfect. At any rate, the test ban treaty limits the U.S. and USSR equally from developing the ABM.

3. The U.S. is entering the treaty at a military disadvantage since the Soviet Union has tested large megaton weapons. This assertion is not supported by the facts! Beyond a certain size the megaton size of nuclear weapons does not significantly increase the deterrent effects of nuclear weapons. In order to deter aggression the U.S. stockpile contains nuclear weapons of different amounts of explosive power which can be used for different stratetic and tactical purposes. Our stockpile plus our weapons delivery system, sufficiently protects our defense.

4. The U.S. is now ahead of the USSR in the development of tactical nuclear weapons. By testing underground the USSR can catch up to and surpass the U.S. There are two answers to this point. Underground testing is legal and the U.S. can continue to test to maintain its nuclear advantage. Also, a future treaty that includes underground testing, by providing adequate on-site inspection, would maintain the U.S. lead in tactical nuclear weapons. (See Legislative Newsletter #11, June 17, 1963 and #6, March 21, 1963 for further background on underground test ban.)

5. Some Senators have expressed a fear that treaty violation by the USSR will result in security risks to the U.S. This fear has no rational basis once the facts are known.

The U.S. has a national detection network that can detect and identify nuclear tests in the atmosphere, underwater and outerspace--the environments prohibited from testing by the treaty. Since the U.S. owns and operates its own detection system it can improve its effectiveness if necessary. At this time the consensus of informed opinion believes that the U.S. detection and inspection system is sufficiently sound to make the test ban treaty self-enforcing and therefore incapable of being violated without the U.S. having knowledge of the violations.

Indeed the danger of secret testing in the prohibited environments is minimal since the small tests that may conceivably go undetected in the atmosphere could be legally conducted underground. Furthermore, the U.S. maintains on a standby basis those testing facilities affected by the ban, and this acts as a deterrent to potential violators since the U.S. will be in a position to overcome any gaps caused by illegal testing. Unlike the 1959-1961 moratorium the treaty's withdrawal clause, plus the standby basis, will increase the chances that the treaty will not be violated by the signatories.

Some question has arisen about our outerspace detection abilities: Presently even a one-megaton test detonated about one million miles from the earth can be detected. This can be increased to 100 million miles if we choose to establish a satellite detection system around the earth or sun.

6. Another excuse that may be used to oppose ratification is that the treaty gives the Soviet Union a veto power over treaty amendments. The U.S. and U.K. have the same veto power. No special power is granted to the USSR. Furthermore, the veto power extends only to amendments. This treaty has merit even if all future amendments are vetoed.

Incidentally, any amendment that varied U.S. treaty rights or duties requires two-thirds ratification of those Senators present and voting.

7. The false issue of recognition may be used by some Senators to oppose ratification. This reason is phony since the U.S. is not compelled to recognize all regimes which adhere to the treaty. The U.K. and USSR have the same rights.

The fundamental rule of international law in recognizing a regime is intent. The government that does not intend to recognize another government does not implicitly or indirectly grant recognition merely because both countries are party to a multi-lateral treaty. The fact that Communist China and the U.S. were both parties to the multi-lateral Korean Armistice Treaty does not mean that the U.S. recognized Communist China.

8. Finally, some Senators may argue that the treaty inhibits the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The best answer to that false allegation comes from the independent AEC. The treaty will not seriously affect the AEC program. A few projects may be cancelled but most experiments are either underground or involve pure uses of science. Neither program would be prohibited from continuing.

Only if the Senate ratifies the test ban treaty, and preferably by an overwhelming vote, will the U.S. take the necessary first step in beginning to control nuclear weapons.

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AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

August 22, 1963

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am deeply grateful to you for having written me about Lillian Smith's having been in the hospital again. I have written her at her home in Clayton, and do so pray that she is getting better.

Arnold Aronson, who is the Secretary of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, which has set up an office in Washington to fight for legislation, is much interested in the Southern Regional Council and its Director of Women's Work. You will probably be hearing from him.

I'm enclosing a couple of papers on the civil rights legislation which we have been circulating, as of possible interest to you.

Might I say, at this point, how much I admire all that you have been able to accomplish. I'll be thinking of you and of Lillian Smith when I'm marching along on the 28th.

Most cordially,

Page H. Wilson

(Mrs.) Page H. Wilson
Director, Public Relations

PHW/vm
Enc.

An Independent Liberal Organization

RESOLUTION ON CIVIL DEFENSE SPONSORED BY NEW JERSEY ADA

"The civil defense program of the federal government, however else intended, must be regarded as a step in the oscalation process. It gives the sanction of action to the dolusion that a thermonuclear war can be fought and survived. It encourages statesmen to take larger risks predicted on first-strike credibility andpost-attack recuperative capacity. It disengages the citizen from vigilance over the rationality and responsibility of his elected officials.

The Administration is urged to match any funds allocated for civil defense with appropriations for projects directed toward searching out more successful avenues for peace and disarmament, which is the only true security for mankind today."

# # # # # # #

Offered by the Greater Akron Chapter, ADA:

Domestic Policy, V, additional paragraph ....

E. Blast and Fallout Shelters

The entire question of the effectiveness of fallout shelters during nuclear attack is extremely confused because it depends completely on the assumptions which are made relative to the type of attack which may occur, the size of the bombs used and the magnitude of the total attack and the number of attacks. Even if a fixed set of conditions is assumed, there is still tremendous disagreement on the outcome because there is so little known about the total effects of nuclear explosions.

However, it is becoming increasingly clear that as time goes on and the magnitude of blast and fire effect increases, the usefulness of fallout shelters decreases and the government survey of possible fallout shelter locations becomes an ever increasing waste of money especially since the majority of shelters in prime target areas and population centers are also within the blast area.

Therefore we urge that the government not become involved in a mass underground blast and fallout shelter program but use the money for other needed programs of public works which have been neglected too long.

4.5 Friend of Court - when it reaches Supreme Court

BATON ROUGE, LA., VS. CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS IN JUDICIAL ATROCITIES

FACT SHEET

It is vitally important that you read the following material. It is important that you protest the injustices described in these pages to the Attorney General of the United States, and that you write to Louisiana Senators Ellender and Long, and to the Governor of Louisiana, James H. Davis in Baton Rouge, urging that the state drop all charges on those arrested in the Baton Rouge crisis. If you are silent on the issue, then you must bear some responsibility for whatever injustices are continually inflicted in Baton Rouge.

December 14, 1961: Twenty-two students from Southern University were arrested while picketing against segregation in downtown Baton Rouge. Those arrested were booked and jailed before they were told the nature of the charges against them.

December 15, 1961: Two thousand students from Southern walked from the campus to the court house protesting the arrests of their fellow students. Baton Rouge police broke up the march with tear gas, fire hoses, and dogs. Forty young girls were placed in a cell meant for 24 prisoners. Twenty-seven were held in an unventilated cell called a "Sweat box" by the jailors. Seventy-three were arrested in all.

January 18, 1962: Dr. Felton G. Clark, Southern University president, ordered the school closed. Dr. Clark ordered all students to leave the campus. He charged that the shutdown had been ordered because anti-segregation demonstrations "had seriously hampered the academic program of the University" The registrar, A.J. Hedgemon, said that all students would have to apply for re-admission when the school reopened.

January 25, 1962: Southern University reopened, four days late for the new semester, with state police cars patrolling the campus. Seven student leaders were refused permission to register.

February 1, 1962: SNCC Field Secretary Dion Diamond returned to campus at the invitation of Student Body President Murphy Jackson, and was arrested. Diamond had tried to address a campus rally of 2500 students the night before, but Jackson had refused to let the SNCC staff use the microphone. Diamond left the meeting and 1800 students left with him. Jackson invited Diamond to return to the campus the following day to continue the discussion. When he arrived in a taxi with some of the expelled students, he was arrested by campus security policemen and turned over to East Baton Rouge police. He was charged with vagrency, criminal anarchy, and two counts of disorderly conduct. His bail was $4,000. SNCC Chairman, Charles McDew, wired Southern University president Clark, telling him that his action in having Diamond arrested "is an infringement of academic liberties. This action proves conclusively, " McDew said, "That you are working hand in hand with local segregationalists."

February 17, 1962: SNCC Chairman Charles McDew and white SNCC Field Secretary Robert Zellner visited the East Baton Rouge jail in an attempt to see Diamond. They were told that "Colored" visiting days were on Tuesdays, and deciding that they could not wait, asked if they could bring fruit and books to Diamond. They were told that they could, but when they returned to the jail with these items they were questioned by Baton Rouge District Attorney Sergeant Pitcher. He refused them permission to leave candy for Diamond, and they were told that three of the books that they had purchased--Scottsboro Boys, by Haywood Patterson; The Ugly American, by Eugene Burdick and William Lederer; and Eight Men, by Richard Wright--were "contrary to Louisiana's policy of segregation of the races." They were arrested, and charged with vagrancy, though they had almost $200 between them. A week earlier Ronnie Moore, one of the seven students kept out of Southern University, and Chairman of the Baton Rouge CORE, was arrested for "criminal anarchy"also, as was Diamond. Diamond's bail was raised to $12,000, then to $13,000. Bail for McDew and Zellner was set at $7,000 each. They were specifically charged with "attempting to advocate, teach or practice, in private or in public, the overthrow of the government of the State of Louisiana by unlawful means." When they were arrested, they had been in the state for two days. The maximum penalty for "criminal anarchy" is ten years at hard labor. When sentencing occurs, the judge may or may not allow bail while appeal is made.

McDew and Zellner left the jail last week on bond. While there, their jailers placed them on exhibit for white curiosity seekers as "that Communist anarchy nigger" and that "nigger-loving anarchist." Zellner was attacked by white prisoners in his cell and was then moved to solitary confinement, where McDew spent the entire time in jail. Baton Rouge's solitary cells are six feet by six feet by six feet. Each cell has only one opening for ventilation -a small hole in the bottom of the door where the food is pushed in,

In a telegram to the United States Justice Department, the Atlanta SNCC office charged that Baton Rouge officials are "illegally arresting" SNCC staff and holding them on "trumped-up charges." The Southern Conference Educational Fund, in New Orleans, circulated a memorandum to more than eighty civil rights and human relations organizations asking them to send letters or telegrams of protest to the Justice Department.

February 21, 1962: Other telegrams protesting the arrests of McDew and Zellner were sent by the National Student Association, the Northern Student Movement, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and the University of Chicago Student Government Association. Several other colleges and universities around the country have responded with protest telegrams and letters to the Department of Justice.

February 28, 1962: Twenty members of the Nonviolent Action Group (NAG) of Washington, D.C., picketed the home of Senator Allen Ellender (D-La.) protesting "cruel and inhuman treatment of Negro students" in Senator Ellender's home state.

March 9, 1962: NAG presented a petition bearing 1,154 names to the Justice Department asking that they investigate the Baton Rouge arrests.

March 10, 1962: SNCC initiated a telegram, sent to forty student, church, human relations and civil rights leaders, asking them to attend the arraignment of McDew and Zellner. The telegram, signed

by James Farmer of CORE, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Whitney Young of the National Urban League, A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Reinhold Neibuhr, noted theologian, also asked that letters and telegrams of protest be sent to Robert F. Kennedy and Louisiana Governor James H. Davis.

March 11, 1962: Senator Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) telegrammed United States Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and asked him to investigate the arrests.

March 12, 1962: State Attorneys at Diamond's arraignment asked for, and were granted, additional time to prepare a case against him. On March 9, they had added four more counts to those already against him, and raised his bail to $13,500. He has been in jail since February 1, 1962. No trial date has been set yet, although Defense Attorney Johnnie Jones has until March 23 to file motions on the last counts of disturbing the peace.

March 13, 1962: McDew and Zellner returned to Baton Rouge for their preliminary hearing. The state dropped the charges of vagrancy. However , it charged in the bill of particulars that McDew and Zellner were members of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee, an "Organization which is known to the offenders to advocate, teach, and practice opposition to the Government of Louisiana by unlawful means."

SNCC and CORE have appealed to the Justice Department for immediate intervention, charging that the arrests violate the 8th and 14th amendments, which prohibit excessive bail and assure due process and equal protection under the law. As Charles McDew, Executive Chairman of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee has said: "The suppression of the right of any type of liberalism is frightening. It is reminiscent of the Gestapo tactics employed in the early days of the Third Reich. To thwart our movement, the archaic laws of anarchy are being revived. In this time of conflict we are indeed in a state of war, and we of the Civil Rights Movement do not intend to cease or disist until we can claim ultimate victory."

RESOLUTION TO INSERT IN THE PLATFORM STATEMENT UNDER DOMESTIC POLICY, Section-B. This will constitute a third paragraph:

We further urge the President to use the full powers of his office, acting through the Civil Rights Division of the United States Justice Department, to insure the individual freedoms of any United States citizen threatened with a violation of his constitutional rights. In accordance with this, we urge that the Justice Department strongly reaffirm the duties of Federal marshals as prescribed by the U.S. Code, Title 28, Section 549; Title 18, Sections 241 and 252; Title 42, Section 1987; and Title 18, Section 3053.*

*Section 549 of Title 28 of the U.S. Code, referring to marshals, provides as follows:

A United States marshal and his deputies in executing the laws of the United States within a state, may exercise the same powers which a sheriff of such a state may exercise in executing the laws thereof.

Sections 241 and 252 of Title 18, U.S. Code, provide for large criminal penalties for persons who deprive citizens of their civil rights under color of law or who conspire in any way to deprive citizens of their civil rights.

Section 1987 of Title 42, U.S. Code, directs federal marshals and federal district attorneys to arrest and prosecute anyone who violates Sections 241 and 242 above.

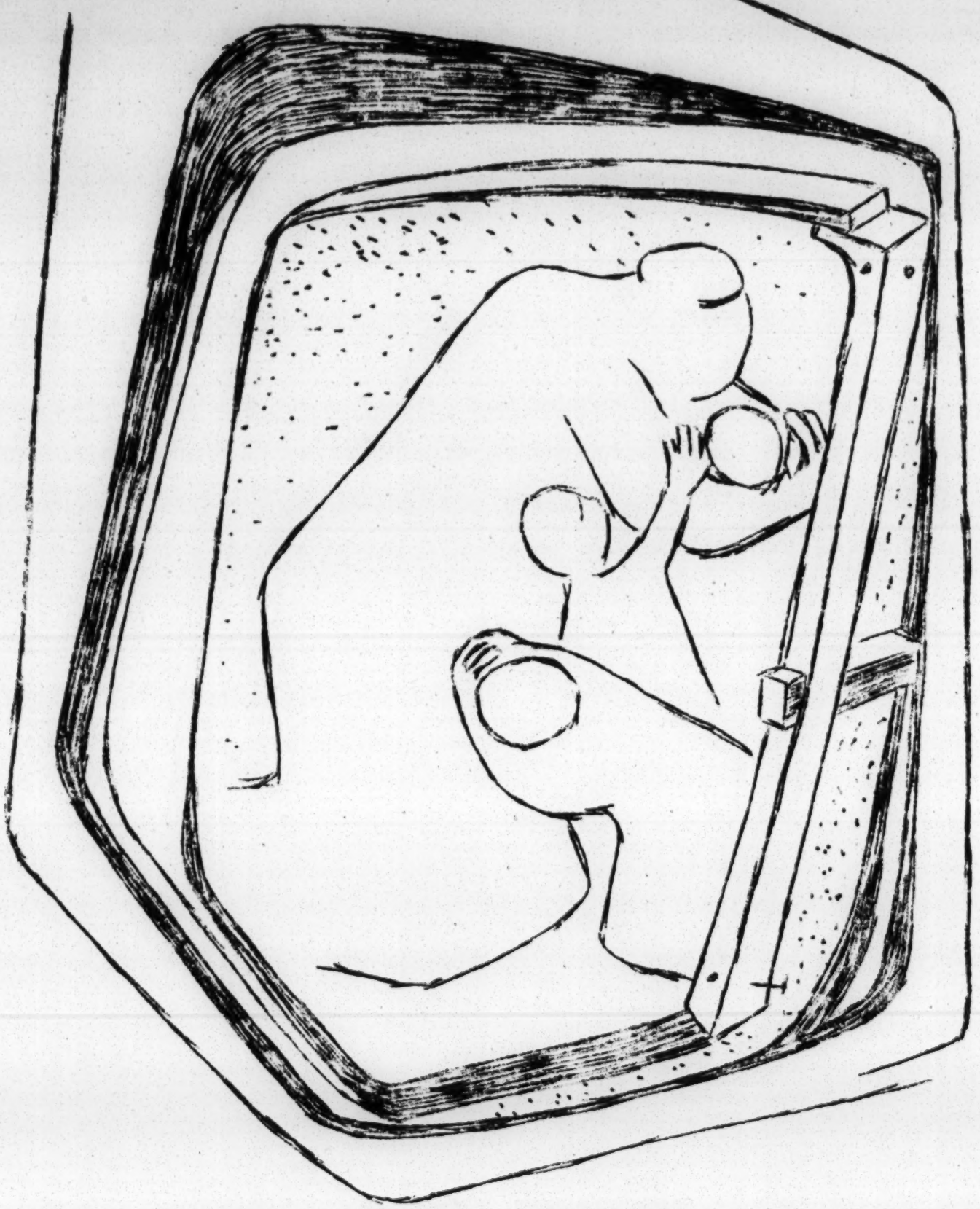
Sections3053 of Title 18, U.S. Code provides:

United States marshals and their deputies may carry firearms and may make arrests without warrant for any offence against the United States committed in their presence, or for any felony cognizable under the laws of the United States if they have Reasonable grounds to believe that the person to be arrested has committed or is committing such felony.

Proposed by the Sarah Lawrence College Chapter of ADA.

Fallout Shelters

Will They Save You ?



Prince Georges, Md Committee
Americans for Democratic Action

On December 14, 1961, Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatric announced that the budget for fiscal year 1963 would include an allotment of $700 million dollars for Civil Defense, of which $500 was to be for community fallout shelters, available to the states on a matching fund basis. On January 2, 1962, the Defense Department issued its booklet, Fallout Protection, What to Know and Do About Nuclear Attack. The Maryland State Legislature is now considering a $6 million bond issue to provide matching funds for the federal program. Montgomery County is considering its own shelter program, and the issue will certainly become important in Prince Georges County.

There is a massive publicity campaign currently in progress to sell the American people on the desirability of constructing fallout shelters. Although it may seem somewhat surprising, this campaign is being emphasized in urban areas.

It is disturbingly obvious that the general public is ignorant as to the facts of life of nuclear war. Unfortunately, there is little effort being made to inform them. In fact, the information being presented today is often misleading, giving the American people a false sense of security. The Defense Department's booklet Fallout Protection is a good example. Nuclear scientist Ralph E. Lapp, who lives in Arlington, Virginia, describes the booklet as "fairly innocuous," and of "limited value." In this effort, the Defense Department has chosen to neglect the anxiety of the vast majority of Americans who live in urban areas similar to Washington. Dr. Lapp points out that the booklet advises prople to retreat to their basements: "If the buildings collapse or burn, people would be trapped in the basement shelters. They'd be safe from fallout, but they would die nonetheless." In a letter to the Washington Post, James R. Newman, an editor of Scientific American, characterized the booklet as "a contemptible public relations hoax. It is designed to make you think you have a chance when, in fact, you have none."

Adam Yarmolinsky of the Department of Defense told the Women's National Democratic Club of Washington last October that "he does not think that Washington would be a major target in a Soviet nuclear attack." Yet a staff official of the now defunct Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization has stated that it will be a prime target, with the Russians probably not attacking with just one bomb, but with a three bomb missile pattern. It is somehow inconceivable that any nation making an all-out attack on the United States would skip Washington, the center of all Government activity and home of the Pentagon. Therefore, whether we like it or not, the problem of nuclear war and fallout shelters is of prime importance to the prople of the Washington area.

The clamor for fallout shelters is on the rise all over the United States. In New York State Governor Nelson Rockefeller rammed a $100 million bill for a shelter program through the State Legislature. There were no hearings, and the bill was passed before the Assemblymen even had a chance to read it. The Republicans supported it because their popular Governor backed the bill. The majority of the Democrats supported it because President Kennedy was in favor of the program. The leading dissenter was accused of "serving the communist cause" for opposing the program("the reds would like us to refrain from preparing for war", so the argument goes). Special emphasis is being placed on construction of shelters in schools, yet a recent representative survey by school administrators showed that 68% of American parents want their children to be sent home, even if their shcool has a fallout shelter.

If it is true that the general public is ignorant as to the effects of nuclear war, the same can be said of members of the U.S. Congress. Those Government officials who do know the facts are reluctant to tell the American people the truth. Why? They reason as follows: "If we tell the American People the truth, they will become so petrified that they will become pacifistic. We will no longer be able to put up a strong front against the Communist powers, and therefore, the communists will devour the rest of the world--eventually even the United States. We must at all times appear to be ready to fight a nuclear war." We disagree. We feel that the American people have a right to know the facts. What follows is a brief resume of the plain facts of nuclear war, based on those publications listed in the bibliography.

Only through an overall perspective can the true picture of nuclear war be seen. Although there are volumes of material on the effects of nuclear war, a single study covering all aspects is yet to be produced. Even the extensive hearings before the Holifield Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, major factors of nuclear war are either avoided or brushed over lightly. Unfortunately, concentration on a single issue like fallout can lead to a very distorted picture of nuclear war. The major factors to be faced are as follows:

1. Size of a Nuclear Attack: The current trend of public presentation of the totality of nuclear attack is dangerously misleading. The Holifield Committee has predicted a widely divergent scale of possible attacks on the United States. This ranges from a mere 300 megaton attack on strictly military objectives to a 3000 megaton attack on population centers. When Life Magazine says 97% of the American population can be saved in a nuclear attack, they are basing their statement on the smallest of predictable attacks, an attack of only 300 megatons. While the scientists and experts disagree on the nuclear potential of the Soviet Union, the average assessment is a capability of 10,000 megatons. It seems the sheerest sort of folly to base our civil defense plans on the premise that the Soviet Union will launch a relatively small attack on the United States. In facing a war, the basic strategy has always been to expect and prepare for the worst and then hope for the best. The Holifield Report, which was made before the advent of the Soviet superbombs, predicts that in the case of a 3000 megaton attack with emphasis on population centers, 120 million Americans would perish from the initial attack. Since an attack of this size is clearly within the realm of the possible, one can easily reach the conclusion that many mediums of information are deliberately trying to mislead the American people.

2. "You Can Survive": Approximately one year ago the Central Intelligence Agency was predicting that the Soviet Union had 500 missiles. Leading Democrats, including President Kennedy, were warning the American people about the "missile gap." Now the "missile gap" has disappeared overnight. How? By simply changing our intelligence estimates. The CIA under Allan Dulles was basing this calculation on the "capability" of the Soviet Union. This has now been changed to "probability." We made "an immense and costless advance in the missile race--without actually moving," according to Senator Stuart Symington.

By thus downgrading the Soviet nuclear capacity, the official experts have removed cities as possible targets. They reason thus: "since the USSR has only a limited supply of missiles, they will concentrate them on the Strategic Air Command installations with none left over for population centers." The objections to this reasoning are obvious. How can the CIA guess the Soviet Union's intentions? They have been wrong before. For example, in 1958, 1959 and 1960 the CIA told us the Soviet Union was giving up bomber production for emphasis on missile production. Yet the 1961 Soviet military air show revealed that they had continued manned bomber production and development in a substantial manner, and operational supersonic bombers were displayed about which we know nothing. Furthermore, when predicting the limited Soviet attack on SAC bases, the analysis is based on a missile attack alone and completely ignores the high probability of an attack accompanied by hundreds of hydrogen-bomb carrying supersonic bombers.

Assume that it is true that our missile bases and SAC sites will absorb all the Soviet Union's missile capacity. Civil Defense authorities say the Russians will not attack our cities unless we attack theirs. Presuming we are attacked first, and this attack is only on bases, what will we strike back at? Empty missile and bomber bases?

3. Will We Be Warned? Time magazine predicts that if we are given between thirty minutes and an hour's warning, 85 of a predictable 160 million casualities could be saved. But this is unrealistic. Enemy missiles would arrive in less than a half-hour, and if launched from a submarine, there would be no worning at all.

4. Blast Effect: According to an article on fallout shelters which appeared in the January 1962 issue of Consumer Reports, nuclear scientist Dr. Ralph E Lapp concludes that the average fallout shelter will be of absolutely no use in a blast area, and in this age of 20 to 55 megaton bombs, almost all of the greater Washington area would be a blast and fireball area. Yet is in urban areas where the greatest emphasis is being made on the necessity of fallout shelters. In order to be at all effective in blast areas, according to Dr. Lapp, shelters would have to be outside of the house, and the construction would cost between $5000 and $6000---certainly not within the budget of the vast majority of the American people. The danger of the present publicity is that it gives a false sense of security to those in urban areas who have fallout shelters, or who plan to take refuge in community fallout shelters in large buildings and schools. A recent Huntley-Brinkley news program highlighted the efforts of Civil Defense authorities in stocking a fallout shelter to be in the Ambassador Hotel in downtown Washington. This is deception of the cruelest nature--in the event of an attack on Washington, this shelter would be of no use whatsoever, except as a tomb.

5. Fire Storms: Most discussions of a possible nuclear attack assume that a Soviet attack will explode bombs on the ground or just above it. This may hold true for attacks on missile bases, but certainly not for attacks on cities. If bombs are exploded at higher altitudes, especially the new superbombs, they become mass incendiary weapons, capable of destroying all life in a large urban area. This is a problem that has not received deserved attention, perhaps because the facts are most unpleasant. The 1959 Holifield hearings glossed over this without serious consideration. But there have been examples of fire storms in the past which can shed light on this aspect of nuclear war. The Rockefeller Institute Report recounts two firestorms which occurred during World War II. On july 24, 1943 the Allies commenced bombing Hamburg with small fire bombs—a total of 8000 tons in all. The fire lasted seven days and reached the temperature of 1800 degrees. 80,000 people in basement bombshelters died of suffocation and carbon monoxide. In Dresden, 2000 tons of explosives caused a fire storm which resulted in the death of 300,000 in one night alone. A 10 megaton bomb contains 5000 times the explosive tonnage of the attack on Dresden.

Despite statements to the contrary by Civil Defense authorities, the fire specialists at the U.S. Forest Service estimate that Washington, D.C., which supposedly has the lowest percentage of combustable construction in the United States, is still composed of buildings that are 96.4% combustable. Dr. Alexander Langsdorf, Jr. of the Argonne Laboratories, has estimated that an airburst over Chicago would set the whole city on fire and turn bomb shelters into ovens; absense of oxygen would suffocate those who were not burned. Can we expect anything different in the Washington Area? The only escape from this is expensive, deep, hardened holes, with their own oxygen supplies. Civil Defense officials on all levels forsee no effort to build these kinds of blast shelters.

6. Flash Burns: A second after explosion, the fireball of a hydrogen weapon would be 8000 degrees centigrade. First degree burns would be experienced by exposed people as far away from ground zero as 27 miles.

7. Blinding: The Defense Department's booklet, Fallout Protection, states rather cryptically, when referring to the blast of a nuclear bomb, "Don't look at it." There is no explanation why, for the answer would be too disconcerting. Everyone looking at the fireball, even for a split second, would be blinded, either permanently or temporarily, depending on how far the observer was from the blast. Scientists estimate that a 100 megaton bomb exploded 300 miles above the Earth would cause retinal damage to those viewing it as far from ground zero as 800 miles. a 10 megaton bomb would break eardrums over an area of 300 square miles around ground zero, and lungs would be damaged to those within 100 square miles.

8. Psychological Aspects: An attack would bring immediate confusion and dispair. There will be no electricity, telephones, water supply, sanitary facilities, transportation—everywhere there will be fire with no way to fight it. Those who survive the blast will have sufferred injuries and burns. Families will be separated. Because of experience of disasters on a small scale, we know that the shock effect would be tremendous. We will have to abandon our children who will be in school, our husbands who will be at work, the 1.6 million people in hospitals, not to mention the 850,000 patients in mental hospitals. What about the elderly in homes for the aged?

9. Two Weeks in a Shelter? Civil Defense authorities throughout the U.S. are publicizing a two-week stay in a fall-out shelter after attack. It is true that within two weeks the totality of radiation is rapidly reduced. However, no one escapes a degree of radiation, even in a shelter. In a better-then-average shelter, an individual would still receive about 40 roentgens in two weeks, more than 4 times the normal lifetime exposure. This is enough to adversely affect lifespan, reproduction, and susceptibility to cancer, leukemia and other diseases. Yet after two weeks, a family would have to come out to find food and participate in rescue work. At this time, in an area which received fallout contamination, an additional 30 roentgens would be absorbed per day. If we base the total exposure on the figures presented in the 1957 book by the Atomic Energy Commission, The Effects of Nuclear Weapons, at the end of five days the family would be very sick, and at the end of ten days dead. Even if radiation was not in large enough quantities to kill, it would result in nausea, vomiting, loss of hair, blody diarrhea, bleeding gums, anemia and gangrene as were experienced at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Even in an area where radioactivity was comparatively light, children would have to remain in a shelter for a much longer period of time in order to protect them as much as possible against damage to their reproductive systems. Children are also more suseptable to bone cancer and leukemia, caused by radiation.

There can be some justification for building fallout shelters in areas which would not be subject to blast effects and fire storms but would experience a degree of fallout. Fallout is deadly even at long distances from ground zero. The case of the Japanese fishing boat, the Lucky Dragon, is only too well known. These fishermen were exposed to radioactive fallout from the 15 megaton test on Bikini Atol in 1954. This one single bomb distributed lethal fallout over an area of 8000 square miles. In spite of the fact that the fishermen were over one hundred miles from the blast, and had the very best of medical care, they became sick, with one crewman eventually dying.

10. Housing: In an "average" sized nuclear attack(1446 megatons) the Holifield Committee predicts that 75% of the American people would be homeless, due to fire, destruction and radiation contamination. No one would want to live above ground without shelter, and seeking shelter in contaminated housing would mean certain death. Of necessity, fallout shelters would become the only suitable housing.

11. Medical Care: Obviously, after a nuclear attack there will be a tremendous need for medical attention. What will happen to our doctors? Of the 300 doctors in Hiroshima, 260 were killed in the attack by what is now a "baby bomb"--only 20 kilotons. The same thing would happen in the United States—doctors, nurses, medicine, drugs and hospitals would be totally inadequate.

12. Food: Those who are "fortunate" enough to escape death in the initial attack will have to eat to survive. Eat what? As George P. Larrick, U.S. Commissioner of Food and Drugs has stated: "We do not have facilities to safeguard the food and drug supply adequately from contamination with radioactivity." Dr. Bently Glass, geneticist of Johns Hopkins University, told the American Association for the Advancement of Science on December 30, 1961, that we can be sure of one thing when we emerge from our shelters--all domestic animals, birds and wild animals will be dead. There are no shelters for sheep, hogs and cattle. There will be no milk. Wheat, corn and other foods which would be growing would be unfit to eat due to fallout contamination. Worse than this, the soil would be so contaminated that it would take approximately 40 years for it to lose its harmful radiation. The survivors will be faced with starvation or slow death from eating radioactive food.

13. Water: Our water supply will not escape contamination. Some Civil Defense authorities optomistically state that the radioactive material will settle to the bottom, and then we can scoop the water off the top. But water needs filtration. Dr. John N. Wolfe of the AEC feels that our filtration plants will become contaminated and thus useless.

14. Vegetation: In testimony before the Holifield Committee, Dr. Wolfe stated that in case of nuclear attack the pine, spruce and fir trees will be killed by radioactivity. Fires will destroy most of our forests--in the East, the Ozarks, the Appalachians, and the Western Mountain ranges. The fires will go unchecked until they are extinguished by a winter snow. Then in the spring, the destruction of trees and vegatation will bring on many floods and a great deal of erosion. Vast areas will be turned into deserts and dust bowls. This is another aspect of nuclear war that is almost totally ignored by planners for Civil Defense.

15. Disease: Diseases will radically increase--resistance will be low, and dead and contaminated bodies will cause a great danger. Rats will probably be the only animals to survive, as they were on Eniwetok. Bacteria in sewers and sewage will increase as they are practically immune to radiation. Furthermore, human beings who are exposed to radiation are far more susceptable to disease, as was discovered at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

16. Insects: Tests have shown that the resistance of insects to radiation is far greater than that of human beings--they will probably survive any nuclear attack. There will be no birds or human means to control them, and aside from their direct influence on men, without any means of control they will multiply rapidly and kill the remaining trees and vegetation.

17. Social Barbarism: The total effect of a nuclear attack is a terrifying picture. How will the survivors face up to it? With no housing, clothes, food, water, medical supplies, etc., most will be unable to provide for their families through the normal procedures. If this is the case, the drive for self perservation will take the upper hand, and men will resort to socially unacceptable methods--plunder, crime, murder and warfare. The thought of living in this kind of a world is certainly depressing. One can

understand the feelings of former President Eisenhower who stated: "If I was in the finest shelter in the world, all alone, with all my family somewhere else, I just think I'd walk out. I wouldn't want to live in that kind of a world.

18. Chemical and Biological War: Why should we assume that an attack on the United States will be of the nuclear variety? The United States is developing chemical and biological warfare; can we assume that the Soviet Union is neglecting this aspect of war? There has been a great deal of speculative talk about the building of a "neutron bomb," which would merely kill people and not destroy physical structures. But scientists are not agreed on how long it will take to build such a weapon—many think it is impossible. But don't we already have weapons with the same effects as a "neutron bomb"? It is true that in a first-strike against the United States, assumed to be concentrated on missile and SAC bases, biological, chemical and gas warfare would be useless. But after this attack, what about a second-strike against cities? These weapons would have the advantage of saving all the physical structures while killing all the people. Bomb and fallout shelters would provide no defense against such tactics.

These are the horrible facts of nuclear war. It is unfortunate that responsible officials do not want to tell the American people the truth. We must face the facts of nuclear war, civil defense and fallout shelters. As General Douglas MacArthur has so succinctly put it: "War has become a Frankenstein to destroy both sides ... No longer does it possess the chance of the winner of the duel--it contains, rather, the germs of double suicide."

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WASHINGTON CHAPTER ADA

HATCH ACT AMENDMENT

We recommend the enactment of legislation amending the Hatch Act to permit Federal employees (and those state and local government emplpyees covered by the act) a much greater degree of participation in political activities while at the same time protecting them from subtle and overt coercion to contribute to or otherwise assist a political organization or candidate.

Cambridge Chapter, ADA, submits to the Domestic Policy platform Committee of the 1962 National Convention, the following proposals:

1. Federal Aid to Education.

The ADA strongly urges a broad scale and comprehensive Federal program of financial aid to public institutions on the primary and secondary levels, and to public and private colleges and universities. Such aid should include grants, loans, pledges of Federal credit, and scholarships.

We strongly oppose the use of public funds, directly or indirectly, to subsidize non-public primary and secondary schools.

2. Poll Tax.

We favor swift passage in the House and ratification by the states of the constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax as a requirement for voting in Federal elections.

3. Welfare.

We favor the elimination of residency requirements for all categories of public assistance in which there is Federal financial participation.

Offered by the Greater Akron Chapter, ADA

Domestic Policy, V, A, additional paragraph ....

We urge the effective establishment of standards of excellence in the schools rather than pursuance of a vague concept of "life adjustment", which far too frequently serves as a facade for the teaching of conformity.

Domestic Policy, V, D, 2, add ....

Any direct federal government subsidies should be granted only to municipally owned transit systems.

3. We recommend pilot programs in cities larger than Ithaca, N. Y. for the purpose of experimenting with the provision of free mass transportation as an alternative to multimillion dollar expressways which, in addition to being excessively costly, remove property from tax duplicates and destroy the beauty of our cities. Study and experimentation may prove free mass transportation systems to be the least expensive and the most efficient solution to the traffic problems of large cities, although it is possible they will not entirely eliminate the need for a limited number of expressways, at least around the periphery of cities.

Domestic Policy, V, B, additional paragraph ....

6. The Food and Drug Administration appropriation should be expanded to make feasible (as provided by law) its policing the use of chemical additives in food in order to be reasonably sure that such additives are safe for human consumption; cosmetic manufacturers should be obliged to prove safety of products which may be ingested or inhaled new drugs should be thoroughly tested to establish efficacy and possible side effects and such effects should be plainly stated in all advertising; the burden of proof of safety should be with companies manufacturing such chemicals.

Offered by the Greater Akron Chapter, ADA

DOMESTIC POLICY, II, A, additional paragraph ....

Automation poses difficult problems and provides tremendous opportunities--problems which can only be solved and opportunities which can only be developed if our economy is expanding at a sufficiently rapid rate. Just as essential as rapid expansion, however, is proper expansion in those sectors of the economy which will provide the greatest good to the greatest number. The experience of the past few years indicates that, in order to fulfill this obligation, it will be necessary for government to expand public expenditures greatly and to intercede directly into the economy, both to provide needed goods and services (such as the solution of slum clearance and transportation problems, etc.) and to obtain and maintain a full employment economy. We urge that government undertake its responsibilities to help develop the opportunities afforded by automation to raise the standards of living rather than allowing automation to result in increasing misery. It should be obvious by now that there is no pushbutton solution to the problems of automation, that automation does not automatically provide jobs.

RESOLUTION PRESENTED BY THE SARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE CHAPTER OF ADA

ADA urges that the Federal Administration acting through the Civil Rights Division of the United States Justice Department intervene immediately in the cases of Charles McDew, Robert Zellner and Ronnie Moore who are charged with criminal anarchy by the State of Louisiana for the simple exercise of their constitutional rights. ADA recognizes that the State of Louisiana has acted in gross violation of basic democratic principles* and demands that these judicial atrocities be remedied by Federal Intervention.

*Violation of the 8th and 14th amendments which prohibit excessive bail and assure due process and equal protection under the law.

RESOLUTION ON CIVIL DEFENSE SPONSORED BY NEW JERSEY ADA

"The civil defense program of the federal government, however else intended, must be regarded as a step in the oscalation process. It gives the sanction of action to the dolusion that a thermonuclear war can be fought and survived. It encourages statesmen to take larger risks predicted on first-strike credibility andpost-attack recuperative capacity. It disengages the citizen from vigilance over the rationality and responsibility of his elected officials.

The Administration is urged to match any funds allocated for civil defense with appropriations for projects directed toward searching out more successful avenues for peace and disarmament, which is the only true security for mankind today."

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Dear Friend:

A plague of right-wing fanaticism is spreading across the land. This contagion, which under the guise of fighting communism, is working to undermine the hard-won measures for social justice it has taken years to achieve. This epidemic is heavily financed and noisy beyond numbers.

ADA is proud to be in the forefront of the fight against right-wing extremism, just as ADA helped to eliminate communists from the liberal movement and led the fight against McCarthyism in the '50's.

The efforts of the right-wing have met with some success. A measure of their success is reflected in the caution of this session of the Congress. They have publicly announced plans for an all-out onslaught on liberals in Congress who have worked to achieve vitally needed legislation in the fields of housing, civil rights, education and the many other urgent problems that need to be solved. The rightists, with their noisiness, have frightened many of the moderates in Congress, thus weakening support for such vitally needed legislation.

We must join battle with them by supporting and working for liberal candidates in this fall's election. ADA has the capacity and the will to meet this challenge. What we need is your help, both in your efforts in support of liberal candidates and by a generous response to this appeal for funds. If you give us the tools, we can, with your help, do the job.

Enclosed above is a convenient postpaid envelope. Please help now. It has never been needed more -- or for a better cause.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.
Vice-Chairman for Civil Rights
and Civil Liberties

P.S. ADA's booklet, "What's Wrong with the Far Right," will come to you with our acknowledgment.

An Independent Liberal Organization

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

March 7, 1962

Dear Friend:

Perhaps the most important and valuable educational tool ADL has ever produced will become available to you in March, with the publication of "SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS...."

"SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS..." must be read by every Christian who unwittingly or not practices discrimination or who is trapped into sustaining and extending it. From no better source can one and all gain an understanding into this very real and pervasive problem which affects the lives of five and one half million Americans, to the loss of the entire nation.

We believe the educational value of this book requires that it be brought to the attention of every concerned person. In order to do this we will be happy to furnish you sufficient material and bear the cost of a third class mailing to all your parishoners. We would appreciate receiving from you as soon as possible the number of informational brochures you will require for such a mailing. Your assistance will be extremely helpful in removing the scourge of anti-Semitism from the community conscience.

I have read portions of this book in galley proof form, and I would feel personally remiss in my professional duty if I failed to recommend it in the strongest terms so that it did not come to the attention of the widest possible audience. Please use the attached convenient Order Form for obtaining your personal copy of the book, and we will absorb postage if you will remit with your order.

Sincerely yours,

Richard M. Shapiro

Richard M. Shapiro
Associate Director

rms/tg

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 EAST 56th STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Omaha, Nebraska, FEP Ordinance

FROM: Paul Hartman and Theodore Leskes

On February 6, 1962 the City Council of Omaha, Nebraska passed a fair employment practices ordinance which was approved by Mayor James J. Dworak on February 12, 1962. This is the first FEP measure adopted anywhere in the State of Nebraska.

The ordinance outlaws employment discrimination by employers with three or more employees, employment agencies or labor organizations, because of race, religious creed, color, national origin or ancestry. It also prohibits the printing or circulating of statements, advertisements or publications which express, directly or indirectly, any limitation, specification or discrimination as to race, religious creed, color, national origin or ancestry.

Enforcement of the ban on discrimination is vested in the Human Relations Board, an existing body which until now had only advisory functions. The Board is empowered to initiate or receive complaints (called "information") charging unfair employment practices. The Board is called upon promptly to consider all such information, and if it finds probable cause, to seek to eliminate the unlawful employment practice by means of conciliation and persuasion.

If the Board cannot settle a matter by such means and if it determines that an unlawful employment practice appears to have been committed, it has the duty to forward to the Mayor and City Council a report with its findings and recommendations for appropriate action.

If the Board recommends that the matter be referred to the City Prosecutor for criminal proceedings, the City Council must hold a hearing prior to such referral.

Violations of the prohibition of discrimination are punishable by fines up to $500.00 or imprisonment up to six months, or both, at the discretion of the court.

PH/TL:lk
No. 360
3/9/62

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Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 EAST 56th STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Marshall, et al. v. Kansas City, Missouri - Docket No. 48 419.

FROM: Paul Hartman and Theodore Leskes

DIGEST: The Missouri Supreme Court upholds a Kansas City (Missouri) ordinance prohibiting discrimination in restaurants, hotels and motels as a lawful exercise of the police power delegated to that city by the Missouri Legislature. The Court rejects the charge that the ordinance is special legislation prohibited by the state constitution.

THE FACTS

In January, 1960 the City Council of Kansas City enacted an ordinance prohibiting racial discrimination against customers of restaurants, hotels and motels. The ordinance created a three-man committee and authorized it to seek to settle complaints of discrimination. It further provided that if efforts at settlement fail the complaint is to be referred to the City Counselor for further action, i.e., criminal prosecution. The ordinance spells out fines up to $200 for any conviction under it.

Shortly after the ordinance was enacted, 15 restaurant operators brought suit to test it. After a hearing, Judge John J. Stubbs of the Circuit of Jackson County ruled the ordinance unconstitutional, void and beyond the powers granted to Kansas City under its city charter.

Kansas City appealed this decision to the Missouri Supreme Court. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee, jointly with the Jewish Community Relations Bureau of Kansas City and the American Jewish Congress, filed a brief as amici curiae supporting the validity of the ordinance.

On April 9, 1962 the Supreme Court of Missouri, by a 4 to 3 decision, reversed the lower court. Judge Storckman wrote the majority opinion in which three other judges concurred. There were two dissenting opinions, one by Judge Eager, concurred in by another judge, and the other by Judge Dalton.

SUMMARY OF MAJORITY OPINION

The opinion started with the "unquestionable" proposition that the State of Missouri, like any other state, under its police power had the right to pass civil rights laws. While a number of other states have adopted such statutes, which are in full harmony with the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the State of Missouri had not done so. The question in issue was whether the state delegated to Kansas City the power to pass a civil rights ordinance such as the one in question. Kansas City was a municipal corporation governed by a home rule charter as provided by the state constitution. Under its charter, Kansas City was authorized to regulate all kinds of businesses carried on in the city and to enact all needful ordinances for preserving order and promoting the public health, safety, convenience, comfort, morals, prosperity and general interest and welfare. By these provisions, Kansas City had been granted police power, including the power to regulate businesses, which means to prescribe the manner in which they must be conducted.

The opinion discussed a decision of the Utah Supreme Court, which is the only judicial authority for the view that a civil rights ordinance is beyond the police power of a municipal corporation. The opinion contrasted this decision with the U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding the power of the District of Columbia to promulgate a law prohibiting racial discrimination in restaurants. (District of Columbia v. Thompson, 346 U.S. 100, 1958.) Judge Storckman pointed out that the Thompson case, like the present case, dealt with a local law declaring discrimination a criminal act, while the Utah decision was concerned with an ordinance giving the aggrieved person a right to sue for damages. Following the reasoning in the Thompson decision, the opinion concluded that the municipal ordinance in question

(over)

> designed to prevent discrimination by reason of race or color in restaurants, bears a substantial and reasonable relation to the specific grant of power to regulate restaurants and to the health, comfort, safety, convenience and welfare of the inhabitants of the city and is fairly referable to the police power of the municipal corporation.

The court rejected the argument that the ordinance violated the constitutional right of restaurant owners to contract with whom they please. It pointed out that the right to contract is not an absolute one, and that the state under its police power may impose reasonable restrictions on that right.

Finally, the opinion dealt with the contention that the ordinance was a special law, prohibited by the Missouri constitution, because it was limited to restaurants, hotels and motels, and did not relate to other businesses. In this respect the opinion stated that a law was not "special" in the constitutional sense "if it applies alike to all of a given class provided the classification thus made is not arbitrary or without a reasonable basis." The court pointed out that "food and shelter" or "food and lodging" are among man's basic needs, are often provided by the same establishment, and are frequently the subject of legislation either singly or in combination. Hence, by limiting the ordinance to businesses concerned with these needs Kansas City did not use improper classification and violate the Missouri constitutional ban on special laws.

The majority concluded that the plaintiffs' attack on the validity of the ordinance was without merit, and that the lower court erred in declaring it unconstitutional. Consequently, the lower court's judgment was reversed and that court directed to enter a declaratory judgment upholding the constitutionality of the ordinance.

SUMMARY OF JUDGE DALTON'S DISSENTING OPINION

Judge Dalton agreed with the majority that Kansas City had been given authority to enact a civil rights ordinance. He also agreed that the ordinance in issue was not an arbitrary or unreasonable exercise of the city's police power. He disagreed with the majority on the question of whether this ordinance constituted special legislation. In this connection he stated that it was common knowledge that many businesses other than those covered by the ordinance (restaurants, hotels, motels) unfairly discriminate on account of race and color. Therefore, he believed that a city ordinance whose sole purpose was to prevent discrimination on account of race and color could not be limited to one local or special field where a general law could be enacted. He concluded, therefore, that the ordinance limiting the prohibition of discrimination to three types of businesses was a special law and as such void under the Missouri constitution.

SUMMARY OF JUDGE EAGER'S DISSENTING OPINION

Judge Eager based his dissent on the view that Kansas City had no authority under its charter to enact a civil rights ordinance. He did not believe that this ordinance constituted a bona fide "regulation" of the restaurant business within the meaning of the city charter since it had nothing to do with matters of health, purity of food, hours of operation, morals, or any of the ordinary matters inherent in the normal operation of such a business. He would have followed the decision of the Utah Supreme Court which held that civil rights legislation was beyond the power of municipalities. He felt that the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the Thompson case was not applicable to the specific nature of the District of Columbia under federal law.

NOTE: It is significant that a lawsuit initiated by a St. Louis steamship company attacking the constitutionality of a civil rights ordinance adopted by the City of St. Louis was withdrawn subsequent to the decision of the Missouri Supreme Court in the Kansas City case. In its suit the steamship company had relied on arguments similar to those rejected by the Missouri Supreme Court in the Kansas City case.

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No. 365
May 7, 1962

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 EAST 56th STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: 1962 Civil Rights Legislation in State and City of New York.

FROM: Paul Hartman and Theodore Leskes

DIGEST: New York State Legislature adopts several laws relating to civil rights, including a law voiding racial or religious covenants and a law prohibiting discrimination in the operation of apprenticeship training programs. The City Council of New York strengthens the ordinance prohibiting discrimination in private housing.

A. NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATION

The 1962 session of the New York Legislature adopted a series of laws in the field of civil rights. They have been approved by Governor Nelson Rockefeller and are now on the statute books of the state.

1. Racial and religious restrictive covenants declared void

Chapter 646 of the Laws of 1962 declares void as against public policy "any promise, covenant or restriction in a contract, mortgage, lease, deed or conveyance or in any other agreement affecting real property, heretofore or hereafter made or entered into, which limits, restrains, prohibits or otherwise provides against the sale, grant, gift, transfer, assignment, conveyance, ownership, lease, rental, use or occupancy of real property to or by any person because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry."

The law further provides that the invalidity of such a restrictive covenant does not affect the validity of other provisions of the agreement apart from those imposing sanctions for violations of the covenant.

Excepted from the coverage of the law are conveyances or devises made to religious associations or corporations for religious purposes.

Note: The bill as originally introduced would have covered also racial and religious restrictions in wills. However, in the course of the legislative proceedings, it was amended to be applicable only to conveyances and other agreements *inter vivos*.

Racial and restrictive covenants have been unenforceable through the courts since 1948 as a result of the U. S. Supreme Court decision in *Shelley v. Kraemer*. That decision, however, did not declare such covenants to be null and void. Hence they do have some effect, so long as they are adhered to voluntarily, unless a state passes a law declaring such covenants invalid. Prior to the 1962 New York law, Minnesota, California and in the Virgin Islands enacted statutes declaring racial or religious restrictive covenants null and void.

2. Discrimination in apprenticeship training programs prohibited

Chapter 164 of the Laws of 1962 declares it to be an unlawful discriminatory practice for an employer, labor organization, employment agency or any joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship training programs

(a) to deny any qualified person, because of his race, creed, color or national origin, the right to participate in a guidance program, an apprenticeship training program, on-the-job training program or other occupational training or retraining program;

(b) to discriminate against any qualified person in his pursuit of such a program or in its terms, conditions or privileges;

(c) to print or circulate discriminatory advertisements, to use discriminatory application forms for such programs, or to make any inquiry in connection with such programs which expresses any limitation or discrimination as to race, creed, color or national origin.

(over)

Note: The existing law prohibiting discrimination in employment does not necessarily cover apprenticeship programs because the apprentice need not be an employee. This explains the need for the new enactment.

The new ban is enforced in the same manner as the ban on discrimination in employment, i.e., through proceedings before the State Commission For Human Rights (see 4 below).

3. Broadening of the definition of places of public accommodation

Chapter 370 of the Laws of 1962 enlarges the listing of places of public accommodation, resort and amusement, which may not discriminate on racial or religious grounds, by including the following: motels, swimming pools, laundries, trailer camps, resort camps, public conveyances operated in the air, travel or tour advisory services, agencies or bureaus, public halls and public elevators of buildings and structures occupied by two or more tenants or by the owner and one or more tenants.

4. Organizational and procedural changes

Chapter 165 of the Laws of 1962 changes the name of the commission which enforces the statutory bans on discrimination in employment, apprenticeship programs, housing and places of public accommodation from State Commission Against Discrimination to State Commission For Human Rights.

Chapter 369 of the Laws of 1962 makes the chairman of the State Commission For Human Rights its chief executive officer and creates the new position of a vice-chairman.

Chapter 6 of the Laws of 1962 increases the number of members of the Commission from five to seven.

Chapter 529 of the Laws of 1962 extends the time within which the Industrial Commissioner or the Attorney General may file a complaint with the Commission For Human Rights, from 90 days to six months after an alleged discriminatory practice. The 90-day statutory period applying to other complainants (aggrieved persons) remains unchanged.

B. NEW YORK CITY LEGISLATION

The New York City Council adopted and Mayor Robert F. Wagner signed a measure strengthening the 1957 ordinance prohibiting discrimination in private housing (see Joint Memos #223 of January 8, 1958 and #341 of July 31, 1961). The original ordinance -- the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Law -- established a rather complicated enforcement procedure through the City Commission on Intergroup Relations, summarized in the last paragraph of Joint Memo #223. The amendment simplifies this procedure before the Commission, whose name has been changed to Commission On Human Rights.

Another provision of the amendment permits the Commission to publish the details of a case after the conclusion of the conciliation proceedings. Prior to this amendment proceedings before the Commission were confidential and remained so even after the conclusion of conciliation proceedings.

Still another change brought about by the recent amendment permits the Commission to apply, while a case is pending, for a court injunction to prevent the defendant from any conduct which might frustrate an order ultimately issued by the Commission or by the court after termination of the proceeding. The need for this amendment stems from the fact that a person charged with a discriminatory housing practice may seek to dispose of the property involved to a buyer of his choosing during the pendancy of the proceeding and thus to make ineffectual any final order of the Commission or the court.

Note: Massachusetts was the first jurisdiction to close this loophole when in June 1961 it enacted a law authorizing courts to enjoin a property owner or landlord from disposing of his property pending administrative proceedings based on the charge of housing discrimination (see Joint Memorandum #335 of June 15, 1961).

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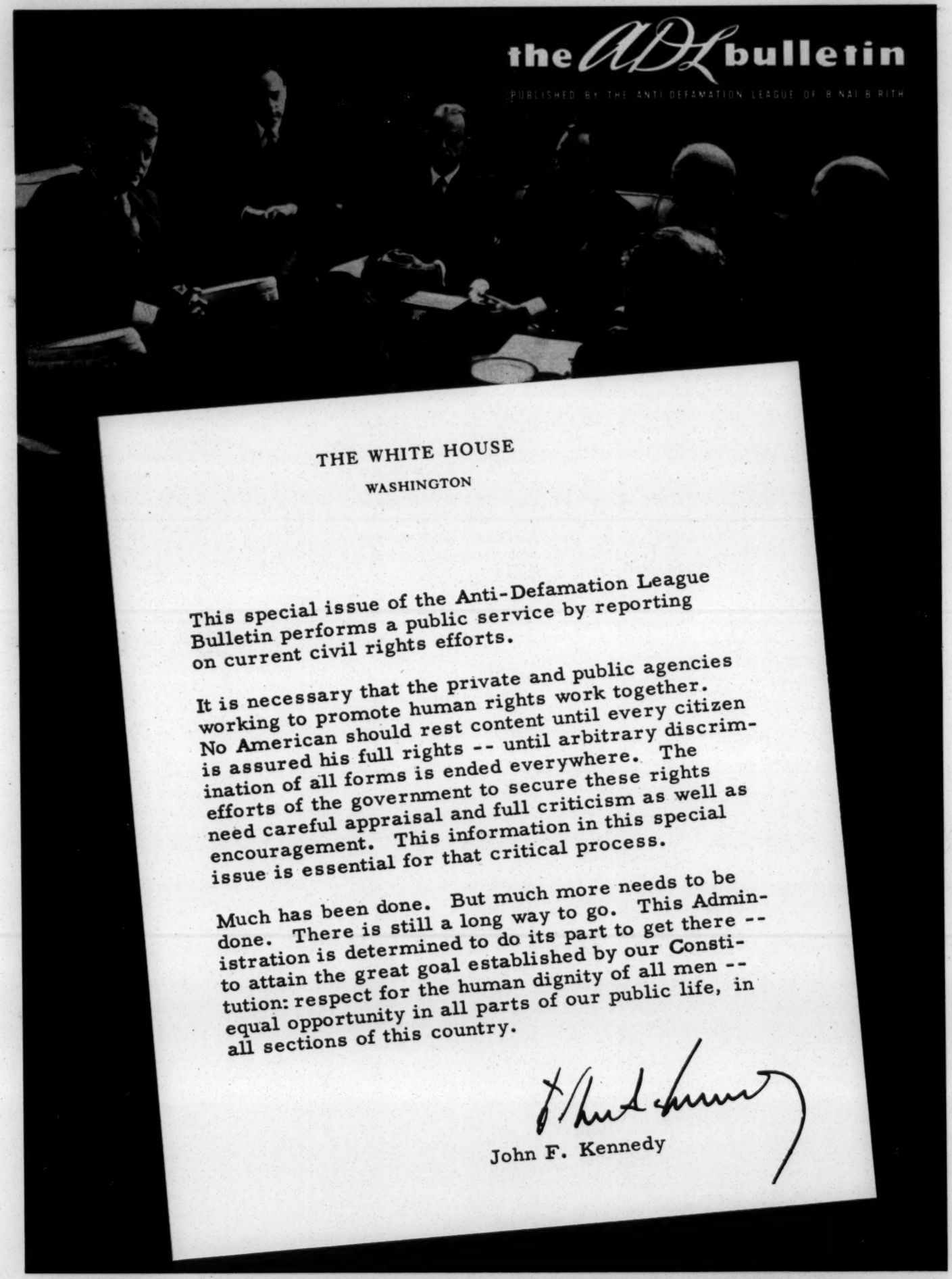


THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

This special issue of the Anti-Defamation League Bulletin performs a public service by reporting on current civil rights efforts.

It is necessary that the private and public agencies working to promote human rights work together. No American should rest content until every citizen is assured his full rights -- until arbitrary discrimination of all forms is ended everywhere. The efforts of the government to secure these rights need careful appraisal and full criticism as well as encouragement. This information in this special issue is essential for that critical process.

Much has been done. But much more needs to be done. There is still a long way to go. This Administration is determined to do its part to get there -- to attain the great goal established by our Constitution: respect for the human dignity of all men -- equal opportunity in all parts of our public life, in all sections of this country.

John F. Kennedy

The Administration and Civil Rights

The Administration and Civil Rights

THIS in an unusual issue of the ADL Bulletin. In it, key government officials responsible for the Administration's program in the field of civil rights have taken the opportunity to write what is, in effect, a first-year report of their accomplishments.

For better or worse, the federal government is more directly involved in the lives of Americans than ever before. And the responsibility of the Executive Branch for implementing equal opportunity among all Americans has, accordingly, become greater than ever. It is for this reason that ADL has offered a forum for reporting this story, which we believe to be an impressive one.

This is hardly a case of government officials telling readers devoted to democratic ideas what they think will satisfy them. Each man represented here is passionately devoted to the cause of equal rights. Each is daily acting in behalf of this belief—within the framework of government — to reconcile skill and principle as best he knows how. Their effort here is to stimulate and encourage.

THERE are some areas not covered at length in this issue. For one thing, the long-promised executive order forbidding discrimination in federally-aided housing has not been signed (and is not discussed here.) President Kennedy has indicated that his delay in signing the order stems from a belief that he should not get too far ahead of public opinion in pressing for civil rights. The usual interpretation given this statement is that the President believes that the surest way to move ahead in the field of civil rights is to work constantly for an advancing consensus of national understanding and support.

But how slowly we, as a nation, seem to move! It will soon be one hundred years since President Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation. Yet, not until 1948 did this country have an Executive Order setting a policy of equal treatment and opportunity—"without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin"—for all persons serving in so vital an area as our armed forces. Not until 1954 did the United States Supreme Court conclude that "separate but equal" is an unacceptable doctrine in this democracy. Not until 1957 did the Congress pass the first civil rights legislation since Reconstruction days.

The tragedy is that our civil rights problems remain. The wonder is the progress that Americans, together, are making to solve them.

Granted, this last statement can be challenged. Prejudice and encrusted traditions are daily robbing the unborn of their birthright, limiting or emotionally crippling a portion of American youth, and stripping their parents of their dignity and most basic rights. This is a hard fact of American life today, throughout the world.

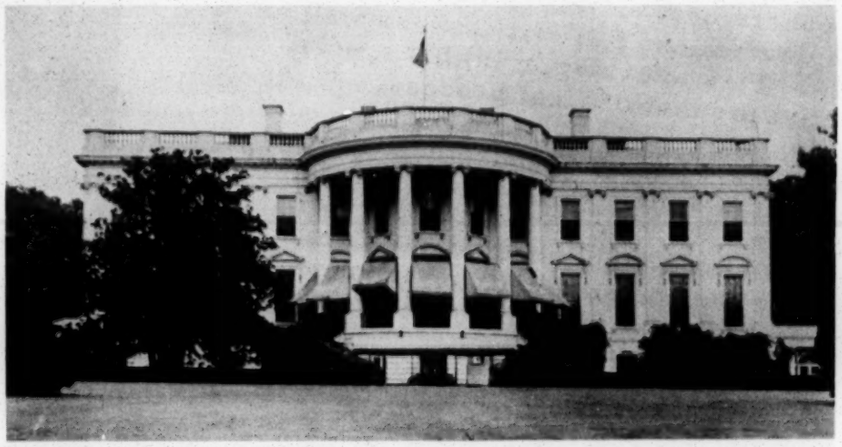
STILL, I repeat, the wonder is the progress that Americans, together, are making to solve problems of prejudice and human rights. The inequities of the day, brutal as they may be, are but shadows of the past. All major American decisions, acts, trends—and wars—of this century have been on the side of humanity. The modern American public school system, with all of its problems, is helping to produce a generation of young Americans, flourishing intellectually, understanding and responsive to the problems of their world. This land and its people are blessed. Our progress in race relations is not to be measured by reduction in the number of lynchings but by the emergence of a middle class among Negroes, indistinguishable from other Americans in their lives and in their love of our best traditions. The racist is apt to be furtive and defensive; *our* concepts have changed and *his* time has run out. The demagogue, the bully, and the utterly selfish are still with us; their words have little real appeal to a people whose folk heroes are neither warriors nor kings but men and women with a common dedication to an almost abstract goodness and humanity. We are a people raised in the image of Lincoln.

These too, I believe, are some of the hard facts, the greater ones, of America today.

It is in this context that the writers in this issue report on their activities and hopes—and frustrations—in the field of civil rights. With the insights given, it is the most solemn responsibility of the reader—with all his skill and heart—to determine how he can best daily serve too.

COMMENT:

Benjamin R. Epstein
ADL NATIONAL DIRECTOR



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The cover: President Kennedy meets with the Civil Rights Commission.

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MOVING AHEAD: AIMS AND METHODS

By Harris Wofford, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President

"Get America moving again," has been the Administration's battle cry this year. In civil rights the key to the problem of getting America moving has been to get the Executive Branch of the United States Government moving.

The government flies on three engines—the Legislative, the Executive and the Judicial Branches. For too long in civil rights we limped along on only one engine—the Federal Judiciary. It is near miracle that the courts have been able to carry us so far with so little help from the Congress and the Executive.

The main civil rights news from Washington is that the federal government is beginning to fly on all three engines.

Harris Wofford, Jr., has two major assignments as Special Assistant to the President. He is chairman of the President's Subcabinet Group on Civil Rights and is involved in the setting up of Peace Corps units in various parts of the world. Mr. Wofford is on leave from the Notre Dame Law School as associate professor. He was formerly counsel to Father Hesburgh on the Civil Rights Commission, chief of the Commission's study and hearings on discrimination in housing, and an editor of its 1959 report. With his wife, he is co-author of the book "India Afire" (1951). He was born in New York City and is thirty five.

The Right to Vote

In 1957 and 1960 Congress enacted two laws to protect the right to vote. And in 1962 the Administration is pressing for at least another significant step forward in this field: a law to prohibit the arbitrary use of literacy tests to deny the right to vote to colored Americans.

Pursuant to a proposed finding by Congress that literacy tests are being widely used to discriminate against Negroes (based on extensive reports from the Civil Rights Commission), this bill provides that satisfactory completion of sixth grade in any public or accredited private school is sufficient evidence of literacy for voting purposes. Passage of this bill would encourage Negroes to vote by removing one serious obstacle, and would simplify any necessary court actions to protect their right to vote. It would also enfranchise hundreds of thousands of literate Spanish-speaking and reading citizens in New York State.

Congress is just beginning to meet its responsibilities, but with a civil rights bill enacted by each of the last two Congresses, the legislative engine is turning—after three quarters of a century of inaction.

The Administration is using these powers given by Congress to attack the remaining voting discrimination which is concentrated in about 100 counties. In 1961, the Department of Justice intensified its investigation of voting denials (investigations are underway in at least sixty counties) and accelerated the pace of legal actions brought under the 1957 Act (law suits to require the registration of qualified Negroes are in process in about twenty counties). Suits have at last been brought in some of the deeply resistant areas for the first time.

The Justice Department has also acted vigorously to support efforts of Negroes to exercise this fundamental right to register and vote. When a Negro student leader, organizing a registration drive, was beaten and then arrested by local officials and prosecuted in state court, the Justice Department promptly went into federal court to enjoin such state intimidation and prosecution. The decision of the U. S. Court of Appeals to uphold this action means that the federal government can give far more effective protection to those conducting registration efforts.

When Negroes who sought to register and vote in Tennessee's Haywood and Fayette counties were evicted from their tenant farms, the Justice Department secured an injunction against such intimidation. When these Negroes still suffered economically and many were found to lack adequate food, the President directed the Department of Agriculture to make surplus food available in these counties.

Equal Job Opportunity

But Executive action has not been confined to the field of voting. New leadership in the Executive Branch be-

gan on January 20, 1961, when President Kennedy noticed that there were no Negroes in the Coast Guard units in the Inaugural parade and lost no time in informing the Coast Guard that he wanted steps taken so that it would be more representative of all Americans when it marched by him again. (The Coast Guard has since undertaken an extensive recruitment drive to make its opportunities known to young Negroes.)

Soon after taking office the President requested a report from each department and major agency on the number of Negroes in grades from GS 12 to 18, with pay ranging from $9,000 to $18,000 a year. While Negroes comprise 13 percent of the total federal service of over two million employees (a higher ratio than their ratio in the total population), the reports showed very few in the higher grades—and, in some agencies, none. The President expressed his deep personal concern about this at an early Cabinet meeting, and asked each member to remedy the situation in his department.

To establish firm new policies for the whole Executive Branch and create effective machinery to promote affirmative action for equal employment opportunity in both the federal service and in all government contract employment, the President issued a far-reaching executive order, and formed a new President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity under the chairmanship of Vice President Lyndon Johnson.

"From this time forward," the President told the Committee at its first meeting, "the Committee will exercise the great powers given to it by executive order to remove permanently from government employment and work performed for the government every trace of discrimination because of race, creed, color or place of national origin." He stressed that it should not be an "honorary committee," nor "one which issues a number of statements, relying upon exhortation." "This Committee," he said, "has powers, and it has responsibilities."

Those powers and responsibilities have begun to be exercised and some significant progress can already be reported.

With the Committee's help and the strong backing of the White House, a number of agencies — particularly the Civil Service Commission, the Departments of State, Treasury, Agriculture and Commerce, and the Peace Corps—have carried out active programs of recruitment of members of minority groups.

The positive results are beginning to show. In the Labor Department, for instance, the number of Negro employees holding jobs in Grades 12 and above, has increased from twenty-four to forty-one in the last year, a 70 percent increase compared with only a 12 percent increase of total employment in these grades. In the Department of Agriculture the number of Negro employees in Grades 12 and above increased from fifteen to forty-six, a 200 percent increase, and over 400 Negroes have been appointed or promoted to places never before occupied by Negroes. Another 400 Negroes are holding such new positions in the Post Office.

The actual numbers show what is happening better than percentages: one agency's reported 250 percent increase in Negroes in GS 12 and above meant an increase from only four to ten. In another agency there was an even greater proportional increase: from none to one.

While some of the gains have been small, each one is a signal to other minority group members that the doors of opportunity are opening throughout the federal service.

"Plans for Progress"

Important steps have also been taken to secure fair employment practices by companies engaged in work on government contracts. This is in line with the President's opening statement to his Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity on April 11, 1961:

> "Federal money should not be spent in any way which encourages discrimination, but rather should be spent in such a way that it encourages the national goal of equal opportunity."

In dealing with the first complaints filed with the Committee, alleging discrimination in the Marietta, Georgia, plant of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, the Committee did not limit itself to investigation of the particular complaints about that one plant. Instead it worked out with the company a broad "Plan for Progress," in which Lockheed undertook not only to end any practices of discrimination in one plant but to take positive steps throughout its whole operations, North and South, to recruit, hire, train and upgrade qualified Negro employees. In January, 1962 after only six months, Lockheed reported very substantial progress.

Segregation has been ended in its Marietta plant and some 200 Negroes have been hired, many of them in skilled crafts, or in supervisory, administrative and professional jobs. Some 1,000 Negroes were hired during this same six month period in all of Lockheed's plants—an increase of 26 percent, compared with an overall increase in its total work force of about 7 percent.

This is the kind of action possible when the leaders of business give leadership—when they and the corporations they head exercise their full responsibilities to the whole community. Over fifty government contractors have agreed to similar "plans for progress." Together with the strengthened enforcement powers of the President's Committee and the new compliance reporting system, this program holds a great promise.

The same approach is now being taken to the problem of discrimination in labor unions. The President's Committee is seeking agreement on similar "plans for progress" by the major unions.

There have been other actions to assure equal employment opportunity. The Department of Labor has revised its policies in an attempt to end the use of State Employment Services as a vehicle for processing discriminatory job orders and is endeavoring to end segregation of the employment offices themselves. The President's executive order dealing with federal employee - management relations assures that no union which practices racial discrimination will be able to avail itself of the strengthened procedures for representation.

Some members of the Subcabinet Group, left to right: John Macy, chairman of the Civil Service Commission; John Feild, executive director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; Lisle Carter, deputy assistant secretary, Health, Education and Welfare; Jack Conway, deputy administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency; Berl Bernhard, staff director, Civil Rights Commission; James Quigley, assistant secretary, HEW; Maceo Hubbard, special assistant to the Assistant Attorney General; and Mr. Wofford.

School Desegregation

Along with these efforts to protect the right to vote and to achieve equality of job opportunity, the Administration has been giving leadership in the effort to bring about peaceful and successful school integration. The Attorney General and Assistant Attorney General for civil rights and other Administration officials have worked quietly behind the scenes to promote the kind of orderly transition to first-step desegregation that has this year taken place in Atlanta, Dallas and Memphis.

And when moral support from the President was needed, the President has spoken. Soon after coming into office he spoke up on the crisis in New Orleans, paying "tribute" to the principals, officers of the school board and public school teachers:

> "These loyal citizens and educators are meeting their responsibilities and challenges with quiet intelligence and true courage. The whole country is in their debt... Let me also pay tribute to the school children and their parents, of both races, who have been on the frontlines of this problem. In accepting the command of the Constitution with dignity they, too, are contributing to the education of all Americans."

Three other times during his first year he issued similar appeals on this problem and threw his personal prestige behind the constructive efforts of local leaders, school boards, city officials, parents, teachers and students. No longer is there silence—a moral vacuum—in the Presidency on this greatest moral issue facing our nation.

WHILE THE law needs help of this kind, the efforts of persuasion need to be backed by the full power of the law. On school desegregation as in other matters, the Justice Department has taken vigorous and inventive court action.

In Louisiana, for the first time, the Federal Government brought a school desegregation suit, taking action not just to assist the court in restoring law and order, but to initiate desegregation in a new district. Similarly, all necessary steps, including court action, were taken to see that teachers in the desegregated schools of New Orleans were paid their salaries.

Equal Treatment in Travel

This vigilant attention to detail was also exemplified during the Freedom Rides. After the initial violence, at every stage Justice Department officers were on hand and in action to protect the lives of the Freedom Riders—and to protect their right to travel in interstate commerce without racial discrimination. When federal marshals were required, they were sent immediately.

When the crisis passed, the issue was not allowed to fester. The Attorney General promptly brought a formal action before the Interstate Commerce Commission, petitioning for the adoption of enforceable rules requiring desegregation in all aspects of interstate bus transportation, including all eating facilities in terminals.

Following the ICC's unanimous decision to adopt these rules, the Justice Department took all necessary court actions to enforce them. Simultaneously, it persuaded all railroads still countenancing any racial segregation to cease such practices forthwith. And it has brought suit to end segregation in airport terminals where voluntary desegregation was refused.

Although a handful of communities are still resisting, the Freedom Rides and the action of the federal government have together changed the pattern throughout the South. The end of all enforced segregation in connection with all interstate transportation is in sight—within 1962.

Subcabinet Group on Civil Rights

To promote and coordinate effective action by all parts of the Federal Government, in employment and in all other aspects of civil rights, the President established a Subcabinet Group on Civil Rights in early 1961. Assistant Secretary level representatives from all the departments and major agencies meet monthly at the White House, to discuss their common problems in carrying out the Administration's policies. The Subcabinet Group has undertaken to initiate action in affirmative recruitment for federal employment, has cooperated with the President's Committee in the discharge of its responsibilities and has begun to reassess those aspects of all federal programs which have a bearing on the equal rights of American citizens.

One of the ideas coming from an early meeting of the Subcabinet Group was for concerted action to recruit and hire qualified Negroes by all federal agencies operating in regional centers of federal employment. In one city there were reported to be over 15,000 federal employees, with only three Negroes above the bottom clerical or janitorial level—and these three segregated in the Negro section of town. It was decided to take one area at a time, assemblying the regional directors and personnel officers of all federal agencies operating in the area, and outlining a program of positive action to find, train, employ or upgrade qualified minority group personnel. Target dates were set when progress would be reviewed. The meetings were held under the joint auspices of the President's Committee and the Civil Service Commission, with representation from the White House. So far such sessions have been held in Atlanta, Nashville, Chicago, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Philadelphia, New Orleans and New York.

As a result, federal agency staffs in a number of cities have been integrated

for the first time. Also growing out of this has come concerted federal agency action to bring about the desegregation of eating places and other public facilities in all local buildings where federal offices are located.

Another unpublicized step taken by the Defense Department in the early days of the Subcabinet Group came in response to protests over the use of Army military police, on at least one occasion, to order Negro personnel to leave a restaurant when requested by the manager. After a review of the problem, the Secretary of Defense determined that military police could never be used to enforce segregation practices, that legal advice should be provided by the services to any serviceman in difficulty with local authorities on this issue, and that in areas where local facilities are not available to Negro servicemen, such facilities should, so far as possible, be provided on base for all servicemen.

Nondiscrimination in NDEA Institutes

A step perhaps even more significant was taken by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare as a result of a study in connection with the Subcabinet Group. Without any fanfare, Secretary Ribicoff directed that HEW financing of language and guidance and counseling institutes under the National Defense Education Act be henceforth conditioned on an agreement by all participating universities that the institutes will be conducted on a nondiscriminatory basis.

Although more than 150 presidents of colleges and universities throughout the country were informed of this new policy, there was no outcry of any kind. Calmly and with understanding, the great majority of the participating educational institutions, in the South as elsewhere, accepted the new nondiscrimination clause in their contracts.

Six southern institutions did withdraw, but the withdrawal of one, the University of Alabama, was not based on the new policy. Among the twenty-two southern institutions which accepted were the Universities of Mississippi, Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, Florida, Florida State, Miami, Emory, Vanderbilt, and William and Mary.

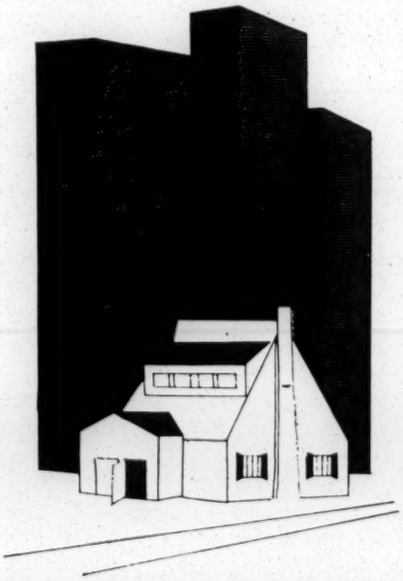
Other Administration Efforts

Through the Subcabinet Group, Administration civil rights policies in various fields have been translated into action by all agencies and departments. One example is the President's policy against participation by federal officials in public meetings or conferences held under segregated circumstances. This policy was first enunciated when, after private negotiations had failed, the President publicly requested the Civil War Centennial Commission to move its commemoration of the firing on Fort Sumter from a segregated local hotel to the desegregated facilities of the Charleston Naval Station.

Later, Negro attorneys attended the dinner of the Atlanta Bar Association for the first time when Secretary Rusk, a native son of Georgia, explained the Administration's policy to local civil leaders.

The main strength of the Subcabinet Group comes from the strength of its parts. Take, for example, the new program to prevent racial discrimination against African and Asian diplomats. The White House staff of the Subcabinet Group has often been called upon by the State Department to assist in efforts to end such discrimination. In all those efforts—whether to desegregate restaurants along Route 40 or to open housing opportunities in the District of Columbia—we have stressed that the only way to stop insulting foreign diplomats is to stop all forms of discrimination against all persons of color. Secretary of State Rusk has made clear that "we cannot solve this problem if it involves a diplomatic passport to claim the moral rights of American citizens."

The point here is that this whole unprecedented effort by the State Department's Office of Protocol was initiated not by the Subcabinet Group but by the Chief of Protocol, Angier Biddle Duke, and it is being carried on persistently and energetically by the Assistant Chief of Protocol, Pedro Sanjuan.



Fortunately, the main parts of the federal civil rights machinery are in relatively good working order. The Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, under Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, has never been more dedicated or more vigorous. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, led by the powerful team of the Vice President and the Secretary of Labor, has brought together on one staff some of the most experienced professionals in the field, headed by John Feild, a former president of NAIRO and director of the Michigan FEPC.

The Civil Rights Commission, with two new members, Dean Erwin Griswold of Harvard Law School, and Dean Spottswood Robinson of Howard Law School, is no longer split down the middle. Under its new staff director, Berl Bernhard, the Commission is becoming a far more active instrument of intelligence and public education. A whole section of the Commission's staff, under William Taylor, is providing essential research and field work in support of the studies of the Subcabinet Group.

THE CENTRAL purpose of the Subcabinet Group and of all Administration efforts is to see that the power of all federal agencies and departments is used to promote equal opportunity. The President has made it clear that he wants federal power brought to bear on this problem consistently, intelligently, and effectively.

The President believes that the process of persuasion has proceeded far already, that a consensus of agreement with the great goals of the Constitution exists, and that the movement toward compliance with the Constitution has gained momentum. He wants this momentum to continue—and he expects that all parts of the federal government will take every necessary and proper step to promote it.

In his 1962 State of the Union message, President Kennedy said that "there is much more to be done—by the Executive, by the Courts, and by the Congress." There is no sense of satisfaction. There is full appreciation of the need for the Federal Government and for private organizations and citizens to get on with the job.

To the champions of civil rights the President has made it clear that he considers their efforts—and their criticisms—indispensable. He said in his message honoring Roy Wilkins after thirty years of service, that "it is the nation as a whole which should be congratulated" for having men like Wilkins and Martin Luther King and Whitney Young and the leaders of the Anti-Defamation League and B'nai B'rith "to spur it on to the essential goal of securing the full constitutional rights of all our citizens."

"THE CONSCIENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT"

By Berl I. Bernhard

Staff Director, United States Commission on Civil Rights

Berl I. Bernhard joined the Commission on Civil Rights in November 1958, was appointed acting staff director by President Eisenhower two years later, and then named staff director by President Kennedy. He was born in New York City and attended Dartmouth College and Yale Law School (LL. B. 1954). In 1960 he was presented the Arthur S. Fleming Award as one of the ten outstanding young men in the federal government. He is thirty two.

The Commission on Civil Rights has just entered its fifth year. In its young life, it has issued nineteen documents and been the subject of considerable attention in the nation's news media. It has been hailed and praised, denounced and damned. Yet, only a few of its friends and fewer of its detractors have fully understood the purpose and functions of this Federal Commission.

This widespread confusion is not surprising. There are not many agencies within the Executive Branch of the Federal Government whose sole purpose is fact finding and reporting: these are the sole duties of the Commission on Civil Rights and it has no powers other than those that enable it to investigate effectively. The Civil Rights Act of 1957, by which Congress established the Commission, gave the agency three tasks: to investigate sworn complaints of denials of the right to vote on the basis of color, race, religion, or national origin; to gather and study information about legal developments constituting denials of the equal protection of the laws under the Constitution; and to appraise federal laws and policies with respect to the equal protection clause of the Constitution. These duties—together with the requirement for the submission of reports to the President and Congress—constitute the basis of all Commission activities.

It follows, therefore, that the Commission can offer no remedies to individual citizens who complain of specific instances of racially motivated injustice. Its function is to look beyond such cases to determine whether effective remedies are available to persons whose Constitutional rights have been violated. If no remedies are available, or if they are not effective, the Commission has the duty of calling this lack to the attention of the President and the Congress. In theory—and sometimes in practice—this will lead to legislation or executive action to prevent the recurrence of such deprivation of civil rights.

The history of the Commission's early investigations in the area of voting will help trace the process. On the basis of hearings, investigations, and reports from state advisory committees, the Commission, in its first statutory report, found that denials of the right to vote existed and that there were no adequate remedies available to its victims. The Commission proposed that Congress enact legislation to assure proper enforcement of the Constitutional prohibition of racial discrimination in the area of voting. It recommended that the Congress empower the President to appoint temporary federal registrars in districts or counties from which verified reports of racial discrimination against qualified potential voters had been received. This proposal led to the voting referee provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 which, though substantially different from the Commission's recommendation for registrars, was enacted within a year after the submission of the Commission's first biennial report.

Although the Commission's 1959 report included sections on education and housing, its main emphasis was on voting. During its second two-year term, the Commission continued its studies in the area of voting but focused increased attention on other civil rights problems too. Specifically, the Commission studied the civil rights aspects of education and housing, and initiated investigations in the areas of employment and the administration of justice. The result of these studies was a five-volume, 1393 page report, made public in the fall of 1961.

The Commission found some progress and many hopeful signs in its thorough review of the civil rights situation in America. Beyond that, it called to the attention of the President, the Congress and, thereby, of the people the tremendous job remaining.

Voting: In spite of some very specific Constitutional language, federal legislation, and numerous judicial decisions on the subject, there are still about 100 counties in which Negro citizens are actively prevented from exercising the right to vote. The Commission also called attention to the dilution of the right to vote caused by malapportionment and unequal electoral districting.

Employment: Negroes are still overwhelmingly confined to the least skilled, worst paid, and most insecure occupations. Unemployment, whether cyclical or structural, hits them first and most severely. This condition is perpetuated by barriers against Negro participation in many vocational training and apprenticeship programs. There are labor organiza-

Members of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, left to right: Dean Spottswood W. Robinson III, of the Howard University Law School; Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame; Staff director Bernhard; Dr. John A. Hannah, chairman of the Commission and president of Michigan State University; Robert G. Storey, Commission vice chairman and head of the Southwestern Legal Center; Dr. Robert S. Rankin, head of the Department of Political Science at Duke University; and Dean Erwin N. Griswold, of the Harvard University Law School.

tions, particularly among the skilled craft unions, which continue to be instrumental in keeping Negroes within the confines of an economic ghetto.

Education: All aspects of discrimination are interrelated, but no one task is more important than assuring this and future generations of American Negroes that racial discrimination in education will not impede the full development of their minds and abilities. Other minority groups have overcome most of these barriers; given equal opportunity and encouragement, the Negro will do the same. However, equal educational opportunity has not yet been achieved, either in the South or elsewhere. Three Southern states still cling tenaciously to rigid racial segregation in all educational institutions. The other Southern and border states have made some progress toward eliminating race as a criterion for school assignment, but the pace has been excruciatingly slow. Moreover, the Commission's study shows clearly that school segregation is by no means limited to the South; the unwritten rules that confine Negroes to certain areas in most Northern and Western cities invariably result in segregated education.

Housing: In its 1961 Report, the Commission reiterated previous findings that a considerable number of Americans are being denied equal opportunity in housing because of their race or, less frequently, because of their religion or ancestry. In the light of these findings, the Commission considered the role of the federal government, which is deeply involved in the financing and construction of housing units throughout the country. It concluded that the current policies of the federal government in regard to housing are inconsistent with Constitutional principles and with the professed beliefs of the nation's leaders, both past and present.

The Administration of Justice: Equal justice and equal protection are cornerstones of democracy. It is a saddening fact that there are persons in America who live in fear of unlawful police violence with official connivance. The Commission pointed out that the fact that most policemen do their duty without recourse to unlawful violence merely aggravates the criminal irresponsibility of those peace officers who use their office to terrorize the defenseless.

A reading of the Commission report leaves no room for smugness. The Commission made many recommendations for action by the federal government to cope with some of these problems. It recommended that the Congress abolish literacy tests in all elections, or, in the alternative, that it provide that a sixth grade education be considered sufficient proof of literacy. The Commission also called for legislation requiring every local school board that still maintains segregated schools to file a desegregation plan with a designated federal agency within six months. It also called for the enactment of federal laws providing strengthened criminal sanctions against unlawful official violence and subjecting local governments to liability for the unlawful acts of officers in their employ.

The Commission called on the President to take strong executive action in all fields, especially in the areas of housing and employment. The Commission's recommendations to the President are based on the conviction that the federal government should in no circumstances be involved—however indirectly—in any activities or programs from which any American citizens are excluded on the basis of race or religion. Nor should the federal government's vast influence be neutral in regard to discrimination.

THESE are some of the Commission's recent recommendations. The 1961 report contains a total of thirty-seven recommendations for legislative and executive actions. It is unlikely that all of these suggested actions will be taken at any time in the foreseeable future. But some action is being taken and the Administration, through the Mansfield bill, is seeking to enact into law the Commission's recommendation that literacy tests be abolished as a device to deny the right to vote.

The Commission is, in effect, the duly appointed conscience of the federal government in regard to civil rights. Few persons, and even fewer governments, listen to their consciences at all times. Yet progress toward the goal of equal opportunity seems inexorable. The Commission hopes it is making a constructive contribution to the pace and direction of that progress.

THE ENFORCEMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS

By Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General

Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division, came to Washington from Plainfield, New Jersey, by way of Yale University, Tokyo (with the War Department 1946 - 1947) and Yale Law School (LL. B. 1951). In 1960, he became a partner in the Washington Law firm of Covington and Burling, specializing in anti-trust law. He is thirty nine.

Professor John Hope Franklin suggested in his recent Sidney Hillman lectures at Howard University that "enforcement, not enactment" is the key test of civil rights legislation. I agree. I think that we as a nation have made important progress in civil rights during the past year, and have done so simply by turning to use many existing tools and powers of the federal government which have not been used—or not fully used—in the past.

This has been on a much broader front than by enforcement of civil rights legislation by the Department of Justice. The Administration has, for example, started on the very long but very important task of ensuring full equality of employment opportunity not only in the federal government but also by the thousands of concerns contracting with the government. This start had not been made before in any affirmative or effective fashion.

There are other advances. A significant one reflecting the tone of the Administration is the creation of a Subcabinet Group, consisting of representatives of all of the important agencies and departments of the executive branch, to meet regularly at the White House. Its purpose, which I think has been realized, is to provide a forum in which the civil rights problems of the United States—and the impact and potential impact of the federal government on them—can be impressed particularly on the parts of the government whose primary responsibilities lie elsewhere.

What follows does not extend to these matters. It is limited to the work of the Department of Justice. But I do not want it to be thought that what follows tells the complete story. Civil rights problems in this country are not exclusively racial or Southern. Northern police misconduct is not principally racially motivated, and the Northern racial problems in administering school systems are not limited to New Rochelle. Irrational, invidious discrimination persists nationally in our housing, labor unions, corporations, hospitals, law firms, and universities, and—together with the lasting effects of past inequities—creates an ugly, persistent economic crisis for minority racial groups. This is a major national welfare and economic problem. Undeniably, however, the most apparent and, in some ways, most difficult legal civil rights problems—the problems which are the Department's responsibility—involve the Negro and the South. Consequently, this report, like our work, focuses on that region and its people.

Even within that limitation an exhaustive compendium of our statutes and activities is beyond the scope of this piece. Nor shall I offer a statistic-studded specialist's memorandum. Rather, I hope to exemplify the Justice Department's increasing civil rights role by describing several of our representative cases involving voting, transportation, and schools.

Voting

In a large number (though by no means a majority) of counties in a small number of states the right to vote is denied to hundreds of citizens by preventing Negro registration in two major ways: discrimination by registrars in the application of qualification tests; and intimidation by (most often) private individuals. Prior to 1957 the Justice Department had only an unwieldy parcel of criminal statutes with which to implement the guarantees of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Criminal cases ran afoul of the South's assumptions in the form of Southern juries.

The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 have given us three new tools. First, by proving discrimination or intimidation in court we can ask a federal judge to order the defendants to cease their actions or go to jail. Secondly, if we can prove a pattern or practice of discrimination, any Negro who is thereafter rejected by the Board of Registrars may apply to the federal court for a registration certificate which is valid at all subsequent elections. In determining the qualifications of the Negro applicant, the court *must* determine his qualifications in accordance with the qualifications *and standards* used by the registrars in registering white persons in the past. Thirdly, we now are able to prepare cases thoroughly before filing as we can compel local officials to let us examine and copy their registration records. How do these laws work?

Macon County occupies about 900 square miles in Southeastern Alabama. About 10,000 of the voting age popula-

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy (right) watches as his staff members research law on use of U.S. marshals for Montgomery, Alabama, bus integration affair.

tion are Negroes, many of whom are associated with Tuskegee Institute and its related Veterans Hospital. By 1958, all 3000 eligible white persons, but only 1000 or ten percent of the Negroes, were registered. Investigation disclosed that the racially disparate voting figures were the result of myriad discriminatory devices. It developed that, in effect, whites became registered by reaching twenty-one. In fact, the registration books were taken to the homes of illiterates where—despite the state's stringent literacy statute—they were enrolled at their convenience.

The Negro applicant's route was far different. First, he had to ferret out a functioning registration board which, as often as not, had secreted itself in an unlikely part of the courthouse. Moreover, several of the post-1950 boards had to be sought soon after their appointments because they resigned after registering the newly eligible whites. If cornered, the Board subjected Negroes to interminable literacy tests so that, at most, three or four applicants were processed on a registration day. One woman wrote out Article II of the Constitution five different times in an eighteen-month period. Each time she "failed" the "test" because she omitted on her application form the date of the month on which she had moved into Macon County over ten years prior to the date of her application, even though she had lived there continuously ever since. All that the county required was a one-year residence for registration.

State law provides for about thirty registration days per year and some of these may be spent in precincts chosen by the registrars, i.e., non-Negro precincts. In short, most Negroes did not get to apply for registration and those who did were rejected for trivial errors on tests on which the whites received aid and assistance. All of this added up to these astonishing figures. In 1957-58 an average of about fifty Negroes were registered; in 1959 no Negroes were registered; in 1960 eight Negroes were registered. In 1961 to the date of the Federal Court's decree no Negroes were registered.

SUIT HAD been filed in December of 1958 under that part of the 1957 Act which is directed at discrimination by local officials. Delays followed—principally from the absence of a registration board when the suit was filed—and the situation was not dealt with until last year. Out of the trial last March came a strong, detailed court order which directed in effect that only the registration standards theretofore applied to whites could legally be applied to Negroes. The Department has been active in insuring compliance with the order, and obtained suplementary relief in September. The figures are graphic; as of March 1, almost 1300 Negroes had been registered since the court's decree. On the last two registration dates in Macon County an average of about 125 Negroes were processed for registration. Furthermore, throughout this period the District Judge has required the Board to report monthly as to its progress and with our help is constantly scrutinizing the registration procedures to preclude a departure from the terms of his order.

Between 1957 and January 1961, four other cases of this type were brought to court. Since that January, we have completed the last two of these cases—at least to judgment for the United States. In reality the cases are never completed until Negroes go into the voting booth as freely and as comfortably as whites. Fourteen additional cases have been instituted. Of these, three have already been tried, one in a county with over 100,000 people, and a preliminary hearing has been held on a fourth. One important case, brought against the State of Louisiana, challenges the constitutionality of its constitutional interpretation test.

AFTER I TOOK office as Assistant Attorney General, and after consultation with the Attorney General, I concluded that if the Civil Rights Acts were to be vigorously enforced as the President had directed, it would be necessary to seek out specific information about statistically suspicious counties, i.e., those in which the Negro population over twenty-one exceeds abnormally the number of Negroes registered and in which the white population over twenty-one is close to 100 % registered. Accordingly, we have inquired as to whether there is discrimination in a great number of these counties and within the coming months we will make additional inquiries into the rest of them.

One method of inquiry is by inspection of voter registration records. These have been inspected about forty times since the 1960 Civil Rights Act was passed. We have six non-legal personnel, under the supervision of three experienced trial attorneys, in the Division analyzing these records on a full-time basis.

We also interview persons who we believe have knowledge of relevant facts about discrimination. It should be kept in mind that for the untrained person it is not easy to discover legal evidence of discrimination. Local Negro leaders cannot pore over registration records, nor can they find out the experiences of white persons who have been registered. For instance, a state may prescribe that voters must explain a portion of the Constitution. The Negro leaders pass with flying colors, the rank and file do not. Those leaders do not know that in some counties, if a reading and writing test is involved, or an application must be completed, white applicants are assisted by the local officials while Negroes go it alone, fail, and go home to practice.

This is a sketch of what we are doing to secure the right to vote in the face of official discrimination. We have learned that the 1957 Civil Rights Act plus the risk of the appointment of federal refer-

ces under the 1960 Civil Rights Act has been effective in persuading Southern officials to change ways established for three-quarters of a century; that the voting problem exists in less than 200 counties in the South; that it will be possible to resolve the problem in some of these without litigation; and that with competent and hard-working personnel, proper organization, plus cooperation from the United States Attorneys' offices in the South, the eventual result everywhere is inevitable, although a major immediate step could be taken by favorable Congressional action on the Mansfield bill (S. 2750) on literacy and other performance tests which has bipartisan and Administration support.

I should also add that we have learned that in some cases—not as many as might be hoped for, but some—litigation is not proving necessary. The Attorney General has directed me to explore in advance of litigation all possible avenues of self-correction by local officials of whatever abuses and defects have existed. We in fact follow this path in all instances. As the law, and the consecuences of failing to respect it, become more generally known, I am hopeful that this manner of dissolving legal blocks to Negro registration will prove increasingly fruitful.

In some ways, the problem of intimidation—an intimidation mixed with indifference and apathy caused by years of rebuff and the loss of faith in our processes—is the more difficult one. The statute provides that no person shall attempt to intimidate, threaten or coerce any other person for the purpose of interfering with his right to vote at a federal election. It deals with many forms and causes of fear. For example, a person may be fired from his job because of his efforts to register; his credit may be cut off; the channels of trade may be closed to him; state criminal processes may be used to intimidate him.

When intimidation occurs, its effect is devastating to the individual Negro involved and discouraging, to say the least, to all Negroes in the area. Consequently if we are going to enforce the statute we must act fast. Fortunately, while intimidation is hard to prove, all of the factors are not on the side of those attempting to prevent Negro registration and voting. Unlike school cases where the defendants are public officials and have at their disposal the resources of the public treasury, here the individual defendants stand on their own. In addition, intimidation cases are usually dramatic and public opinion is squarely with those who are trying to register to vote. Here are examples of the type of situation with which we deal:

Fayette and Haywood Counties lie near Mississippi in southwestern Tennessee. Almost 25,000 people live in each county and in both more than 60 percent of the residents are Negroes. In 1959 no Negroes were registered in Haywood County and only fifty-eight were on the rolls in Fayette.

Significant Negro registration activity began in Fayette County in 1959; there were no registration officials in Haywood County between 1958 and May of 1960. In the fall of 1959 Fayette County's whites cynically excluded Negroes from a local primary election which, the whites explained, was a private affair. The insularity bespoken by this tactic

was penetrated by an immediate voting discrimination suit which, in effect, brought word of the death and burial of the white primary some years before. A consent decree followed early in 1960.

To vote in Tennessee, a resident need only be twenty-one, sane, and law abiding. This absence of tests to be used to exclude Negroes, plus the white determination to retain political dominance, produced classic intimidation cases and the first tests of that portion of the 1957 Act.

The whites prepared and circulated lists of the Negro leaders' names. These persons were denied credit by the banks and merchants, their insurance policies were cancelled, they lost their jobs, and those who were retail merchants were unable to stock their shelves. But the whites, acting on outmoded assumptions, underestimated the Negroes' determination, and registration continued in both counties. Some time early in the summer of 1960, most of the white community decided in effect to depopulate the counties of Negroes by evicting sharecroppers and tenants from the farmland which they had worked for years. Only registrants and their families were given notice and these persons came to know the other pressures that their leaders had suffered from the beginning.

By mid-December 1960, the Department had filed three cases against more than 150 defendants in both counties, including individuals, banks and business associations. Some evictions occurred before we were able to obtain temporary injunctions on December 30, 1960 and in April, 1961, preliminary injunctions for the remainder of the cases were issued.

These cases are not over yet, and further comment is inappropriate. However, they establish our ability to deal with instances of economic reprisal directed at Negroes' efforts to vote. Moreover, this portion of our statute is not limited to privately imposed pressures. In one of the two other cases brought under it (now pending in the Supreme Court), a preliminary injunction was secured against the use of the state criminal processes—arrest, confinement, interrogation, bail, trial—if the processes were being used to deter registration by Negroes.

While these legal victories show progress, the statute alone can never be adequate to cope with the problem. First, we can enjoin the repetition of dramatic, violent intimidation, but that first incident, which is the basis for our subsequent court order, may itself deter the Negro community from further efforts for months or even years. Secondly, the Negro teachers, who are best equipped to lead others, are economically most dependent upon the whites and most susceptible to subtle intimidation of the sort that is difficult to link to voting in the courtroom. These problems will not ultimately be solved except with progress in other basic civil rights areas—the national problems of poverty and limited job opportunities to which I have already referred.

Schools

It is a politically widely advertised fact that the Attorney General has no authority to initiate school desegregation suits. This does not mean, however, that the federal government has no responsibility on this important national problem. With the approval of the Attorney General, we have taken care not to use the lack of legislation as an excuse for inaction.

At a minimum, the responsibility of the Department of Justice in this area is to take any action that is necessary to protect the integrity of orders of the federal courts and to protect and promote the due administration of justice

in communities where school orders have issued. It is my personal belief that at least some, if not all, of the violence and law enforcement problems which have attended school desegregation in the past were caused—or at least were not averted—by reason of a failure to recognize explicitly and give effect to this responsibility. In some cities that failure created a temporary vacuum—a corresponding failure by the local officials and community to accept the inevitable and prepare for it—which proved disastrous.

This year the South and the nation made great symbolic progress in school desegregation. For the first time since 1954, many cities and towns accepted initial desegregation without a single instance of disorder. Particularly notable advances were made by entirely peaceful transitions in Atlanta, Dallas, New Orleans and Memphis.

The Department did what it could to make clear the recognition and acceptance of our responsibility, and to offer to local officials any kind of assistance which it was within the power of the federal government to grant.

For the most part this work was done through informal conferences and a series of trips made by John Seigenthaler, administrative assistant to the Attorney General, and me to the major communities to be affected. In each case we attempted to be useful rather than coercive, suggestive rather than demanding. In each case we discovered an acceptance of responsibility on their part by local officials—in some cases, coupled with a remarkable willingness and ability to provide local leadership. In each case these officials, with the support and encouragement of others, in fact were fully effective in bringing their people into compliance with federal law in a fashion which reflected credit to the nation as a whole as well as to the South.

Where outside factors interfere with this kind of compliance, the Department has an additional litigating responsibility. This year we participated formally as a friend of the court in perhaps a dozen school cases. The St. Helena Parish, Louisiana, case illustrates some of the problems these cases raise. The Negro private plaintiffs filed suit in September of 1952. Numerous procedural delays followed, and the district court did not order desegregation of the school until May of 1960. As a part of its own massive resistance program, in 1960 and 1961 Louisiana enacted several parcels of obstructionistic statutes. The most quaint revived the doctrine of interposition; the most troublesome authorized each parish to abandon its schools by referendum. Interposition was aborted in a case in-

volving the New Orleans school system, but on April 22, 1961, St. Helena Parish voted to close its schools.

The school closing law is ostensibly racially neutral; that is, it was not accompanied by legislative history disclosing the racial purpose. Thus the case presented delicate problems of the judicial probing of the legislative mind and, absent that, a state's abstract obligation to provide a public school system. In this context, the court directed specific inquiries to the parties, to the United States, and all other states' attorneys general. We had previously moved to enter the case as *amicus curiae*, and also responded to the court's inquiries in a brief taking the position that the Louisiana statute was unconstitutional under both the due process and the equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment. The court held the statute void, and the Supreme Court recently affirmed unanimously.

One other new development in this area is worth brief mention. We believe that the United States is authorized to protect its courts' orders by a civil suit for equity relief without a specific grant of standing from Congress, and have generally been upheld in this position. (A motion by the United States to intervene in the Prince Edward County case was denied, but the narrow grounds of the decision were limited to matters of timing and factors peculiar to that case.) Late last year officials in Louisiana permitted or arranged for the transfer of children from one parish which had been ordered to desegregate its schools to another that had not. We brought suit to desegregate the schools of the second parish, accepting children from the first, as the only realistic implementation of an order of our courts.

Transportation

The right to travel in interstate commerce without distinction of race has been won since World War II largely by private plaintiffs on an arduous case-by-case basis. In several of the cases the Government participated as *amicus* at the Supreme Court level. In 1955 the ICC held that the non-discrimination provisions of federal law governing interstate carriers and their facilities meant race as well as rates. Before 1961, however, progress was spotty. The Justice Department was thought to be without authority to protect such private rights affirmatively and the limited resources of the ICC did not permit an effective enforcement campaign.

In 1960 the Supreme Court held that federal law protected interstate travelers from racial discrimination in facilities used regularly by interstate carriers, whether or not the facilities were owned or controlled by the carriers. The Freedom Rides followed in the spring of 1961. After a tense week following the first outbreak of violence, in which every effort was made to induce local and state officials to meet their responsibilities, the events demanded direct and large scale federal intervention. Some Alabama officials looked on as violence erupted in Montgomery. The right of citizens of the United States to elemental protection of the law, and to travel securely among the States, was at stake. Whatever the justification for complaint against the publicity methods used by the Freedom Riders, the legal situation and our responsibility were perfectly plain. Ordered liberty means the protected exercise of unpopular rights or it means nothing. It

was under these pressures, and for these reasons, that the Attorney General was compelled to send a substantial number of deputy marshals to Montgomery.

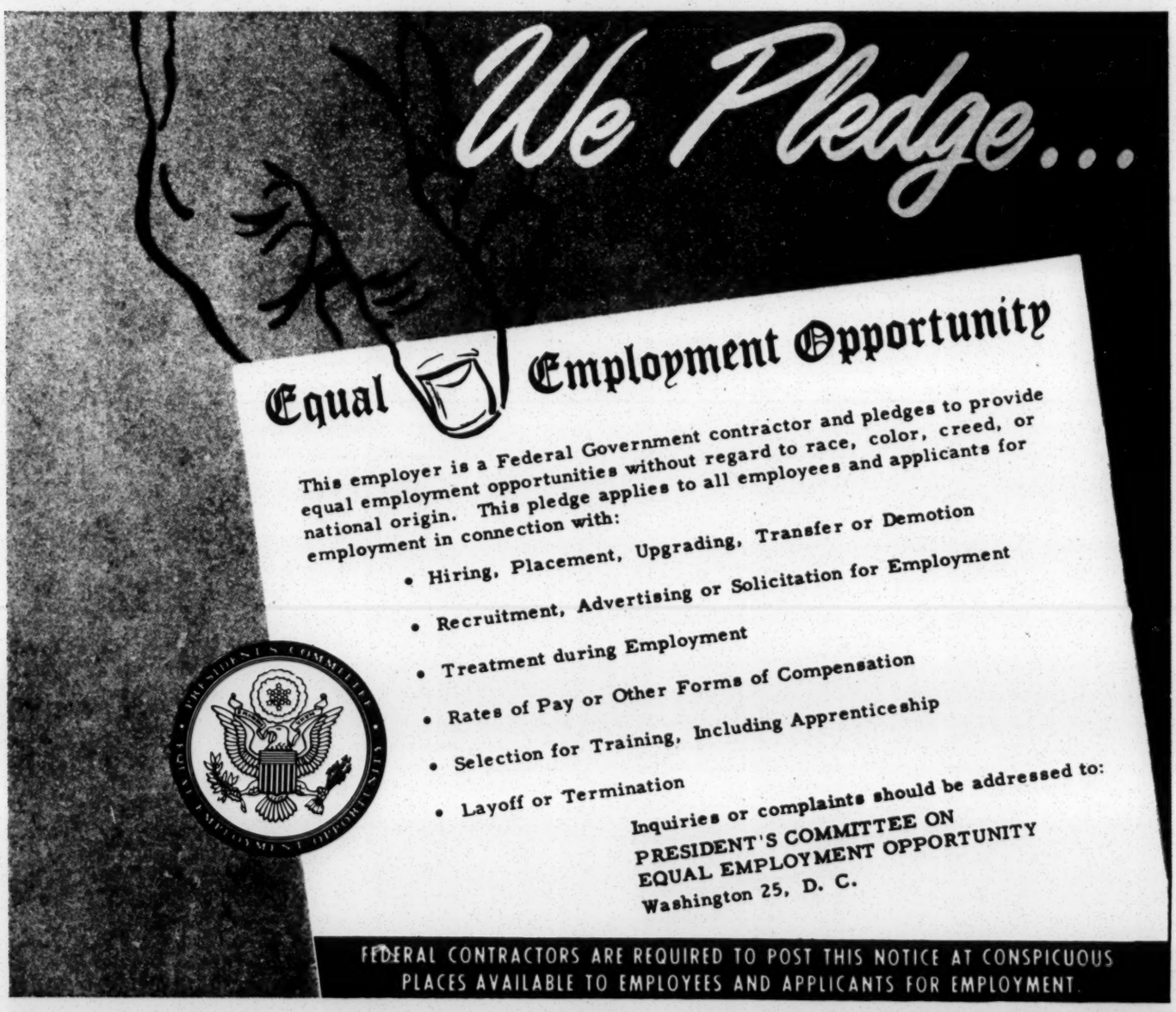
This necessity also mothered the Division's resuscitation of the much criticized Debs case theory, i.e., that the Federal Government has a litigable interest in interstate commerce free from private interference. On that basis we sued successfully to enjoin the U. S. Klans from interfering with the Freedom Rides and to compel the police of Montgomery, Alabama, to fulfill their obligation to protect persons engaged in lawful—though locally unpopular—activity.

Next, the Attorney General petitioned the ICC to issue comprehensive regulations forbidding racial distinctions in facilities used by interstate common carriers. These regulations were issued on September 22, 1961, and they became effective on November 1. We have brought suits to enforce compliance with them in Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Basically similar airport cases have been instituted in Alabama and Louisiana.

The results of this in a way are remarkable. Since May hundreds of bus terminals in hundreds of Southern cities and towns have been officially and formally desegregated. As a corollary we have been able, without litigation, to persuade the eighteen railroads operating in the South to take action to desegregate hundreds of additional rail terminal facilities. Where there were localities with continuing problems, we took action as promptly as possible to eliminate them. Virtually all rail and bus terminals are now at least formally desegregated, both officially and by the carriers. I think that everyone would admit that any remaining problems are now only a question of a short time.

This happened because of the basic respect the people of all parts of the United States have for the law, so long as they know the law is in fact—to return to the beginning of this piece—going to be enforced as well as enacted. We have used, in all three areas I have referred to, legal tools which were not generally known of, but tools which were always there, ready to be picked up. They have been used only to enforce principles of federal and constitutional law as to the basic framework of which there has been no serious dispute for some years.

I think that there is a great deal more work of this kind which can be done in this way.



Poster used by President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity to announce firm's non-discriminatory policy. (Page 14.)

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

By John G. Feild
Executive Director
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

We are now in the second generation of executive action by the Federal government aimed at insuring equal employment opportunity. There have been many orders in this field since Executive Order 8802 was issued by President Roosevelt on June 25, 1941. But none has been more extensive or more implemented by administrative authority than Executive Order 10925 issued by President Kennedy on March 6, 1961. In the past, there was relatively little administrative effort to make federal sanctions work on a comprehensive, across-the-board basis.

I do not mean to detract from the efforts and achievements of previous committees. Their work and progress laid the groundwork for the new executive order and the new President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Without that groundwork, it is doubtful that the powers afforded the new Committee in E. O. 10925 could have been provided.

The primary administrative responsibility for applying the provisions of the executive order rests upon the governmental agencies. The Committee is interdepartmental; its role is one primarily of reviewing, coordinating, guiding, and providing supporting and auxiliary services to those agencies. Specifically, the Committee has assumed responsibility for:

1. Undertaking programs of "affirmative action" with government contractors and government agencies aimed at the enlargement of equal employment opportunities regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.
2. Processing and resolving complaints filed by individuals under the provisions of the executive order and the Committee's Rules and Regulations.
3. Administering a comprehensive compliance reporting system.
4. Reviewing and auditing agency practices and procedures for implementation of the program.

The overall program of the Committee affects more than 60,000 government contractors and more than 20 million workers.

John G. Feild became executive director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity after more than ten years of service in the civil rights field. From 1956 to 1959 he was executive director of the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission. He has served as consultant on intergroup relations problems for a variety of public commissions and private agencies and in 1956, was national president of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO). He was born in Little Rock, Arkansas, and attended Wayne State University in Detroit. He is thirty nine.

We have not yet been able, of course, to get all phases of the program into full operation, but we have moved along. Among the steps taken during 1961:

—The promulgation of rules and regulations pertaining to the practices of government contractors. (None had existed before).

—The revision and adoption of new rules and regulations governing practices of federal agencies toward their own employees.

—The designation of compliance and employment policy officers of high rank within each agency. A basic training program for employment policy officers and orientation and review sessions for compliance officers were also put into effect.

—A review of individual agencies' regulations concerning federal employment.

—A comprehensive study and recommendation for the operation of the most effective compliance reporting system was completed late last year. This involved thorough review of various proposals by the Business Advisory Committee of the Bureau of the Budget; similar review and discussion of feasibility with the contracting agencies; consultation with selected major contractors and subcontractors; technical discussions with representatives of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Census Bureau, the Labor Management Reports Section, and the Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance of the Social Security Administration, as well as continuous discussion with representatives of the Bureau of the Budget. The compliance reporting system is now in operation and should provide the most effective tool yet devised for insuring equal job opportunity.

—The Committee also completed and reviewed the first comprehensive survey of employment practices within the federal establishment (embracing 2,196,557 employees.) A spot check of 15 agencies is now underway, and a second government-wide survey will be made in May. It also held, in 1961, six regional conferences of all federal facility directors on federal employment practices.

—New procedures for the processing of complaints filed under the executive order are now bringing about an increasing degree of corrective action in employment practices on the part of government contractors and agencies. Complaints have been filed with the Committee and the agencies at an unprecedented rate.

—Beyond these daily operations, a wholly new program designed to enlist

the cooperation of labor organizations has been set up. A community relations and information program has been organized, designed to inform business, labor and civic groups of the requirements of the executive order and the procedures of the Committee and the federal agencies. This includes use of mass media as well as an active program of direct consultation with trade, personnel and industrial relations associations, bar associations, labor councils and organizations, civic, religious and minority groups, and state and local agencies which have regulatory authority concerning merit employment practices. The primary objective of this program has been to help those affected by this executive order to understand that a new and meaningful approach is being taken.

MAJOR CONTRACTING agencies such as Defense and Atomic Energy have cooperated in administrative studies to find the best ways, within the regular structure of government procurement, of assuring that government contractors make good use of minority manpower. These studies have resulted in Defense Department approval of a program designed to provide technical services within the regular procurement structure, utilizing the compliance reporting system to help identify problem areas. This will bring about a new type of relationship between the contracting agency and the government contractor. The concept behind this new program is that a constructive partnership between industry, government, labor and community resources must be developed on a realistic basis, utilizing the knowledge gained in recent years in personnel management. It is designed to reach thousands of government contractors and subcontractors on a systematic basis.

The Committee has also undertaken consultations with a number of other federal agencies playing crucial roles in the manpower development and employment practices. For example, it has coordinated its efforts with the Bureau of Employment Security, which now seeks to establish nondiscriminatory employment procedures and practices on the part of state employment agencies. The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training has set up new nondiscriminatory standards and is promoting the voluntary establishment of such standards on the part of Joint Apprenticeship Councils.

The Committee has also coordinated its efforts with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, especially in the field of vocational education programs. New ideas and activities have been launched on a pilot basis and will soon be extended on a more general basis. Each of these programs will have a limited number of specialist personnel assigned to implement the policies.

A SUBCABINET level committee, coordinated by the White House, has served to bring about an extraordinary degree of emphasis on the goal of equal opportunity among federal agencies. A wide variety of individual agency actions, as well as government-wide programs, have

Courtlandt Gross, president of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation (second from left), signs a "Plan for Progress" with the Equal Employment Opportunity Committee as Vice President Johnson, President Kennedy and Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg look on. Below, the Vice President, at left, opens the Committee's first meeting.

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Equal Employment Opportunity officials include (left to right) Hobart Taylor, Jr., Special Counsel; Assistant Secretary of Labor Jerry R. Holleman, Executive Vice Chairman; and Mr. Feild.

emanated from this committee. Many of these have been activated under the joint leadership of the Civil Service Commission and the staff of the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

IN summary, I believe that during its first ten months the Committee has developed a comprehensive program designed to implement each of the four major responsibilities outlined earlier.

A new integrity, both as to procedure and substance, has been built into the complaint process. There has been improvement in the ability of the agencies and the Committee to deal with these situations effectively and to achieve corrective action. Among the improvements to date are the following "firsts" in Negro-white relationships:

¶Negro tobacco production workers in integrated facilities in North Carolina.

¶Wider job assignments and upgrading opportunities in aircraft in Georgia, North Carolina, California and other areas.

¶Integrated job assignments and upgrading opportunities in electronics in Nashville, Dallas and New Jersey.

¶Production and technical jobs in electronics in South Carolina.

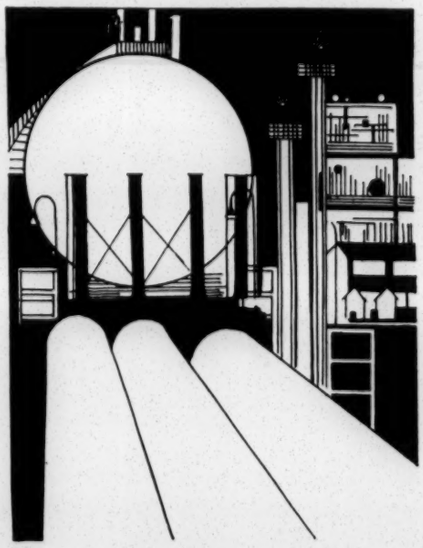
¶Production assignments in appliances and chemicals in Nashville.

¶Technical and clerical assignments in the oil industry in Southern Illinois.

¶Building trade assignments in construction in Florida and Louisiana.

¶New upgrading opportunities in shipbuilding on the West Coast.

¶Individual job adjustments in a variety of widely scattered situations throughout the country.



THIS type of corrective action is becoming a regular part of contract administration within the agencies. Hopefully, it is symptomatic of restored confidence on the part of minority groups in the fact that this Administration intends to act promptly and effectively on complaints. The rate of complaints being filed with this Committee is more than double that processed by the Nixon Committee during its peak of operation in 1958. This Committee has had more than 600 complaints filed with it in its first nine months; throughout the previous eight years only 1,042 complaints were received.

In addition to these efforts, the Committee has programs in the fields of in-service training, and supportive activities in the employment and educational areas. It also seeks to bring about the widest possible public understanding and support for the goals of the executive order.

One other important activity will close this preliminary report: the Plans for Progress program.

Shortly after the first meeting of the Committee on April 11, Vice President Johnson called a meeting of the presidents of the fifty largest defense contractors. Out of that meeting developed a strong spirit of cooperation by these large employers. After that meeting, negotiations were undertaken with the Lockheed Corporation concerning a number of complaints filed by employees in its Marietta, Ga., plant. Out of those consultations came the idea for development of a Plan for Progress for Lockheed. On May 25, in White House ceremonies, the Vice President and Courtlandt Gross, then president of Lockheed, signed a joint statement setting out what the company and the Committee would do to insure equal employment opportunity in all company operations.

By the time the Lockheed Plan was signed, negotiations were underway with a number of other contracting firms. In July, eight more firms signed their own Plans for Progress as worked out in cooperation with the Committee. In December, twelve more firms signed their Plans with the Vice President—bringing to 2,500,000 the number of employees covered by the program. At this writing, some fifty-two companies have developed their own Plans for Progress.

In the year ahead, the major contracting agencies will develop similar affirmative action programs with hundreds, perhaps thousands, of contractors. All of them will pledge their continuing determination to guarantee this most basic right—equal opportunity without regard to race, creed, color or national origin.

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 EAST 56th STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Oregon School Textbook Decision
(Dickman v. School District No. 62C, 73 Or. 645)

FROM: Paul Hartman and Theodore Leskes

DIGEST: Oregon Supreme Court declares unconstitutional a state law requiring the public school board to provide free textbooks for parochial school children.

On November 15, 1961 the Supreme Court of the State of Oregon declared unconstitutional, under the Oregon Constitution, a state law requiring public school boards to provide free textbooks for parochial school students. The decision, approved by six of the seven judges, reversed a decision of a state circuit court which had upheld that law.

THE FACTS

An Oregon statute requires each district school board to provide textbooks "for the free and equal use of all pupils residing in its district and enrolled in and actually attending standard elementary schools or grades seven or eight of standard secondary schools."

Under the authority of this act, School District No. 62C furnished free textbooks for the use of the pupils of St. John's Parochial School at a cost, within the last three years, of approximately $4,000. These books are delivered to the persons in charge of the school -- not to the pupils individually. St. John's School is controlled by the Catholic Church which operates this and other schools for the purpose of permeating "the entire educational process with the precepts of the Catholic religion."

Several taxpayers brought an action against the school board to prevent it from furnishing textbooks at public expense to students in St. John's Parochial School. They claimed that the statute involved violated the Oregon and the Federal Constitions.

LOWER COURT DECISION

The trial court dismissed the action on the authority of the U. S. Supreme Court decision in Everson v. Board of Education, 330 U.S. 1 (1947) which upheld a New Jersey statute providing for public payment for transportation of children to and from parochial schools. A detailed analysis of the trial court's decision is contained in our Joint Memorandum #284 dated February 29, 1960.

(over)

SUMMARY OF OPINION OF OREGON SUPREME COURT

A. Majority Opinion by Justice O'Connell Delivered for Himself, the Chief Justice, and Four Other Judges

Both the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution as interpreted by the U. S. Supreme Court in the New Jersey bus transportation case (Everson v. Board of Education) and Article I, Section 5 of the Oregon Constitution prohibit the use of state funds for the benefit of religious institutions. The issue in the present case is whether the use of public funds to furnish free textbooks to pupils of parochial schools is prohibited under these provisions.

The court's conclusion is that such expenditure violates Article I Section 5 of the Oregon Constitution, which prohibits the use of public monies "for the benefit of any religious or theological institution." In view of this determination, there is no need to decide whether this expenditure also violates the First Amendment of the Federal Constitution.

Article I Section 5 of the Oregon Constitution follows the general pattern of other state constitutions expressing in specific terms the more general policy of separation of state and church which underlies the First Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. In the court's view, separation of church and state is no less important today than when the Oregon Constitution was adopted.

Difficulties of interpretation arise from the fact that the principle of separation of state and church cannot be applied in its strictest form, because this would mean that the legislature would be prohibited from conferring any benefit upon religious institutions, no matter how indirect it might be. Reference is made in this connection to financial aid flowing indirectly and incidentally as a result of tax exemption, or other favored treatment of religious groups over non-religious groups. However, these instances of indirect financial aid to religious groups have a different historical background and cannot control the decision of the present case.

The principal argument in support of the Oregon statute providing free textbooks for parochial school children is based on the so-called "child benefit theory." This theory holds that such help benefits the pupils and not the schools. The difficulty, as the court pointed out, is that unless this theory is qualified in some way it would justify the expenditure of public funds for every educational purpose, because all educational aid benefits the pupils. In the Everson case public expenditures for the transportation of parochial school pupils were upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court on the theory that the state may protect all school children from traffic hazards. Even if this reasoning were correct, it does not apply to the present case because, unlike transportation costs, the expenditure of public funds for textbooks "is clearly identified with the educational process" and is not merely an expenditure for the general welfare of children. The court relies on the Alaska bus transportation case (Matthews v. Quinton) in which the Alaska Supreme Court rejected the application of the child benefit theory even with respect to transportation of children to parochial schools. (See Joint Memorandum #342, dated August 1, 1961.) The court also relies on the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Rutledge in the Everson case, where he said that the First Amendment "has removed this form of promoting the public welfare from legislative and judicial competence to make a public function. It is exclusively a private affair."

The court rejected the argument that aid to parochial school children is for a public purpose because children are compelled by law to attend school. In the court's opinion the state may not compel attendance at school by furnishing aid to religious schools if such aid is prohibited by the constitution. Furthermore, attendance at parochial schools in preference to attendance at public schools is a matter of choice; hence its cost is not a matter of public concern.

The state may confer benefits upon religious institutions if such benefits do not accrue to the institution as a religious organization. What is prohibited by the constitution is "aid to religious functions." School books are an integral part of the educational process, and if an educational institution is religious, the benefit in providing free textbooks to children attending such institution accrues to it in its function as a religious institution. There is no difference between providing free textbooks and furnishing other equipment clearly necessary to the operation of the school such as blackboards, desks or laboratory instruments.

The opinion quotes from a New York decision holding that to permit public aid to religious institutions would "open the door for a dangerous and vicious controversy among religious denominations as to who should get the largest share of school funds" (Judd v. Board of Education).

It is true that parents who send their children to Catholic schools bear a double burden of supporting not only their parochial school but also the public schools. "But the added burden is self-imposed", the court said, adding that instruction in the public schools is available to all. When the U. S. Supreme Court in Pierce v. Society of Sisters recognized the constitutional right of a parent to send his children to a parochial school, it did not hold, nor was there anything in the case from which it could be implied, that the state must pay for the children's education at such parochial schools.

The trial judge upheld the constitutionality of the Oregon statute because he felt bound by the majority decision in the Everson case. However, a decision of the U. S. Supreme Court refusing to hold a state statute unconstitutional under the Federal Constitution does not bind a state court in adjudicating the constitutionality of state legislation under the state constitution. Hence, even if the facts in the Everson case were the same as those in the present case - which they are not - this would not prevent the Oregon Supreme Court from ruling the Oregon statute unconstitutional under the state constitution.

B. Dissenting Opinion of Judge Rossman

Judge Rossman would uphold the constitutionality of the Oregon free textbook statute as an exercise of the state's power to help in the education of school children. Enactment of the statute was not prompted by a desire to improve the finances of any church but by the belief that textbooks chosen by the state would afford superior education to those selected by the denominational schools. The case should have been decided in accordance with the majority decision in Everson upholding free transportation to parochial schools as an appropriate exercise of the state's power to provide a benefit for its children.

PH/TL:sp
No. 361
4/17/62

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 EAST 56th STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission v. Continental Air Lines, Inc., 368 P.2d 970

FROM: Paul Hartman and Theodore Leskes

DIGEST: Colorado Supreme Court rules that the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Act cannot be applied to the hiring of flight crew personnel by an interstate air carrier, because such application would create an unconstitutional burden on interstate commerce.

The Supreme Court of the State of Colorado has handed down a decision holding that a state is without power to enact legislation prohibiting interstate air carriers from discriminating in the employment of flight crew personnel because of an applicant's race or color. Hence, the court ruled, the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Act prohibiting discrimination in employment could not be extended to cover the hiring of a pilot by Continental Air Lines, Inc., an interstate air carrier. The decision was approved by four of the seven members of the Colorado Supreme Court.

THE FACTS

The case arose on a complaint by Marlon D. Green, a Negro flyer, to the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission, charging that Continental Air Lines, Inc. had denied him employment as a pilot because of his race. Continental is a commercial carrier by air operating under a certificate granted by the Civil Aeronautics Board. It provides air transportation for passengers, freight and United States mail between the states of Colorado, Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Kansas, Missouri, Illinois and California. At the time of the hearing on the Green complaint, Continental employed approximately 220 pilots, 95 based in Denver.

After a hearing the Commission found that the air line had refused to employ Green because of his race and issued an order requiring it to cease and desist from its discriminatory practice.

Continental appealed from this ruling to the District Court in Denver. One of the grounds urged in the appeal was that, in view of the interstate commerce clause of the Federal Constitution, the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission, a state agency, has no jurisdiction over Continental, an interstate carrier.

In January, 1961 District Judge William A. Black rendered a decision setting aside the findings of the Commission and dismissing Green's complaint. The discrimination was conceded. The decision, however, was based on the view that under the interstate commerce clause of the Federal Constitution the Colorado legislature could not regulate employment practices of interstate air carriers because such regulation would constitute a burden on interstate commerce. The Judge further held that regulation of the hiring practices of interstate air carriers had been pre-empted by various federal enactments such as the Railway Labor Act and the Civil Aeronautics Act.

From this decision the Commission and Green appealed to the Colorado Supreme Court. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and The American Jewish Committee filed a joint brief as amicicuriae supporting appellant's position that the case had been wrongly decided by the District Court. The Attorney General of the U.S. also filed a brief as amicus curiae supporting appellant.

SUMMARY OF OPINION OF COLORADO SUPREME COURT

A. Majority opinion, by Mr. Justice Moore

After reviewing the facts and the lower court's decision, Justice Moore stated that the question to be resolved in this appeal was whether the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Act could be applied to flight crew personnel of an interstate air carrier. He indicated approval of the lower court's opinion, adding that in the interest of brevity he would limit himself to mentioning a few decisions which, in his opinion, control the result.

(over)

The opinion then set forth the following two basic propositions as governing the legality of state legislation concerning those engaged in interstate commerce:

1) In those areas of interstate commerce which by their nature require uniformity of legislation by a single authority, the states are without power to act even though Congress has not legislated on the subject; 2) in areas of interstate commerce which do not require uniformity of regulation, the states are still without power to act if the Congress has legislated, since by so legislating, the Congress has pre-empted the field.

In the ensuing part of his opinion, Justice Moore held that the first of these two propositions prevented the State of Colorado from extending its anti-discrimination legislation to interstate air carriers. In this connection he stated that "racial discrimination by an interstate carrier is a subject which must be free from diverse regulation by the several states and governed uniformly, if at all, by the Congress of the United States." As authority for this proposition, he relied on the U.S. Supreme Court decision in Hall v. DeCuir, rendered in 1877, in which a Louisiana statute prohibiting discrimination in passenger accommodations within the state was struck down as an undue burden on interstate commerce. The opinion further cited Morgan v. Virginia (1946) in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional as a burden on interstate commerce a state law of Virginia requiring racial segregation of passengers travelling on interstate buses. Justice Moore rejected the assertion by the U.S. Attorney General that Hall v. DeCuir has long been eroded and has lost its vitality, and pointed out that this case was cited by the U.S. Supreme Court as an authority as late as in 1960.

The opinion concluded by repeating that the U.S. Supreme Court has clearly indicated that the regulation of racial discrimination by interstate carriers was a matter in which there was need for national uniformity, and that the states, therefore, were without power to act.

B. Dissenting Opinions

Two dissenting opinions were filed. A comprehensive dissent was written by Mr. Justice Frantz, and concurred in by Mr. Justice McWilliams. The other dissent was written by Mr. Justice Pringle.

1. Summary of Mr. Justice Frantz' dissent

Mr. Justice Frantz stated that there were at least five reasons for his disagreement with the majority opinion. Each of these reasons supported his conclusion that the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Act and its applicability to an interstate air carrier are in harmony with the interstate commerce clause of the Federal Constitution. He listed these reasons as follows:

> 1. A contract of employment is not commerce; it is not an intangible that enters into the stream of commerce just because the employee travels from state to state. 2. Conditions of employment, statutorily imposed, forbidding hiring on the basis of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry are federally recognized as being properly within the sphere of state police power and in this connection inoffensive to the commerce clause. 3. It is a traditional concept of the federal government that an employment contract is ordinarily controlled by the law of the state where made, and reasonable regulations of the state regarding such contracts will be honored by the nation. 4. State laws prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry are in aid of commerce and not a burden to it, and hence sanctioned by the federal government. 5. By enacting laws banning such discrimination the state merely implements and fulfills the interdictions of the 14th Amendment to the national Constitution, and exercises the power delegated thereunder to preserve the rights of citizens, required by the Federal Constitution to be protected by the states.

(more)

In amplification of the fifth reason Mr. Justice Frantz referred to the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, under which a person has a federal right not to be discriminated against by the state on the basis of race, color, creed, or national origin. He compared this Amendment with the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Act by which the state created a similar right running against discrimination by anyone, including a private party. Thus, Mr. Justice Frantz continued, what was a federal right became a broadened state right by virtue of this statute. Therefore, the state act, though having a broader base, is consistent with the Fourteenth Amendment. Justice Frantz also relied on the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the case of Railway Mail Association v. Corsi, in which the U.S. Supreme Court, in upholding the New York State Civil Rights Act, made it plain that a judicial determination that a state civil rights law violates the Fourteenth Amendment would be a distortion of the policy manifested in that Amendment.

In conclusion, Justice Frantz stated that

> The act was designed to accomplish a purpose wholly within the letter and spirit of the 14th Amendment, and contains no exception as to employment involving duties requiring movement between states. In this respect interstate commerce will be affected, but not detrimentally. How can it be contended that state action which is obedient to the 14th Amendment does anything other than aid commerce?

2. Justice Pringle's dissent

In his short dissent Mr. Justice Pringle stated

> I cannot believe that a law passed by a state which implements a basic concept of our form of government -- the right of a man, otherwise well qualified, not to be denied a job solely because of his race, color or creed, -- can be deemed to be a burden on interstate commerce. (Emphasis in original)

He made the further point that the Colorado anti-discrimination statute, contrary to the opinion of the majority, could not affect the uniformity of regulation in interstate commerce. For, he said, a state law imposing racial criteria upon employment of pilots by carriers would certainly be held to violate the Fourteenth Amendment as it was interpreted by the Supreme Court in the School Segregation cases.

NOTE: The majority opinion failed to note that the U.S. Supreme Court in Hall v. DeCuir dealt with a state law prohibiting discrimination against passengers in interstate commerce, while the present case involved discrimination against applicants for employment. Thus, it would seem that the Hall case should not have controlled the determination of the present case, quite apart from the fact that its holding (that a state law prohibiting discrimination violates the interstate commerce clause of the Federal Constitution) has been discredited by the trend of federal decisions in recent years.

The Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission is requesting the U.S. Supreme Court to review this decision.

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No. 363
4/17/62

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 EAST 56th STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Sherbert v. Verner et al.

FROM: Paul Hartman and Theodore Leskes

DIGEST: U. S. Supreme Court holds that denial, by a state, of unemployment insurance benefits to a person who lost her employment because she refused to work on Saturday for religious reasons constitutes a violation of that person's constitutional right to free exercise of religion.

On June 17, 1963 the U. S. Supreme Court held that the constitutional right of a Seventh Day Adventist to the free exercise of her religion was violated when she was denied unemployment insurance benefits after being discharged for refusing to work on Saturday. In a 7-2 decision the Court reversed a ruling of the South Carolina Supreme Court which had affirmed the South Carolina Employment Security Commission decision denying Mrs. Adell H. Sherbert, the appellant in the case, benefits under the state unemployment insurance law.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union participated in this case in support of Mrs. Sherbert's complaint by submitting a joint brief amicus curiae to the U. S. Supreme Court.

THE FACTS

The appellant, a member of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, was discharged by her South Carolina employer because she would not work on Saturday, her religious Sabbath. She was denied unemployment insurance benefits under a South Carolina law making the payment of such benefits dependent on ability to work and availability for work. The ruling of the Employment Security Commission was sustained by the trial court and the South Carolina Supreme Court.

The decision of the Court was delivered by Mr. Justice Brennan. Justices Douglas and Stewart each delivered a concurring opinion, while Mr. Justice Harlan, joined by Mr. Justice White, wrote a dissenting opinion.

SUMMARY OF COURT'S OPINION

In opening the discussion of the constitutional problem, Mr. Justice Brennan distinguished freedom of religious belief, regulation of which was absolutely barred by the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment, from the exercise of one's religion by overt acts, which was not totally free from legislative restrictions. Whenever governmental regulation of such acts has been upheld, the opinion pointed out, this was done because the acts or conduct involved posed some substantial threat to public safety, peace or order.

Appellant's disqualification for unemployment insurance benefits clearly imposed a burden on the free exercise of her religion, Mr. Justice Brennan said. Freedom of religious exercise can be impaired not only by imposition of criminal sanctions to compel a person to act against his religious conviction, but also by indirect burdens, as those imposed on appellant in the present case. The ruling of the South Carolina authorities forced appellant to choose between following the

commands of her religion and forfeiting certain benefits on one hand, and on the other hand violating a command of her religion. "Governmental imposition of such a choice puts the same kind of burden upon the free exercise of religion as would a fine imposed against appellant for her Saturday worship."

The opinion declared immaterial for appellant's right to free exercise of her religion whether the unemployment compensation benefits were characterized as a "privilege" or a "right." The Supreme Court had held repeatedly in the past that liberty of religion and expression might be infringed by the denial of a benefit or privilege no less than by the denial of a right. E. G., in Speiser v. Randall it was held that tax exemption could not be made dependent on a condition which would impair freedom of speech.

The opinion pointed out that a South Carolina act authorizing the State Commissioner of Labor to keep textile plants open on Sunday in times of national emergency provided that employees who are opposed to Sunday work must be excused from Sunday work. Hence, South Carolina was discriminating against Saturday Sabbath observers by refusing to grant them relief similar to that afforded to Sunday worshippers.

Next, the Court considered whether some compelling state interest justified the infringement of appellant's right to the free exercise of her religion. The only argument made by the South Carolina authorities in this respect was to point to the danger that fraudulent claims might be filed by unscrupulous claimants feigning religious objections to Saturday work. There was absolutely no basis for such a contention in the record of the present case, the Court said. But even if there was a possibility of submission of spurious claims with the resulting danger that unemployment funds might be diluted, the state authorities would have to show that there were no alternative ways of combatting such abuses without infringing on appellant's First Amendment rights.

The Court's opinion distinguished its decision in Braunfeld v. Brown, one of the Sunday closing cases decided in 1961. In that case the Supreme Court rejected the charge that Sunday closing legislation violates the religious freedom of the Orthodox Jewish merchant because of the "strong state interest in providing one uniform day of rest for all workers," which could be satisfied only by declaring Sunday as a uniform day of rest for everybody. No equivalent consideration existed in the present case, the Court said.

The opinion stressed that the holding in favor of appellant's claim did not constitute "establishment" of her religion in violation of the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. This clause required governmental neutrality in the face of religious differences, a position which was consistent with the present ruling. The Court referred to the decision it rendered on the same day in the Schempp and Murray cases prohibiting religious ceremonies in public schools. In those cases the Court ruled that the Establishment Clause prohibited involvement of religious with secular institutions. But no such involvement existed in the present case, Mr. Justice Brennan said. Nor did the recognition of appellant's right to unemployment benefits abridge any other person's relitious liberty. Mr. Justice Brennan added that the present holding reaffirmed a principle announced 15 years ago in the Everson case, that no state may "exclude individual Catholics, Lutherans, Mohammedans, Baptists, Jews, Methodists, Non-believers, Presbyterians, or the members of any other faith, because of their faith, or lack of it, from receiving the benefits of public welfare legislation."

MR. JUSTICE DOUGLAS' CONCURRING OPINION

Mr. Justice Douglas said that the Free Exercise Clause required the state to respect the religious beliefs and scruples alien to the majority of our society. The clause banned interference with such beliefs under the guise of "police" or "health" regulations reflecting the majority's views.

This was the reason, Mr. Justice Douglas pointed out, why he had dissented from the Court's decision in the Sunday closing cases, which compelled a minority to observe the religious scruples of the majority.

Mr. Justice Douglas made the point that the government's inability under the First Amendment to require an individual to surrender his religious scruples did not mean that the individual could ask the government for money to better exercise his religion. This, however, appellant was not doing in the present case, Mr. Justice Douglas said. Payments to her under the unemployment insurance program were made to her not as a Seventh Day Adventist, but as an unemployed worker.

MR. JUSTICE STEWART'S CONCURRING OPINION

Mr. Justice Stewart stated that, though fully agreeing with the result of the Court's decision, he could not join the Court's opinion.

He declared that "no liberty is more essential to the continued vitality of the free society which our Constitution guarantees than is the religious liberty protected by the Free Exercise Clause explicit in the First Amendment and imbedded in the Fourteenth." He regretted that the Court on occasions as, for example, in the litigation on Sunday closing legislation, had been insensitive to the demands of this constitutional guarantee. He also expressed disagreement with the interpretation given to the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment by the Court's majority. Under this interpretation, as expressed in the Engel, Schempp and Murray cases, the government may not aid religion or place financial support behind a particular religious belief. Hence, under the Court's interpretation of the Establishment Clause, a decision to require South Carolina to pay public money to the appellant under the circumstances of this case would violate that clause. For Mr. Justice Stewart there was no problem because he disagreed with the Court's "mechanistic" concept of the Establishment Clause, which he thought to be historically unsound and constitutionally wrong. For him the decision in the present case rested clearly on the Free Exercise Clause which affirmatively required government to create an atmosphere of hospitality and accommodation to individual belief or disbelief.

Mr. Justice Stewart saw another point of disagreement with the Court's opinion in the latter's treatment of the 1961 decision in Braunfeld v. Brown. He took issue with the Court's statement that Sunday closing legislation was a less direct burden on religious practices than the burden on appellant in the present case. He pointed out that the Sunday closing litigation involved penal statutes subjecting the person violating the Sunday closing law to criminal proceedings. In contrast, the impact upon the appellant's religious freedom in the present case was considerably less severe. The worst that could happen to appellant was a denial of a maximum of 22 weeks of compensation payments. In Mr. Justice Stewart's opinion this was enough to infringe on appellant's constitutional right to the free exercise of her religion but it was clear

to him that the majority, in order to reach this conclusion, must reject its reasoning in the Sunday closing cases. Mr. Justice Stewart concluded his opinion by stating that the Court's decision in Braunfeld v. Brown should be overruled in the light of the decision in the present case. (He had dissented in Braunfeld v. Brown.)

MR. JUSTICE HARLAN'S DISSENTING OPINION

Mr. Justice Harlan's dissenting opinion, in which Mr. Justice White joined, pointed out that the South Carolina Unemployment Compensation Law had been enacted to tide people over and to avoid social and economic chaos during periods when work was unavailable. The South Carolina courts, Mr. Justice Harlan continued, applied this law in conformity with this purpose. It consistently held that one was not "available for work" if his unemployment was not the result of the industry's inability to provide a job, but to personal circumstances, no matter how compelling. In Mr. Justice Harlan's opinion, all that the state court had done in the present case was to apply these principles. Appellant was denied benefits just as any other claimant would be denied benefits who was not "available for work" for personal reasons. Hence, Mr. Justice Harlan explained, the holding by the Court's majority means that the state, who makes unemployment compensation dependent on appellant's availability to work, is compelled "to carve out an exception -- and to provide benefits -- for those whose unavailability is due to their religious convictions."

In the dissenter's view, the Court's decision in the present case overruled the 1961 decision in Braunfeld v. Brown when the Court held that a state did not violate the Free Exercise Clause by forbidding a Saturday Sabbath observer to do business on Sunday. Like Mr. Justice Stewart, Mr. Justice Harlan believes that the indirect financial burden on the appellant's religious conviction in the present case is far less than the burden on the Saturday Sabbath observer involved in the Sunday closing cases.

The dissenting opinion takes the position that the state, if it so chose, could grant a special treatment to persons like the appellant in the operation of the unemployment compensation due to their religious convictions. his would merely be a permissible accommodation of religion which would not violate the constitutional obligation of "neutrality" imposed on the states under the Establishment Clause. But Mr. Justice Harlan could not agree with the majority's conclusion that the state was constitutionally compelled to carve out an exception to this general rule of eligibility in the present case.

PH/TL:ghw
No. 388
7/8/63

JOINT MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Quebec Law Against Discrimination

FROM: Paul Hartman and Theodore Leskes

DIGEST: Quebec Legislative Assembly adopts measure prohibiting racial and religious discrimination in hotels, restaurants and camping grounds.

On June 25, 1963, the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Quebec unanimously adopted a "Hotels Act" with a clause prohibiting racial and religious discrimination in hotels, restaurants or camping grounds. Under the anti-discrimination clause, it is illegal for the owner or keeper of such an establishment, directly or through an agent, to

a. refuse to provide any person or class of persons with lodging, food or any other services offered to the public in the establishment, or

b. exercise any discrimination to the detriment of any person or class of persons as regards lodging, food or any other service offered to the public in the establishment,

because of race, belief, color, nationality, ethnic origin or place of birth of such person or class of persons.

The bill had been introduced by the Quebec Cabinet. After adoption by the Legislative Assembly, it still requires approval by the Upper House, known as the Legislative Council, before it will be signed into the law by the Lieutenant Governor, but this is a mere formality in this particular instance.

This will be the first legislation in the Province of Quebec specifically directed against racial and religious discrimination.

Under the bill as adopted, any person found guilty of an offense will be liable to a fine between $20.00 and $100.00 for each offense and, in the case of a subsequent offense within two years, to a fine between $50.00 and $200.00.

Prosecutions for any violation of the discrimination clause will require written authorization of the Minister of Tourism, Fish and Game.

PH/TL:mwr
No. 390
7/23/63

Literature asking clemency for Braden distributed here

THE AUGUSTA CHRONICLE
SATURDAY, December 16, 1961

Literature calling for abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and seeking clemency for Carl Braden, who is serving a one-year sentence for contempt of Congress, has been circulated in Augusta.

The literature was distributed by Braden's wife, Mrs. Anne Braden of Louisville, Ky., during a "private" meeting Dec. 4 at Bethlehem Center, 1336 Conklin Ave.

Mrs. Braden is a field secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The meeting was arranged by Miss Ruby Berkley, director of Bethlehem Center, and Mrs. Nancy Lubka, a volunteer worker at the center, both of whom said they are personal friends of the Bradens.

At least four items of literature were distributed here:

1) Petitions for clemency in behalf of Braden directed to President Kennedy. In them, Miss Berkley is listed as one of the Georgia signers and they solicit additional signatures.

2) Copies of the Journal and Guide, issued by the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, for the Southern Conference Educational Fund. It reviews the Braden case in detail and includes numerous reprints of articles critical of the Un-American Activities Committee.

3) Copies of the Southern Patriot, a four-page tabloid monthly publication, an organ of the SCEF. Carl and Anne Braden are listed as editors. (Braden also is a field secretary for the group.)

4) Copies of a 20-page booklet dealing with the Braden case and seeking abolition of the House committee. It also was published by the SCEF.

Mrs. Braden spoke to about 20 persons at the meeting. She made a strong appeal for abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and distributed the literature. A question and answer period followed.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund is an organization devoted to integration activities, with headquarters in New Orleans.

It was identified in July, 1958, by Richard Arens, staff director for the House Un-American Activities Committee, as having been labeled to congressional investigators as an offspring of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an alleged Communist-front organization.

It was during the Atlanta hearing of a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities in 1958 that Braden cited the First Amendment (Freedom of Speech, etc.) in refusing to answer questions put to him by the subcommittee.

He was indicted by a federal grand jury in Atlanta on Dec. 2, 1958, for contempt of Congress. His trial took place in January, 1959, and Arens told the jury, "It was our (the subcommittee's) information that Mr. Braden was a member of the Communist Party. That he was going over the Southland . . . doing Communist work."

Braden was convicted and on Feb. 2, 1959, Federal Judge Boyd Sloan sentenced him to 12 months. His conviction was upheld by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on Dec. 14, 1959.

Then on Feb. 27, 1961, the U.S. Supreme Court, in a 5-4 decision, upheld the conviction of Braden and Frank Wilkinson of Los Angeles, who also refused to answer questions during the Atlanta hearing. In its decision, the Supreme Court reaffirmed the authority of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to investigate communism.

Braden and Wilkinson began their terms May 2.

Miss Berkley said she met the Bradens in Dallas, Tex., prior to accepting the position as director of Bethlehem Center in 1960. She said Mrs. Braden distributed some literature and "just brought the group up to date on her husband's activities."

She also emphasized that it was a private meeting and that she knew of no plans to organize any sort of local group or to hold another such meeting. She said she assumed "such efforts would be pushed through local organizations already in existence." In this connection, she mentioned specifically the Augusta Chapter of the Georgia Council on Human Relations and the League of Women Voters.

Dr. Victor Vaughan, chairman of the local Human Relations Chapter, said the group's agenda does not include a discussion of promoting either clemency for Carl Braden or abolition of the House Committee.

Mrs. J. W. Banister, president of the League of Women Voters who attended the meeting, said there were no plans to include any program connected with Carl Braden in the League's activities. "I don't think the Augusta board would approve it in the first place," she said.

Mrs. Lubka, hostess for Mrs. Braden during her visit here, said the racially-mixed meeting was more of a "party" for people who had told her they wanted to meet Anne Braden "when she returned to Augusta." She said that she and her husband had known the Bradens for some time and also stated that there are no plans for any local organization or additional meetings.

Bethlehem Center was established in Augusta in 1911 as a project of the Women's Society of the Methodist Church. It now has a full-time staff of two white persons and five Negroes, plus several part-time workers.

In addition to church funds from New York City, funds for the Center's operation include $625 per month from the United Fund of Augusta and North Augusta.

Bethlehem Center's program is arranged by Miss Berkley and her staff, assisted by a local advisory board of about 20 persons, described by Miss Berkley as "not too active."

After this came out in the church a group of laymen from Augusta went to see Bishop Smith. Later the Bishop called his cabinet together and laid the matter before them

BISHOP AFFIRMS CONFIDENCE IN MISS BERKLEY

The Augusta Chronicle-Herald
Sunday, February 25, 1962.

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(Editor's Note: Due to space limitations, The Chronicle-Herald ordinarily limits letters to the editor to 300 words. However, because of the subject matter involved and out of respect for the positions held by these individuals, that limitation is waived in the case of the two letters presented here.)

Editor, The Chronicle-Herald:

I note with interest your recent editorial in which you say the Directors of the United Fund call upon "The appropriate powers of the Methodist Church to take prompt steps to restore confidence so that it will not be necessary for the United Fund to withdraw its future support from Bethlehem Center." As Bishop of the Georgia Area of the Methodist Church, I desire to make an official statement regarding this matter. Thank you very much for the space in your paper to do so.

Our Methodist Church, including many many Augusta Methodists, has never lost any confidence in Bethlehem Center, nor in Miss Ruby Berkley, the Director. As I see it, if any loss of confidence is suffered, it is due to the Herald newspaper that performed a terribly immature prognosis, with respect to both fact and procedure. This flurry has been greatly exaggerated. Our Church regrets very much the disturbance involved but we do not accept the responsibility for placing the United Fund in an embarrassing position.

The following observations seem quite appropriate:

(1) When any subversive situation is suspected, we are reminded constantly by the Department of Justice that the individual citizen is not to appoint himself as a house cleaner, but instead, to report same to "constituted officers of the law." The Herald should remember that if it had succeeded in pointing up something treasonable in this case, it violated point number one in Edgar Hoover's suggestion for handling subversiveness.

(2) Furthermore, in this situation, it would have been proper to notify responsible Church authorities, rather than excite the public with suspicions and fears, not too well founded. If suspicion prevails regarding one of our preachers, we do not write an article in the Wesleyan Christian Advocate or the local newspaper before we consult with responsible citizens on the local level. Miss Berkley is an ordained servant of the Church. She is appointed to her position by the Methodist Church. Our Methodism has its own procedure with regard to both investigation and trial. According to Methodist policy, any other process is out of order.

(3) This statement is not to justify or condemn the meeting that was held where Mrs. Carl Braden and others were present. We would get quite involved, should we attempt to justify all the meetings where there are Methodist people. Topics of conversation, language used, refreshments served, etc., could get rather personal and one would want to claim his rights. One judges, however, that if

Mr. Braden were in prison for committing murder, it would be a probable act of kindness for a friend to invite an old friend to be present, but since he is a suspected Communist, no kindness or friendship may be tolerated.

Where are we? What about the luncheon that Mr. and Mrs. Robert Kennedy had the other day with the daughter and son-in-law of Mr. Khrushchev? Many years ago, Chief Justice Marshall in relationship to the trial of Aaron Burr for treason, ruled that Burr was not guilty simply because he had associated with treasonable persons. The Chief Justice was calling attention to the difference between American freedom and the tyranny of other sections of the world.

Some contributors to the United Fund will be interested to know that Miss Ruby Berkley was born in Mississippi and has been a devoted and active member of the Methodist Church for many years, that she is in good standing in our Church, especially in the Church where she now worships and serves in Augusta; that she paid quite a price to become a Deaconess in the Methodist Church, taking vows that are quite demanding; that she has served most creditably in this capacity for approximately thirty-five years; that she is now performing a service in the name of Christ that 99 per cent of her critics would not even consider doing; that there are no evidences of Communist tendencies in her teachings or supervision at the Augusta Bethlehem Center.

Furthermore, it is the opinion of the Methodist Ministers in the Augusta area that Miss Berkley is a fine Christian person and is doing well the work she was appointed to do; that she has been given a new vote of confidence by the local board of directors of said organization; that in spite of suspicions and accusations that have been thrown at Ministers and Deaconesses across this country during the past twenty-five years, no Methodist Minister or Deaconess has been found either by Church or Civil Court to possess Communist leanings. We do not believe the first one is to be found at Bethlehem Center in Augusta, Georgia.

The Methodist Church does not scare very easily at this point. The Cabinet of the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church, consisting of ten District Superintendents and the Bishop, in recent session, was amazed that a little lady working among Negroes in the South had become the target of subversive accusations. They wondered if this could possibly be the most subversive spot in Augusta. These men remember that some Augusta citizens extended cordial gestures to certain self-appointed individuals who say that they are out to fight Communism and save America; those who cast preposterous charges of pro-Communism against such Americans as President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and Dwight D. Eisenhower, Chief Justice Earl Warren, and the late Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and other respectable statesmen; those who snipe and scandalize many of the ablest ministers and teachers in our country, though they never seem able to prove their accusations; those who

are always hunting but never finding; those who thrill at denouncing but never liking a private interview to talk turkey about their program.

One such patriot, not a citizen of this country, boasts that he collected from the American public $500,000 in 1961 and he anticipates contributions of $1,000,000 in 1962. The FBI has listed approximately twelve hundred of these organized endeavors, the leadership being frequently represented by a de-frocked preacher or a failure at some previously attempted profession. The Department of Justice has not only warned us against such, but has continuously expressed its disapproval of creating turmoil and insecurity on the local level. Quoting Edgar Hoover again, "Unfortunately, there are those who make the very mistake that the Communists are careful to avoid. These individuals concentrate on the negative rather than on the positive. They are merely against Communism without being for any positive measure to eliminate the social, political and economic friction which the Communists are so adroit at exploiting."

Our Methodist leadership is aware that some of these movements have created a strange and useless restlessness in Augusta. We are loaded, not with insinuations or innuendoes, but facts to show this sort of thing is proving to be vastly more subversive in many communities than the meeting referred to in Miss Berkley's apartment.

The Methodist Church is up to its ears in the fight against Communism. Nevertheless, it prays that it may not get arrogant, tyrannical or Communistic in the scrap to win.

The Methodist Church is proud of its Bethelem Centers and we are glad that Augusta has one in its area. We reaffirm our confidence in its program and its director.

John Owen Smith
Bishop, the Atlanta Area
The Methodist Church.

Keep

Commission on Deaconess Work
of The Methodist Church
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York.
Tiverside 9-0700

February 21, 1962

Editor,
Augusta Chronicle
Augusta Herald
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

As Executive Secretary of the Commission on Deaconess Work and a native of Georgia, I should like to furnish some information which may be helpful as you seek to resolve the situation involving Bethlehem Center, Miss Ruby Berkley, and the United Fund.

Because of the recurrence of statements in your paper claiming that Miss Ruby Berkley, as director of Bethlehem Center, had no right to invite a private group into Bethlehem to discuss certain matters with Mrs. Anne Braden, this information should be made available to citizens of Augusta, Georgia. It is hoped that these statements will help to clarify Miss Berkley's rights and her responsibilities.

Miss Berkley is a commissioned, licensed, and consecrated deaconess of the Methodist Church. In assuming that office Miss Berkley took a vow "so to live that the power of God may be manifest in your life, enabling you to convey the blessed sense of God's presence to those you would serve." She further agreed "to accept the authority of those to whom the Church has committed the direction of your work." The prayer of consecration for deaconesses includes these words: "Give to them, we pray thee, such understanding of thy holy gospel, such firmness of Christian purpose, such diligence in service, and such beauty of life in Christ that they may be to all whom they teach to serve a worthy revelation of the meaning and the power of the Christian life."

Such a commitment leads one, at times, to do unpopular things; it leads one to associate with "unaccepted" persons; it leads one to act and speak boldly in the name of Christ. As an appointed servant of The Methodist Church, Miss Berkley has a responsibility to be a friend to all, to strive for basic human rights for all, and follow the will of God as she knows it.

Before passing judgment on Miss Berkley's "indiscreet" act, will the directors of the United Fund be willing to read the Gospels, review the acts of Jesus Christ, discover how often He veered from the accepted customs in order that His spirit might embrace the "unaccepted" people? Of course, His program in those days did not depend upon a United Fund for support. It is to be

hoped that any United Funds sharing in programs for the welfare of people today will not curtail the effectiveness of those programs nor undercut the religious faith of responsible leaders.

The Commission on Deaconess Work is composed of representatives from various General Boards and Agencies of The Methodist Church, and representatives from all Jurisdictions. Bishop Gerald Kennedy, resident bishop of the Los Angeles Area is its Chairman. The Commission registers its complete confidence in Miss Berkley, and stands ready to support her in every way in her unquestionable integrity of purpose, her unfaltering efforts to help make the Spirit of Christ real to all people, and her utter loyalty to her Christ, her Church, and her country. The Commission expresses the hope that Augusta will accord to Miss Berkley the same type of confidence and support.

With very best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Mary Lou Barnwell

MLB/sh

MRS. M. E. TILLY
1013 HIGHLAND VIEW, N. E.
ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA

The Woman's Division of the Methodist Church has stood back of Miss Berkley-
(See letters attached)
The Commission on Deaconess went into the matter-
Miss Berkley has had letters from several of the members
One came from Oregon - another from Ohio who called the incident
Berkley Brush with Braden in Bethlehem

The National Federation of Social workers are concerned about the attitude of the Augusta papers and assure Miss Berkley of their support

Keep

February 21, 1962

The Editor
The Augusta Chronicle
and
The Augusta Herald
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have read your editorial of Sunday, February 11, 1962, which is concerned with Unitas Fund and Bethlehem Center. As a former resident of Augusta, Georgia, and the Director of Bethlehem Center for ten years, I feel compelled to speak to this issue. I am sure you will grant me the space in your pages to make my conviction known to citizens and leaders who may read your papers.

I shall not attempt to reply specifically to the statements in your editorial. I have read much of the reporting and many editorials and letters on this issue of the so-called "Braden Case" as they have appeared in your papers in recent weeks. You wrote with restraint usually, but I wish you might have used your opportunities through these months to create a public climate that could help build understanding of the meaning of freedom in a democracy - free speech, free assembly, and the right of free institutions to remain free.

I would like to say briefly three things:

1. No one at any time to my knowledge in your paper has presented documentary proof that Mrs. Braden is now or has ever been a Communist. She was active with her husband in an effort some years ago to break the barriers of segregation in <u>housing</u> so that <u>citizens</u> might freely buy homes of their choice in communities of their choice. This is in keeping with our democratic "way of life," and was not learned from any totalitarian Communist philosophy! It is implicit in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States.

   Mrs. Braden has never been tried by any court for an act of subversion or sedition. She was subpoenaed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1958, but was never called and questioned. The organization known as <u>Southern Educational Fund, Inc</u>., with which she has been associated is not now, and never has been on the Attorney General's list as communist or subversive.

2. Miss Ruby Berkley, a well known able commissioned worker of The Methodist Church, needs no defense from me or any one else. Her years of effective service speak for themselves. As a member of The Methodist Church, I am proud of her, and grateful for her courage, loyalty, Christian convictions and leadership. Her Church - and mine - was

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

born in an era when people were oppressed and freedom was only for a privileged few. One of the basic tenets of The Social Creed of The Methodist Church states that "to be silent in the face of need, injustice and exploitation is to deny Him" (Jesus Christ).

The Woman's Division of The Methodist Church has already taken "prompt steps" to say to Augusta, to the leaders of United Fund, and to all who will hear, that it has the utmost confidence in the integrity and Christian witness of Miss Berkley.

Bethlehem Center in Augusta, Georgia had its beginning in 1911 for the purpose of working in that community where the freedom and opportunities of thousands of Negroes were not recognized by the privileged group of my own "white" race. In the spirit of its beginning Bethlehem Center has continued always to be a place where people of all races could sit down together and discuss freely any issue that related to the well being of persons.

I would like to add that as Christians in these times, we have no alternative but to witness in Christ's name to the rights of people of every skin color to freedom of assembly and speech and movement. This principle was clearly practiced by Miss Ruby Berkley.

3. In several places across the country in recent years the administering groups for United Fund have been undercut by the attacks of persons and groups seeking to preserve the tradition of segregation using Communist labels and guilt by association to generate fear. Some United Fund groups have let threats of withdrawal of funds by donors force them to adopt principles that violate all human rights and the basic equality of God's children.

This kind of pressure seems to be strong in Augusta. More citizens who believe in basic rights in a democracy should rise up and support those rights. This would make it clear to United Fund that the community at large upholds the principle of freedom. Bethlehem Center has a long history of service in that great city. It has always been free to fulfill its Christian purpose. Its record is clear. Miss Berkley has upheld this purpose. Her record too is clear for all to see!

Sincerely yours

Thelma Stevens
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N.Y.

bf

SOME DATA PERTINENT TO THE "BRADEN CASE"

1. Minneapolis Tribune
January 18, 1961

Hoover: In Fighting Communism
Guard Against Vigilante Action
By J. Edgar Hoover
In an Article, "Communist Illusion and
Democratic Reality," Sept. 30, 1959.

KNOWING what communism is and how it operates will also help us to avoid the danger of confusing communism with legitimate dissent on controversial issues.

Communism feeds on social ferment. On both sides the local and national levels, the Communist Party, U.S.A., is continually exploiting social, economical, and political grievances for its own tactical purposes. For this reason the "party line" will frequently coincide with the views of many non-Communists on specific issues.

WE MUST NOT, therefore, indiscriminately label as communists those whose opinions on a particular question may, on occasion, parallel the official party position. We must also guard against the tendency to characterize as Communists those who merely disagree with us or advocate unorthodox or unpopular beliefs.

When anyone is erroneously branded a Communist, it not only constitutes an injustice to the individual, but also helps communism by diffusing the strength of anti-Communist forces.

In combatting communism, we must beware of vigilante action. The responsibilities of citizens are to be certain of the facts and to report these facts to the proper authorities.

KNOWLEDGE of the Communist enemy is only the first phase of the battle. This knowledge must be augmented by a continuous revitalization of our own inherently superior strength through the practical daily exercise and development of our democratic principals.

Too frequently, emphasis is placed on acquiring an understanding only of the mechanical functions of our government, such as elections, the enactment of legislation or judicial review. This knowledge, important as it is,becomes a mere collection of sterile facts without a deep appreciation and a continuing awareness of the reason for the very existence of our form of government - the freedom of the individual under law.

Without the realization of this fundamental philosophy of freedom, such basic individual rights as freedom of speech, press and religion are taken for granted.

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2. Ralph Lord Roy, a Methodist Pastor of Grace Methodist Church in New York City, and author of a well known reliable documented book entitled "Communism and the Churches," had this to say in an address at Southern Methodist University, March 22, 1961. "I want to mention 12 ways in which the methods of extreme rights have paralleled the methods of the Communists:

2. First.. The principle aim of the Communists in every country is to destroy the confidence of the people in their leadership, particularly their religious leadership. This is what the Communists did in Eastern Europe, and what they are doing in China, and yet, this is precisely what the "apostles of discord" (extreme rights) as I have called them before, are doing in the United States. I doubt if there is one important church leader in America today who has not been maligned by at least one vigilante outfit.

.....Method Two. The Communists demand complete obedience to the party line. If you disagree with the Communists at any point, no matter how minor the issues seem to be, you are at least a fascist, and probably in line to be liquidated. They lump all their opponents together; socialists are not socialists; they're "social fascists." And yet this is exactly what the people on the extreme right tend to do. They lump everybody together, the Communists, the socialists, the liberals, the liberal conservatives, the conservative liberals, putting them all together and calling them Communists.

.....Method Three. The Communists and these self-styled anti-Communists very often have the same target.

.....Fourth. Both the Communists and these extremists pounce upon the atypical, and try to make it seem to be typical..... the Soviet Union features a picture of, say, an unemployed miner in Kentucky, or some act of racial injustice. They put it on the front pages and attempt to represent it as typical of American life. Yet the extremists on the far right follow the identical pattern.

.....Five. Now both the Communists and many of these self-styled patriots tend to be paranoid.....Everything has to be a plot.....They see everything in terms of secret meeting - bishops and other officials of the church receiving their orders from the Kremlin in some sort of secret meeting.

.....Six. Both extremists, the Communists, and those of the far right, are dictatorial in principle and in leadership. The Communists have always given their allegiance to a dictator, a Lenin, or a Stalin, or a Krushchev. So have the groups on the far right.

.....Method Seven. Both extremists use the tactic of boring from within. The Communists, of course, have always followed this strategy. They have infested some liberal organizations in the United States in years past. Yet the anti-Communists, the extreme anti-Communists, operate in much the same way.

.....Eight. They both hide behind attractuve slogans. They prey upon the innocence and fears of people.

.....Nine. They both use the tactics to divide and conquer..... They try to pit religous group against religious group. They try to divide the lay people from the leadership.

.....Ten. Both extremes are very well schooled.....Both groups have a vast accumulation of facts. They may be irrelevant,but they still have a lot of facts.

.....Eleven. Both extremes like to talk about past history. Now the Communists can't find very many lynchings in America today. So they take a picture of a lynching in 1923, and they plaster it all over Africa and Asia.....The extreme right works the same way.

.....Twelve. Both extremes, of course, use guilt by association. Communists are masters at it.....The same is true of the right wing, of course. The main emphasis of the right wing has been guilt by association, trying to tie you up with something somewhere, so that they can tag on the Communist label.

3. Here are some facts that relate to the Bradens

a. Mrs. Braden has never been tried by the courts for any act of subversion or sedition and she has not appeared for questioning by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House, or the Committee on Internal Security of the Senate. She was subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee in Atlanta in 1958, but was not called. Doubtless, all persons who support the basic principles of the Bill of Rights will agree that if a person has violated a law that person should be tried by the courts Mrs. Braden has never been charged of any such violation. The House Committee on Un-American Activities publicized undocumented accusations brought into its hearings which resulted in questions to which Mrs. Braden had no opportunity to reply.

b. Carl Braden (a Kentuckian) and Ann Braden(from Alabama) were active in an effort to promote"open occupancy' in housing back in 1954 in Louisville, Kentucky. They bought a house in a "white" community, and sold it to a Negro. A bombing followed, and Carl Braden was tried and sentenced for violating the Sedition Act. He served 8 months in jail before his conviction was reversed by the Kentucky high court, and he was released.

He was called by the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1958 when this Committee was"investigating Communism." When questioned about his activities he cited the First Amendment, and was tried, convicted and sentenced. (He was released in February 1962, having served his sentence).

4. The First Amendment:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peacably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

Possibly a question that might have pertinence to the Braden case is this: If the Congress cannot legislate on matters listed in the First Amendment, is the House Un-American Activities Committee fulfilling its function (of holding hearings that will provide factual data for determining need for legislation) by hearings related to free speech and assembly, etc.?

5. It may be noted here that the organization known as The Southern Educational Fund, Inc.is not now and never has been listed on the Attorney General's list as Communist or otherwise"subversive."

The Augusta Chronicle
The South's Oldest Newspaper - Established 1785
AUGUSTA HERALD
B
Sunday, March 4, 1962

Says her beliefs misunderstood

Editor, The Chronicle-Herald:

I understand that misrepresentation has been made, in one way or another, and from various sources, concerning my beliefs and viewpoints, growing out of a meeting which took place in recent weeks at the Bethlehem Community Center.

In the heat of discussion, statements are sometimes made in an unintentional manner, or there may be misunderstanding of what is sometimes said. If confusion has grown out of a meeting that was held in all good faith, I am sorry.

I want to say that I have never and have no intention of, promoting Communism in any way.

Here is a paragraph in a report I made to the Board of Directors of the United Fund as of January 20, 1962:

"Because of my beliefs in the Christian principles and my record of active Christian work I could not be interested in, nor knowingly promote, atheistic ideologies, either in connection with my personal life, or the work of the Bethlehem Center."

I trust that this gives satisfactory explanation to my viewpoints.

Sincerely yours,
Miss Ruby Berkley, Director
Bethlehem Community
Center

Friday, December 22, 1961 AUGUSTA HERALD

Reply by Bethlehem Center Is Requested by United Fund

The United Fund executive committee has expressed concern over a Dec. 4 meeting at Bethlehem Center at which Mrs. Anne Braden of Louisville, Ky., distributed literature calling for abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee and seeking clemency for her husband, Carl Braden, who is serving a one-year sentence for contempt of Congress.

Braden was convicted in 1959 after he had cited the first amendment to the Constitution in refusing to answer questions put to him at a sub-committee hearing in Atlanta. Questions related to Braden's participation in various organizations and alleged communist activities.

The Bethlehem Center receives a portion of its income from the United Fund of Augusta and North Augusta.

"Recognizing that there may be factors in this situation not known to us," Russell L. Blanchard, UF president said, "The Executive Committee of the United Fund has requested the group operating Bethlehem Community Center to submit a statement of facts in writing with the action the group plans to take concerning the matter, prior to Dec. 28."

Trustees of Bethlehem Center have backed up the center's director, Miss Ruby Berkley, in a letter to the United Fund Executive Committee, the Herald has learned. A member of the advisory board said today that the board "stands solidly and unanimously behind Miss Berkley" in a controversy arising from a Dec. 4 meeting.

The letter from the UF to board chairman, Mrs. Jones R. White, follows:

"The United Fund is disturbed to read in the press recently the story relating to the Braden situation. We have, since that time, had many calls concerning it.

"The Board of Directors believes that the ramifications in this incident are so important, both to the work of the center and the United Fund, that a determination of facts concerning the situation are needed, with appropriate action, depending on what these facts reveal.

"I am most conscious of the difficulty of calling boards together at this season of the year. I also know that in a situation like this, careful consideration of all factors involved are necessary before constructive action can be taken. However, it is most desirable that this problem should not be allowed to lie dormant without solution or to be allowed to balloon out of proportion to its true worth.

"The United Fund Board of Directors urgently requests the Bethlehem Center Board and the Women's Society of Christian Service to give us a statement in writing of the facts concerning this matter, with whatever action your group plans to take, on or before Thursday, December 28th.

"Please be assured that the United Fund has been solidly back of the community program of Bethlehem Center as we have understood its real service to the Negro citizens of our community. We sincerely hope that the shadow which has been cast upon it can be lifted expeditiously.

"With all best wishes, I remain

Cordially,
Russell A. Blanchard
President"

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

MRS. M. E. TILLY
1013 HIGHLAND VIEW, N. E.
ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA

April 16, 1962

The Bishop wrote his answer to the Chronicle and gave it to Dr. Charles Cochran to deliver it in person to the proper (incidentally, Dr. Cochran served five years in the Patillo Memorial Methodist Church, Decatur, and never would take a stand on any issue).

Quoting Mrs. Calhoun:--
Dr. Cochran called Dr. Calhoun and told him when the paper refused the article saying, it would make them seem simple, etc., and he replied that's what you are. And he told the editor thay came prepared to pay for space. If it was published at all it must be in toto. It was then accepted.

In a few minutes the editor of the paper called Dr. Calhoun and told Dr. Cochran had put him through the Spanish Inquisition.

Later, Dr. Cochran called all Augusta Methodist ministers together and had Miss Berkley before them suggesting that she admit she had been indiscrete.

She said she could not say ~~there~~ that -- They accepted what she did say -- all agreeing heartily, except three.

Dr. Cochran kept on talking until all finally agreed.

It is wonderful to have a person measure up to his calling - when he has been afraid before

MRS. M. E. TILLY
1013 HIGHLAND VIEW, N. E.
ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA

The visit of Mrs. Braden to the Bethlehem Center was on Dec. 4th. The next week Miss Berkley was called on by Miss Twiggs, a reporter of the Augusta Chronicle, who told her she wanted to write an article on "The Bethlehem Community Center" for the Chronicle. Miss Berkley spent some time with her, showing her the plant, explaining the program, etc.

A few days later Miss Twiggs came back and said there would be more interest in a story of the visit of Mrs. Braden. Taking her in good faith ~~she~~ Miss Berkley talked to her feeling. On Dec. 16, came the editorial ~~of Dec~~.

THE PROMISE OF TOMORROW

WILLIAM L. LAWRENCE

From Collier's Weekly - December 23, 1955

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

On Monday, August 8, 1955, on the opening day of the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, at Geneva, Switzerland, I was one of the group, composed of leading scientist from many nations, including Russia, that stood in hushed silence around a large circular tank filled with some 13,000 gallons of crystal-clear water.

The scene was the special building, directly behind the Palace of Nations, that housed the United States nuclear reactor, the first atomic power plant of any kind ever to be exhibited publicly anyway on earth. All of us present, including the Russians were aware that we were about to become witness to one of the greatest events in history, at which Peaceful Atom, a 20th century version of Atlas carrying a new world on his shoulders was to make public appearance.

Sophisticated men of science, many of them rationalists and even outright agnostics, stood wide-eyed with an air of expectancy and wonder very like that of children around a gift-laden Christmas tree. For consciously or sub-consciously, every one present realized that he was about to witness the arrival of the new Promethus with a richer gift by far than the gift of Promethus' fire that started men on his slow march from the cave on the road to the stars.

There was nothing unusual about the over-sized fish bowl to which the makers referred to as the "swimming pool reactor." The tank was about ten feet in diameter and 22 feet deep, but the lowe 18 feet were buried in the ground. At the bottom of the tank was a bizarre-looking contraption, a grid plate supported from below, about five and one-half feet high. This was the core of the reactor, loaded with some 40 pounds of uranium, enriched to contain about eight pounds of active fissionable variety of the element. Rather a small amount of fuel one might say. Not so small when one realizes that as an explosive the eight pounds would yield the equivalence of 72 thousand tons - yes, tons of TNT, while as a source of power that rather puny amount in terms of concentual fuel would yield a total of well over 100,000 kilowatt hours of energy.

As we stood there the lights went out and we were left in total darkness for a time that seemed very long. Out of the depth of the tank, there emerged a faint blue glow. Slowly, imperceptively the glow became more and more luminious until the reactor lattace was enveloped in whitish blue light. Around it was a halo of unearthly greenish blue that ended abruptly in

a haze of many shaded purple. The haze grew more intense, a purple fire that seemed to penetrate through the ring of steel that confined it, to spread over outward until it permeated the entire room, enveloping all of us in a mantle of eerie cold purple light, coming, one felt from a source not of this world, from the very bowls of the cosmos as it were.

Outward, outward, the cloud of purple haze spread into ever-widening cirlces, until they seemed to penetrate the very walls of the room into outer space. It gave one the sensation of the eminence of a new dawn, of the rising of a new sun on the horizon of another worldly purple sky. <u>One became aware being present at the birth of a world.</u>..

...As the lights were turned on again, we gradually returned to the mundane sphere of every day life, I remembered the other occasions at which I saw the same force from the inner core of the cosmos, the citadel of the atoms of which the material world is made.

I saw once again the purple ball of fire liberated in an uncontrolled burst of purple flamd and concentrating the light of more than a hundred noon time suns, that rose over the desert near Alamogordo, New Mexico, on the morning of July 16, 1945, when the first atomic bomb exploded in the greatest wartime secrecy. I remembered the giant mushroom cloud that emerged out of the super-sun, carrying a deadly radiations that annihilate all life in its path.....

I remember a bit of dialogue between me and one of the scientist who designed the atomic bomb on our way back to Los Alamos from the explosion at Alamogordo, "This was the nearest thing to doomday one can possibly imagine." I heard the voice of the scientist next to me say, though it seemed to come from a distance. "I am sure, I am sure," I heard the voice say, "that at the end of the world milli-second of the earth's existence, that last man will see something very similar to what we have seen."

And out of the silence that ensured, there came another voice=in-my-own-which also sounded from a distance - "Possibly so," said the voice, "but it is also possible that if the first man could have been present at that moment of creation when God said, "Let there be light," he might have seen something very similar to what we have just seen."

Here were two individuals who had just witnessed one of the greatest, if not the greatest events in modern history, one of the most significant in all history. Yet one saw a twilight, while the other saw the vision of a new dawn; one saw the potential end of a man on this planet, whereas the other saw the

vision of a new dawn; one saw the potential end of man on this planet, whereas the other saw the possibly beginning of a new life in a richer, more peaceful and abundant world.

Which of the two visions was nearer to the truth? During the momentous decade which followed there were times when the vision of dooms day seemed the most likely to come true. . . But that day in Geneva in August 1955, and during the two weeks of the historic conference that followed, it became more clear that man had successfully passed the greatest crisis in his history that had at least emerged from a world of night-mares, topped by giantic mushroom clouds into a world holding out the promise of the fulfillment of his most cherished dreasm -- peace, prosperity, and an environment fashioned by himself in which he will have the opportunity for the first time to realize his unlimited spiritual potential, achieved not by only a relative few...

It thus became clear at Geneva Atomic Conference that man wa on the eve of the greatest industrial, social and economic revolution in the million years of his evolution on earth. From a civilization controlled by scarcity, he is about to emerge into the green pastures of a civilization build on plenty. From a world torn by strife and war he is about to enter a new world based on peace, a world built to order with no limitations to the realization of his vast potentialities physically intellectually, spiritually.

Ironically enough this great potential future that man may realize only if he maintains the peace with his fellows, came about as the product of the greatest and most destructive war in history, "Out of the eater came forth food, and out of the strong came forth sweetness" -- a modern solution of Sampson's riddle.

The vast power in the atom, can be used to create wealth in the vast lands and figuratively stretch the surface of the earth, now uninhabitable into fit dwelling places for man. It could be employed to bring to light treasures of mineral wealth now buried in accessible places; to irrigate deserts and transform them into blooming gardens; to air-condition vast stretches of the tropics and of the Artic sub-Artic continents, thus literally providing more living space for the increasing world population. In short, man is on the eve of the era in which he will be able to rebuild his world "nearer to the heart's desire" -- <u>only if he maintains peace with his fellowman.</u>

BISHOP AFFIRMS CONFIDENCE IN MISS BERKLEY

The Augusta Chronicle-Herald
Sunday, February 25, 1962.

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(Editor's Note: Due to space limitations, The Chronicle-Herald ordinarily limits letters to the editor to 300 words. However, because of the subject matter involved and out of respect for the positions held by these individuals, that limitation is waived in the case of the two letters presented here.)

Editor, The Chronicle-Herald:

I note with interest your recent editorial in which you say the Directors of the United Fund call upon "The appropriate powers of the Methodist Church to take prompt steps to restore confidence so that it will not be necessary for the United Fund to withdraw its future support from Bethlehem Center." As Bishop of the Georgia Area of the Methodist Church, I desire to make an official statement regarding this matter. Thank you very much for the space in your paper to do so.

Our Methodist Church, including many many Augusta Methodists, has never lost any confidence in Bethlehem Center, nor in Miss Ruby Berkley, the Director. As I see it, if any loss of confidence is suffered, it is due to the Herald newspaper that performed a terribly immature prognosis, with respect to both fact and procedure. This flurry has been greatly exaggerated. Our Church regrets very much the disturbance involved but we do not accept the responsibility for placing the United Fund in an embarrassing position.

The following observations seem quite appropriate:

(1)When any subversive situation is suspected, we are reminded constantly by the Department of Justice that the individual citizen is not to appoint himself as a house cleaner, but instead, to report same to "constituted officers of the law." The Herald should remember that if it had succeeded in pointing up something treasonable in this case, it violated point number one in Edgar Hoover's suggestion for handling subversiveness.

(2) Furthermore, in this situation, it would have been proper to notify responsible Church authorities, rather than excite the public with suspicions and fears, not too well founded. If suspicion prevails regarding one of our preachers, we do not write an article in the Wesleyan Christian Advocate or the local newspaper before we consult with responsible citizens on the local level, Miss Berkley is an ordained servant of the Church. She is appointed to her position by the Methodist Church. Our Methodism has its own procedure with regard to both investigation and trial. According to Methodist policy, any other process is out of order.

(3) This statement is not to justify or condemn the meeting that was held where Mrs. Carl Braden and others were present. We would get quite involved, should we attempt to justify all the meetings where there are Methodist people. Topics of conversation, language used, refreshments served, etc., could get rather personal and one would want to claim his rights. One judges, however, that if

Mr. Braden were in prison for committing murder, it would be a probable act of kindness for a friend to invite an old friend to be present, but since he is a suspected Communist, no kindness or friendship may be tolerated.

Where are we? What about the luncheon that Mr. and Mrs. Robert Kennedy had the other day with the daughter and son-in-law of Mr. Khrushchev? Many years ago, Chief Justice Marshall in relationship to the trial of Aaron Burr for treason, ruled that Burr was not guilty simply because he had associated with treasonable persons. The Chief Justice was calling attention to the difference between American freedom and the tyranny of other sections of the world.

Some contributors to the United Fund will be interested to know that Miss Ruby Berkley was born in Mississippi and has been a devoted and active member of the Methodist Church for many years, that she is in good standing in our Church, especially in the Church where she now worships and serves in Augusta; that she paid quite a price to become a Deaconess in the Methodist Church, taking vows that are quite demanding: that she has served most creditably in this capacity for approximately thirty-five years; that she is now performing a service in the name of Christ that 99 per cent of her critics would not even consider doing; that there are no evidences of Communist tendencies in her teachings or supervision at the Augusta Bethlehem Center.

Furthermore, it is the opinion of the Methodist Ministers in the Augusta area that Miss Berkley is a fine Christian person and is doing well the work she was appointed to do; that she has been given a new vote of confidence by the local board of directors of said organization; that in spite of suspicions and accusations that have been thrown at Ministers and Deaconesses across this country during the past twenty-five years, no Methodist Minister or Deaconess has been found either by Church or Civil Court to possess Communist leanings. We do not believe the first one is to be found at Bethlehem Center in Augusta, Georgia.

The Methodist Church does not scare very easily at this point. The Cabinet of the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church, consisting of ten District Superintendents and the Bishop, in recent session, was amazed that a little lady working among Negroes in the South had become the target of subversive accusations. They wondered if this could possibly be the most subversive spot in Augusta. These men remember that some Augusta citizens extended cordial gestures to certain self-appointed individuals who say that they are out to fight Communism and save America; those who cast preposterous charges of pro-Communism against such Americans as President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and Dwight D. Eisenhower, Chief Justice Earl Warren, and the late Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and other respectable statesmen; those who snipe and scandalize many of the ablest ministers and teachers in our country, though they never seem able to prove their accusations; those who

are always hunting but never finding; those who thrill at denouncing but never liking a private interview to talk turkey about their program.

One such patriot, not a citizen of this country, boasts that he collected from the American public $500,000 in 1961 and he anticipates contributions of $1,000,000 in 1962. The FBI has listed approximately twelve hundred of these organized endeavors, the leadership being frequently represented by a de-frocked preacher or a failure at some previously attempted profession. The Department of Justice has not only warned us against such, but has continuously expressed its disapproval of creating turmoil and insecurity on the local level. Quoting Edgar Hoover again, "Unfortunately, there are those who make the very mistake that the Communists are careful to avoid. These individuals concentrate on the negative rather than on the positive. They are merely against Communism without being for any positive measure to eliminate the social, political and economic friction which the Communists are so adroit at exploiting."

Our Methodist leadership is aware that some of these movements have created a strange and useless restlessness in Augusta. We are loaded, not with insinuations or innuendoes, but facts to show this sort of thing is proving to be vastly more subversive in many communities than the meeting referred to in Miss Berkley's apartment.

The Methodist Church is up to its ears in the fight against Communism. Nevertheless, it prays that it may not get arrogant, tyrannical or Communistic in the scrap to win.

The Methodist Church is proud of its Bethelem Centers and we are glad that Augusta has one in its area. We reaffirm our confidence in its program and its director.

John Owen Smith
Bishop, the Atlanta Area
The Methodist Church.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED TO

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED
OCTOBER 30, 1962

BY

Mr. Freeman L. Nelson - Department of Justice, U. S. Penitentiary

"FORGIVE THOSE WHO TRESPASS AGAINST US"

I will begin by reading from the sixth chapter of Matthew.

It is the hope of all of us here this afternoon to become better Christians, i.e., more Christlike. I believe this can be achieved by following Christ's three main precepts: The ten commandments, which Jesus re-defined into two; found in Mark 12:30-31, "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this is the first commandment." "And, the second is like, namely this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these." To these, I would add the Golden Rule, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you."

What better way to show a true Christian spirit than by assisting someone who has trespassed against us, but wants to resume a socially acceptable way of life. "Exemplification of true faith consists of acts of kindness and love for one's fellowman, not more formal prayers uttered by rote."

I first became aware of the "Fellowship of The Concerned" through a book "The Southern Temper" by William Peters. This author gave this organization and other church women's groups credit for many of the good works that have been attempted recently in the South. Included in this list is integration, jail inspections, making your presence felt in the court by appearing at trials, and anything that concerned human relations.

I don't know if this program of appearing in court has been abandoned or not; but if it has I would strongly urge that it be resumed on the basis of these statements made by famous judges: Jerome Frank, distinguished judicial author, and a member of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals, in his treatise, "Courts on Trial," had the following to say; with respect to inequalities between rich and poor defendants: "This defect in our judicial system makes a mockery of equality before the law," which should be one of the first principles of a democracy. That equality, in such instances, depends on a person's financial condition is true. The tragedy of such a situation is etched in irony -- many of our State constitutions contain a provision that every person ought to obtain justice freely and without being obligated to purchase it -- Unless we contrive some method to solve the problem -- we must acknowledge that, in a very real sense, frequently we are "selling justice," denying it to the under-incomed person. It should shock us that judicial justice is often an upper bracket privilege. Here we have legal laissez-faire at its worst.

President Taff, expressed himself with respect to inequalities between the rich and poor litigants in courts of justice, thusly: "of all questions, before the American people I regard no one as more important than this, the improvement of the administration of justice. We must make it so that the poor man will have as nearly as possible an opportunity in litigating as the rich man, and under present conditions, ashamed as we may be of it, this is not the fact."

These two noted judicial authorities point out the fact that our American justice is for sale to those who can afford it. In this same vein, there is also a difference in the type of justice dispensed to different races in some parts of this country. For instance, a few years ago an Indian in North Dakota was suspected of having committed a brutal murder. On the basis of this suspicion a group of his neighbors had chained him between a tree and a pickup truck and were in the process of wringing a confession from him when the law intervened. A sociological study completed by a theology student in the State of Virginia stated that in a period of forty years from 1890 to 1930, 80 Negroes had been executed for rape. During the same period 200 white men had been convicted of the crime, but not one white man was executed. I think you can do a very great service to this country by making certain that our courts are administering, not dispensing, justice.

After a man is sentenced and committed to the Federal Penitentiary we are then faced with an incongruous task. We must punish and at the same time attempt to change attitudes. Our attempt at changing attitudes is achieved by many voluntary programs for self improvement. We operate an extension of one of the Atlanta high schools at the Penitentiary. It is entirely possible for a man to come to us totally illiterate and leave with an Atlanta high school diploma. I might add that the average intelligence quotient of our men is 110, but the average educational level is only 7.0. We have a vocational training program fully accredited by the Georgia Department of Education, with facilities and instructors that put some of the public schools I have taught in to shame. We have a full-time Protestant, and a full-time Catholic Chaplain, who do a great deal for the religious training of those who desire it. The Salvation Army, Christian Science, and Jewish Rabbi come out on a regular basis for the religious education of those who do not follow the faith of our regular chaplains. In addition to these programs we have the Dale Carnegie course, The Great Books Discussion Group, an institution orchestra, The College at the Crossroads, and several group therapy groups, operated by institution personnel. With these voluntary programs and the fact that everyone is assigned to a full-time job, we are attempting to teach good work habits, get them to accept responsibility, respect the rights of others, and acquire a sense of values.

An interesting aspect, additionally, is the privileges that inmates have. They can receive seven letters a week from approved correspondents (an approved correspondent is checked by local police for desirable characters); can write three letters a week; can receive two hours of visit a month; are permitted, due to our limited facilities, to bathe twice a week. If someone sends money to them they can spend $15.00 a month in the commissary, which sells instant coffee, they either do without or go to work in industry (cotton mill) where they can earn from 12¢ to 30¢ an hour.

Now we are at the point where I expect you to be of concrete assistance to these inmates, after they are discharged. If a man for one reason or another, is unable to earn any money while in the institution he can be given a gratuity of $30.00 on discharge. Recently, Congress passed a law making the gratuity $100.00, but, they didn't authorize any funds for the implementation of this increase.

If a man goes to work the day he is released, it will be 2 weeks before he will get a pay check, which means $30.00 has to last 14 days, for board, room, toilet articles, and work clothes, because a man leaves the institution with nothing but a bus ticket and the clothes on his back. I think you could be very instrumental in setting up a sponsorship program. The first step is to get in touch with the state or federal probation office, tell him of your aims, which I hope to outline, and some of it which I hope you will adopt. First and foremost is a job. Not just any job, but a job commensurate with his abilities, abilities which he may have developed in prison, and at a wage that can provide his needs. Second is credit. Due to the small amount of money most men leave with, it is almost a certainity that he will need additional funds.

While assisting the individual to get these necessities, I think the local groups should make the man feel wanted and accepted, not as an oddity or a charity case, but as human being. The fewer who are directly concerned with these problems, the more apt the individual is to be accepted by the rest of the community. I think an important point of consideration at this time is that the religious issue should not be accented until the man has become adapted to this environment. Due to this man's recent experiences don't expect him to act and think as the most righteous of your church members. If he is invited and urged to attend the social functions of a church, he will soon become identified with the church and its members, and if allowed to make his own decision without too much external urging, will come to the realization that he too, is a member of the flock. If invited only to social functions to begin with the community will have a chance to become better acquainted than is possible during worship services; at the same time, it will allow the man to get better acquainted with the community.

If you are struck on the cheek (by this I mean your advances are rebuffed or you fail to help one from returning to crime), you should be Christ-like enough to turn the other cheek, (try again).

In closing, let me say "no one stands so tall as he who stoops to help another man."

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED TO
THE WORKSHOP OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED
ON OCTOBER 30, 1962

CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

By
Leslie W. Dunbar

Before we discuss specific rights and liberties under the Constitution, there are some general principles that should be kept in mind.

First, the most important idea to grasp regarding the Constitution of the United States is one that may seem commonplace to you because you so take it for granted. It is this: the Constitution itself is a law, enforceable in the courts. We are so used to this that we probably do not stop to think that this is unlike most of the other important constitutions of the world. In the Constitution of France, for example, rights and liberties are specified, just as in our constitution, but they are not law unless the French parliament has passed statutes making them law. They are simply constitutional principles to guide the French government, not to bind it. Our Constitution is different because it is itself a law. It binds; it can be enforced regardless of what Congress may or may not do.

Secondly, the Constitution is the supreme law of the land. Article VI of the Constitution reads, in part:

> The Constitution, and the Laws...made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made... under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

Thirdly, our Constitution, as you know, provides for what we call a federal system and what we call a separation of powers. You might think of it this way. Imagine the total power of government. Then imagine that you cut it up and gave a portion to the national government and a portion to the state governments. Then imagine further that you take the portion given to the national government and cut it into three parts, giving one each to the President, Congress, and the Courts. This means, as you can see, that the total power of government is not in any one set of hands. This was precisely what the framers of the Constitution intended, because they were deeply suspicious of what any power holders would do. We have heard a lot about "state's rights." We should keep in mind that if the states do not and will not act responsibly, if they act in such a way as to affront standards of human decency, the national government will inevitably be driven to supervise them in some ways or to exercise functions which states should be exercising. When this happens, as it has happened because of the irresponsibility of states, we move away from that conviction of the constitutional fathers that it was good to have vigorous state governments.

Fourthly, nearly all of the rights and liberties in our Constitution are what might be called "negative." This means that they typically do not tell the citizen what he can do, but rather tell the government what it cannot do. There is, for example, no provision of the Constitution which says that you have a right to vote. There are provisions, on the other hand, which forbid government from denying you the right to vote for certain reasons.

With these basic principles behind us, we can look quickly at some of the specific rights and liberties of the Constitution.

Sometimes we tend to think of all the rights as being in the so-called Bill of Rights, that is, in the first eight Amendments, or in later Amendments. As a matter of fact, there is good reason to believe that the most basic of all our rights is specified in the body of the Constitution itself, where in Article I, Section 9, habeas corpus is provided for. Habeas corpus is your protection against being held without proper charge, your protection that you cannot be punished without having your day in court.

In the body of the Constitution also there are other protections for the individual, such as, for example, the right to jury trial whenever charged with a federal crime.

The First Amendment to the Constitution is, however, in sum probably the most important expression of the American concern for liberty. I think it would be worthwhile quoting it in full before we talk about it.

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for redress of grievances.

Let me point out first that the language of this amendment says nothing at all about the states; it refers only to Congress. I think most people have forgotten this, but, in fact, until 1926 there were no federal protections against interferences by state governments with freedom of speech and other like individual liberties. How it came about that there now are such protections is very interesting because it reveals the processes by which the Constitution is continuously being interpreted by the Supreme Court and given new meaning. In the years following the first World War, a number of complaints began coming up through the federal courts from persons whose freedom of speech or press had been interfered with by state governments. Faced with these cases, the Supreme Court gradually moved to a new interpretation of the Constitution. The Court did it in this way: if you will look at the XIV Amendment you will see that it contains a clause which says, "nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." Beginning in 1926 the Supreme Court has ruled that the "liberty" which the XIV Amendment protects against the states is to be defined by, at a minimu, the rights of the First Amendment. In this way, the First Amendment has been made binding on the state governments as well as Congress.

Notice, too, that the First Amendment uses very flat language, "Congress shall make no law." Now, of course, both Congress and the states do make laws which restrict freedom of speech and the press. We have, for instance, libel laws, obscenity laws, and we have recently had an Act of Congress punishing those who "advocate" the overthrow of the government. Advocacy, of course, is speech. Laws such as these give the courts a great deal of trouble, but they clearly believe that the First Amendment, despite its flat, absolute language, does allow interpretation. All the courts, for example, up to now, seem agreed that obscene speech or writing can be punished. The federal courts are having a great deal of difficulty in defining what obscenity is, and because of this no one can be very sure what is allowable and what is not, but the courts, nevertheless, accept the principle that the First Amendment was intended to protect rational discussion and not the purposeful spread of obscenity.

One of the guarantees of the First Amendment is freedom of religion. The amendment also says that the government shall not "establish" a religion; we usually call this the doctrine of separation of church and state. Here again nobody knows exactly what the law now is; at least, no sensible man would attempt to say what the law will be in a few years. We are having a great debate within the country about this matter and until the country itself makes up its mind, so that there is something like a national consensus, I think the Supreme Court will not know clearly how to interpret the Constitution. For one of the truths about our civil liberties and civil rights is that, although the courts play a very big role in defining them, the courts do usually speak the will of the people. Let me illustrate that by a far-fetched example: if you were a man from Mars and knew nothing about American history or society or morality, there would be about as much reason for you to say that the Constitution prohibits the segregation of sexes as that it prohibits the segregation of races. We don't want the Constitution to forbid the segregation of sexes; we do want it to prohibit the segregation of races -- at least this is what prevailing public opinion has come to want. Consequently, the court acts in the one field and does not act in the other. It will be the same way regarding separation of church and state. What does the Constitution mean? What do the American people want it to mean? Does it mean that our government may cooperate with the churches in various ways, even assist them, so long as no government, either national or state, "establishes" a church? That is, gives one church a preferred and official position, such as the Church of England has? Or does the Constitution mean that there shall be a firm barrier, a high wall, separating church and state, that neither one shall have anything to do with the other? I don't have to tell you that there is a lot of difference of opinion about this today. We have such questions as released time in schools, Bible instruction in the schools, the use of school buses to carry children to parochial schools, the whole huge question of federal aid to education and whether it can go to church-supported schools; up in New York state this year some school principals have even denied the children Christmas trees because of the possible religious connotations. We, as a people, haven't made up our mind as to what we want. Until we do, the Courts will not be able to give a clear definition to the Constitution.

Our time is running short and perhaps this is all we can say now about the First Amendment; lots more could be said.

The rest of the Bill of Rights deals, mainly, with what we call procedural rights. Such things, that is, as protection against unreasonable searches and seizures, the guarantee of grand jury indictment in federal courts, protection against self incrimination, etc. These so-called procedural rights apply more strictly against the state governments. This also is a long and complex subject which we have not time to go into. Perhaps I can illustrate it by pointing out that although you have a constitutional guarantee, for whatever it is worth, that you cannot be tried for a federal crime unless you have been first indicted by a grand jury, there is no like Constitutional guarantee against the states. Some of the states have, as a matter of fact, experimented with other forms of procedure and do not invariably require grand jury indictment.

After the Civil War, three amendments were passed which greatly enlarged American liberty. The XIII Amendment prohibited slavery. The XV Amendment said that race could not be a qualification for voting. We have to remind ourselves that in the United States voting qualifications, even for the federal elections, are determined by the states. The Constitution does, however, lay down certain ground rules. The XV Amendment says that race cannot be a qualification; the XIX Amendment says that sex cannot be a qualification.

We have already mentioned the XIV Amendment, in that it became the bridge by which some basic rights (such as freedom of speech, press, religion, and assembly) were protected against action by state governments. The XIV Amendment has other importance too. Indeed, practically speaking it is perhaps as important as any other provision of the Constitution, and a good part of the reason for this is that it regualtes the activities of state governments. There are two other provisions of it which I would like particulary to call to your attention.

One is the group of words at the very beginning of the Amendment which define American citizenship. You may think it curious that until 1868 the Constitution did not have a definition of citizenship in it. But now it does:

> All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside.

This means, very literally, that anyone born in this country is a citizen, or can claim to be one, unless his parents were foreign diplomats or otherwise not subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. Even a child born of parents who themselves are not citizens becomes a citizen simply by right of birth.

The other clause which is so important and which is so close to the concern of all of us here, is the one which reads:

...nor shall any state...deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

This clause has a glorious history, a history not yet ended and of which we are a part. It means that the laws of the state must apply equally to everyone. It means that a state cannot provide benefits to some of its citizens and irrationally deny them to others. It means that the enforcement of state laws cannot be discriminatory. And, since the great decision of 1954, it has been understood to mean racial segregation cannot be compelled or encouraged by state law, because since 1954 the federal courts have consistently ruled that segregation is a form of discrimination and is therefore a denial of the equal protection of the laws.

This is a very hurried and incomplete review of our Constitutional rights and liberties. But even though it is incomplete, we must remember that the Constitution itself is never complete but keeps evolving in pace with changes in American life and the maturing of America.

AN ADDRESS
DELIVERED TO THE WORKSHOP OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED, 10/30/62

WHAT IS THAT IN THY HAND?

By

Rev. Emilie F. Pitcock

(Meditation based on the Poem, Discovery, by Toyohiko Kagawa)

---a Secret Plan
·· Is hid in my hand
---my hand is big
Big,
Because of this plan,
---God,
Who dwells in my hand,
Knows this secret plan
Of the things He will do for the world.

----Songs from the Slums -------

God has put into my head and heart a thought -- many thoughts -- and in such thoughts my life finds meaning.

God is the initiator of thought, of action. His thought alone conceived of an orderly world and Universe. His action brought it into being. Season follows season without variance; life moves on the earth with meaning, the weaker protected by coloration and swiftness, the stronger by cunning and strength -- each creature and plant adapted to its native environment and purpose: the hawk with great claws to grasp food, the snowshoe rabbit with change of color, the deer with fleetness of foot, the ant with industry, the cattle with life-giving food.

God's thought, followed by his action, created man, in his own image, able to think God's thoughts after his Creator: thoughts about the great and the small; about living and dying and living again; about loving and reproducing and replenishing the earth; about working to earn his right to live; about bringing forth food from the earth; about pleasure and sorrow and toil and leisure; about finding himself in solitude and sharing the burdens of society; about growing; about traveling and resting; about the near and the far; about suffering and comfort; about possessions and poverty; about failure and success; about crime and punishment and reward; about evil and good; about men and about God; about what God can do, using him -- using man's chief organ of action, his hand.

What is that in man's hand, in thy hand, in my hand? Through man's hand, your hand, my hand, controlled by our heart and will, the earth is dominated, and the Universe is being explored. God enables man's hand, your hand, my hand to: fire a gun, pen great thoughts, quiet a baby, drive a tractor, push an elevator button, knead bread, perform surgery, plant a rosebush, play marbles, knit a sweater, fly a jet, punch typewriter keys, wash dishes, assemble a television set, wield a hammer, paddle a canoe, direct traffic, compile prescriptions, pick locks, count money, grasp a walking stick, sew a dress, repair machinery, push a lawnmower, polish silver, pick oranges, plant seeds, dig a ditch, fashion pottery, play Beethoven, slay a man, lift one who has fallen, grasp another's hand in friendship and love.

These things a man's hand, your hand, my hand, can do.

I ponder on these as I look at my hand; you ponder them as you look at your hand. Can it be that God has a plan for this hand, for these hands?

If so, my hand is big; your hand is big, because my hand, your hand, has been commandeered by God who made it to perform meaningful tasks -- tasks that will make fruitful His world and universe.

Can God use my hand, your hand? My hand bears scars from childish toying with a sharp knife; a finger has been shortened by contact with a power saw; it is arthritic in its joints; it is dry from age; its nails are brittle. It has performed evil deeds. Can God use it in its imperfection, in its sin?

God can, God will, but not if I hold it clenched. I must open it wide so that He is able to grasp it.

"It is open now, good Lord. What will you do with it?"
"I will do with it what you allow me to do, for I have given it to you."
"But what, Lord?"
"Those things for which it was planned: the enrichment of life, the permeation of life, the prolonging of life, the reproduction of life, the nourishment of life; but not for yourself alone -- for the world, for the Universe. Grasp life for yourself in your hand, and you lose life. Lose life for the world and for me and you find it."

Can God use my hand thus? He can if I will.

"O God, take my hand -- scarred from pain and sin, dry and wrinkled and spotted with age, trembling. Take it, use it for the world."

As I yield my hand, the instrument of my will, to God, the drabness of life becomes colorful, the small becomes great and the great becomes small, the mundane shines with glory. I contemplate: "Oh the things God will do for the world using my hand!"

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED TO
THE WORKSHOP OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

ON OCTOBER 30-31, 1962 - - INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER

BY

Miss Flora Y. Hatcher
Assistant to the Administrator
Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington, D. C.

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In our own country rebuilding our communities to eliminate blight on the one hand, and accommodate explosive population growth and urbanization on the other, has been a major national effort since 1949. This led President Kennedy in a special housing message to Congress in March 1961 to assess first, where the nation was and second, to determine what priorities should be set further housing and urban rebuilding. He stated: "Two problems standing near the top of our national priority lists are first, preventing the appalling deterioration of many of our country's urban areas and rehabilitating the cities of our Nation, which currently contain 70 per cent of our people -- a figure that is constantly growing - and second, insuring the availability of adequate housing for all segments of our population."

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The Southern Regional Congress on City Planning while meeting in Roanoke, Virginia, in 1953 took note of what change from a rural to a predominantly urban pattern of living meant to the South. In part, this report of city planners from southern communities stated: "The growth of southern cities presents both problems and opportunities. For the first time many southern cities are faced with problems of housing, traffic congestion, schools, recreation areas, and utilities, ...The southern people must grasp the problems of their new environment if they are to adapt themselves successfully to the changes that are taking place."...[1]

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Decent Homes and Suitable Living Environment.--A third perspective - very significant to any community's housing and replanning efforts - is our national housing goal "the realization as soon as feasible of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." This goal was established, of course, by Congress in the Housing Act of 1949.

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[1]City Planning In The South: The Findings and Recommendations of the Southern Regional Congress on City Planning. August 17-19,1953, Roanoke, Virginia. Final Report of Committee on Professional Planning Services for Southern Cities.

Most Urgent Housing Needs.--When the President made his 1961 assessment of the nation's housing,he pointed out that 14 million American families currently live in substandard or deteriorating homes and the other 39 million families must be protected from the encroachment of blight and slums. He found the most urgent housing needs to be among families of moderate and low income, and therefore directed his proposals toward providing opportunities for these groups for whom our national pledge of a decent home and suitable living environment had not been fulfilled. The Congress agreed with the President's Assessment and enacted in the Housing Act of 1961 new and extended housing programs to provide housing for these people - and minorities are found predominantly amont these moderate and lower income levels.

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Minorities are also found occupying a substantially higher ratio of our poorest housing. The 1960 census data show that nationally the housing conditions of nonwhites continue to be substantially worse than for whites. About 45 per cent of the nonwhite households live in substandard housing. Looking at these data for the southern region, we find that 53 per cent of substandard owner-occupied housing is occupied by nonwhites compared to only 16 per cent for whites. For substandard rental housing, 68 per cent is occupied by nonwhites compared to only 28 per cent by whites.

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It is highly significant to the work of your Conference that hundreds of southern localities are participating so fully in federally aided programs to add to their supply of good housing and to replan and renew their deteriorating communities. This takes on added meaning when one remembers that no Federal aid program in housing and community improvement goes forward in a locality except when initiated, planned, and carried out by the local community. These locally initiated activities can improve housing for all segments of the population, and within total community development, there are many potentials for advancing housing opportunities for minorities. Whether or not these programs are effective in a local community depends not alone on public agencies, but also upon the will, desire, and responsible participation of the local citizenry. Responsible participation requires being well informed about what is going on in one's locality. Perhaps it would be helpful, therefore, to identify a few significant housing and community developments now under way in many southern communities.

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Workable Programs for Community Improvement.--The Workable Program is a Federal prerequisite to a locality's availing itself of urban renewal and certain housing assistance from the Federal Government. The Housing and Home Finance Agency Administrator must certify a Workable Program initially, and subsequently review it for re-certification annually. Where annual review indicates the need for further progress or corrective steps, Regional HHFA staff is available to assist

localities in working out problems so as to enable re-certification.

Under the Workable Program, a plan for the community's total development will get under way. Housing and neighborhoods most in need of improvement will be analyzed and ways to eliminate blight will receive major attention - and these neighborhoods include a preponderance of minority group families. The community will be planning ahead to meet the rehousing needs of all its families. A representative citizens' advisory committee will be established and officially designated to provide for citizen participation. Also because of the widely-experienced difficulty in communities in making adequate housing available to minority groups, a special or sub-committee on minority group housing for study and action is expected to be established. Agency guidelines point out that minority groups should be represented on both the overall Advisory Committee and on the subcommittee or special committee for minority group housing.

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Heightened Planning Activity.--Nor can the heightened importance of community planning be overlooked. Large and small communities alike are feverishly developing "community plans" for growth, development, and rearrangement of their housing and facilities. The South is very much a part of the vast planning activity now going on. Most of the large southern communities have Planning Commissions, some established in recent years. Nine states[1] in the South have state planning agencies that, among other responsibilities, help smaller communities in their urban planning. In seven southern states[2] there are metropolitan and regional planning agencies.

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For the country as a whole about 66 per cent or two-thirds of the families displaced by urban renewal are nonwhites. Of the families displaced in communities in the South up to March 31, 1962, 16,639 were nonwhites compared to 3,708 whites. This then obviously means that the re-housing operation of urban renewal is of major importance to the housing opportunities of minorities. The Federal statute requires that all families displaced by urban renewal action are provided the opportunity to be rehoused in decent safe, and sanitary housing - available and within their financial reach. The quality of a community's relocation operation can determine whether rehousing extends or threatens housing opportunities for minorities.

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[1]Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

[2]Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

Response to a Panel on "The Church in a Valley of Decision"

By

Rev. Vincent Harding

To: The Workshop of The Fellowship of The Concerned - October 30-31/62

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I speak for Father John Morris as well as for myself when I seek to offer this response to yesterday's panel presentation on "The Church in a Valley of Decision."

Our first response was this: God bless the women! God bless the women for their deep concern. God bless the women for their searching and sensitive spirits. God bless the women for so often being so far ahead of the men in the joyful, agonizing search for the way of discipleship in the midst of our nation's racial conflicts.

After having said that, it would be tempting for me to sit down, and for all of you to sit up and pat yourselves on the back and say "how good we are." We must not yield to this temptation, though, for self-congratulation and the easy offering of undeserved praise are among the besetting sins of the church. Rather, let us look and see what we have not done, what we have yet to do before we may even claim the title to "unworthy servants."

Actually, the panel left many things to be desired --- partly, of course, because of the meagre allotment of time that was made to each speaker. On the topic itself, "The Church in a Valley of Decision," little was really said. The nature of the decision was not defined in any way, and this omission was unfortunate, to say the least. For the title was no mere playing with words; the church is indeed faced now with a decision that is focussed on this matter of race. It is a great decision. It must choose to be or not to be the Church. It must choose to be the Church or a social club. It must choose to be the Church or another variety of white citizens' council. It must choose to be the Church or to be a Negro haven of rest. It must choose to be the Church or a Colored fashion show. Ultimately, of course, the choice before the Church now is to respond to God's challenge on the issue of race, or to die of abject fear. Here is the valley.

Perhaps it was because of this lack of a central definition that I found so little of a sense of urgency about the entire presentation. But a sense of urgency is greatly needed, for the context of the title words, as they are found in the book of Joel, is this: "Multitudes, multitides, in the valley of decision! For the day of the Lord is near in the valley of decision." This is the point: the day of God's judgement is no less near to us, for a revolution now sweeps around us, the world is passing us by, as schools, restaurants, bars all move ahead; and day by day, a silent, segregated church becomes more and more irrelevant to the new society. Soon, before very long, separate but equal churches will be antiquated anachronism, fit only for the dung heap.

Somehow, the panel needed to say more about our need to face the church fully and honestly with this time of decision. In some way we

must help it to cease evading the moment of truth when it must decide to be God's people or to remain a white people and a colored people. We must bring it to the time when it will see no path but the path of decision between being the Body of Christ or being permanently split into white and non-white bodies. At the same time we must call the church to a new understanding of who it belongs to. Again and again, we heard the panel members speak of opening "our church" to the Negroes. Instead, we must cause men to know that our great calling may well be to get out of the way and let Christ open His church to all people. For it is His church, you know. Unless it is his, unless it follows his command to make disciples of all men, wherever they are found, unless it is open to all men, then it has not yet come near the fullness of his calling. Indeed, if this is not its stance, there may be great reason to question its credentials as a church under his Lordship.

Throughout the panel discussion, it was possible to sense an uncomfortableness not dissimilar to that which has been experienced in the nation at large of late. Just as men and women grew uneasy with the lack of local action to implement the 1954 Supreme Court decision and the 1961 Interstate Commerce Commission ruling, so, too, has our uneasiness increased over the plethora of church pronouncements on race in the face of so little local congregational implementation. And as I think of the action we need, I remember a lady from Virginia who approached me at the recent World Mennonite Conference and asked: "Are you starting a new colored work in Atlanta?" My response to her was: "Sister, what we are really trying to do is to get all of the colored people out of the colored churches, and all of the white people out of the white churches, and put them together into one true Christian church." For in a real sense, this is our goal; not to integrate the churches, as some ladies said. No, our goal is to help create a fully Christian church, a church that refuses to let the walls of the world be built up in the church, a church which preaches and practices, "whosoever will, may come."

Now, how shall this necessary action come? How shall the church be brought to its hour of decision? How shall the volumes of pronouncements become flesh and live in deeds among us? The answers to this are not simple, but perhaps a direction may be seen. Just as the 1954 court decision and the 1961 ICC ruling did not bring (and have not brought) voluntary corrective action without some real stimulation in most cases, so we must not expect church pronouncements to bring action without similar stimulation. Is this not in keeping with our Protestant, crisis-centered theology? Rarely, for instance, do we expect a man to become a Christian only by reading volumes of documents about conversion. In our tradition -- for better or worse -- we look for a crisis experience, a sharp encounter with the truth, which may in turn lead to a turning from old ways and a commitment to the new. Is this not what our churches need in order to become truly inclusive fellowships? Do they not need to be faced with an inescapable crisis of decision?

How shall we do this? There are many ways. On the political level it took men and women who were willing to grasp Negro children by

the hands and lead them to principals and school boards -- then the issue could not be avoided. It took courageous young men and women to enter the restaurants and sit at the counters, facing the owners with the reality of their presence and the necessity of a choice. What does it take in the church?

Now, we may sit back and wait, perhaps, for some of these same young persons to enter the church without invitation and thus stimulate our decision-making. This is not a wise way, though, for many of them will never bother to come to our churches -- for a host of good and bad reasons. More importantly, though, this is not a wise way because it removes the initiative from our hands, and it is in our hands that it belongs. We are the people of the church. There are many ways in which we can grasp the chance (Miss Mears of United Church Women's "Project: Race" has a host of ideas). However, I should like to offer one suggestion which seems to me to be faithful both to the theme of this conference and to the life of the church. I would suggest that we give up those feelings of self-righteousness which so easily overcome us when we attend regional and statewide conferences like this. I would suggest that we grow dissatisfied with talk about the hands we have shaken and the tables we have shared at this level. The time has come for us to move down (or up!) to the level of our local congregations, to take our sister of another color by the hand, a and to walk by her side into our church sanctuary. Take her, and walk with her, and say to any who ask: "This is my sister in Christ; if this is Christ's church, then she belongs here as fully as I do." Indeed, we might be called upon to add the words: "If she does not belong here, then neither do I." In our hands -- there is the initiative. Joined hand in hand we may face the church with its choice.

Obviously, this is no easy way for us to go; but that is good. It is good because this issue of race, this frightening, shaking issue may finally bring us to our senses: at last it may break down our frantic efforts to be Christ's disciples and socially acceptable at the same time. In moments of the church's crisis, this kind of double life is rarely possible or even desirable. Thus the valley of our decision on race may be a place in which we discover anew that following Christ still brings with it the joyful agony of the cross.

Only briefly was this alluded to yesterday, when one of the panel members reported on the difficulty Albany's leading Baptist minister is having in finding a place to have his hair cut. (Actually, the barbershop problem is only a symptom of the greater trials this man faces.) He simply spoke for the openness of Christ's church, and has been granted the provilege of a glimpse at the cross. In Montgomery and New Orleans, some ladies now present have been faced with rejection by their husbands as a price for their own decision. Such experiences remind us that we too must be ready for this at every moment if we would really take the present opportunity in our own hands. We must be ready to be taken off the best invitation lists. We must be ready to be socially ostracised, intimidated and reviled. This was the way of our Master; why should his followers ask for a more pleasant path?

(At this moment I remember an example given by Archbishop Fulton Sheen illustrating the difference between Christianity and Communism.

He said that the communists have marched up to the Christ of the cross, torn him from the cross, cast him aside, and have marched off bearing the cross -- the cross of suffering, ridicule and rejection for their cause. On the other hand, we of the western world, said the Bishop, have walked up to the cross, taken Christ off, and have walked off with a gentle Jesus, meek and mild, leaving the cross and its costliness behind. Neither of these is the true faith, of course. For just as there is no real Christian cross without Christ, so, too, is there no true Christ without his cross. In our valley of decision on race, each of us must make our own choice.)

Here, then, is our response. And as I thought of the decision we now face -- a calling to open Christ's church to all men -- it seemed to me that T. S. Eliot was speaking to us all through his Murder in the Cathedral (and perhaps God was speaking through the poet). There, in his dramatic recounting of the life of Thomas Becket, 12th century Archbishop of Canterbury, Eliot often dwelt on the conflict between Thomas and the King, between the commands of God and the decrees of the state, between the way of our Master and the way of the world. Then, near the closing of Thomas' life in the play, Eliot portrays the priests of the Cathedral as they urge Thomas to lock himself in the sanctuary and to bar it against the King's knights who seek to kill him. They cry out:

Priests: Bar the door. Bar the door.
The door is barred.
We are safe. We are safe.
The enemy may rage outside, he will tire
In vain. They cannot break in.
They dare not break in. They have not the force.
We are safe. We are safe.

Thomas: Unbar the doors! Throw open the doors!
I will not have the house of prayer, the church of Christ,
The sanctuary, turned into a fortress.
The church shall protect her own, in her own way, not
As oak and stone; stone and oak decay,
Give no stay, but the Church shall endure.
The church shall be open, even to our enemies.
Open the door!

Priests: My Lord! these are not men, these come not as men come, but,
Like maddened beasts. They come not like men, who
Respect the sanctuary, who kneel to the Body of Christ,
But like beasts. You would bar the door
Against the lion, the leopard, the wolf or the boar,
Why not more
Against beasts with the souls of damned men, against men
Who would damn themselves to beasts.
My Lord! My Lord!

Thomas: Unbar the door!
You think me reckless, desperate and mad.
You argue by results, as this world does,
To settle if an act be good or bad.
Unbar the door! Unbar the door!
We are not here to triumph by fighting, by stratagem,
or by resistance,
Not to fight with beasts as men.
We have fought the beast and have conquered.
We have only to conquer now, by suffering.
This is the easier victory.
Now is the triumph of the Cross, now
Open the door! I command it. OPEN THE DOOR!

The door is opened, and within a few minutes time, the King's knights murder Thomas (for God has never promised safety to those who do his will, only his eternal presence with them). However, in the final moments of the play, the people of Canterbury are granted that great vision which helps them to see that Thomas' death, resulting as it did from his refusal to close Christ's church to any man, was indeed a blessing upon them all. It had caused them to see God and themselves. Therefore they could sing out:

Chorus: . . . . . .

. . . O God, we thank Thee
Who hast given such a blessing to Canterbury.

Forgive us, O Lord, we acknowledge ourselves as type of
the comman man,
Of the men and women who shut the door and sit by the fire;
Who fear the blessing of God, the loneliness of the night
of God, the surrender required, the deprivation
inflicted;
Who fear the injustice of men less than the justice of God;
Who fear the hand at the window, the fire in the thatch,
the fist in the tavern, the push into the canal,
Less than we fear the love of God.
We acknowledge our trespass, our weakness, our fault;
we acknowledge
That the sin of the world is upon our heads; that the
blood of the martyrs and the agony of the saints
Is upon our heads.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Blessed Thomas, pray for us.

Reverend Vincent Harding
Mennonite House
Atlanta, Georgia

REPORT OF THE

WORKSHOP OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED - HELD ON OCTOBER 30-31, 1962, at THE INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER

* * * * * * * *

The below listed items are what the Workshop participants said they would do when they went home.

- - - - - - - - - - -

OUR REACH

Plan soon to get a few women from my Sunday School class to meet in my home with a couple of Negro teachers.

Planning a Workshop: on the Family in a World of Rapid change in January, on all phases of housing, employment, using persons from Urban League, New Orleans Community Relations Council, Housing Authority, Welfare Planning Council. This will be in cooperation with Christian Social Relations Department of U.C.W.

Next week -- report to Annual Meeting Women's Fellowship. Later brief State Chairman of Social action. Next spring give information to district meeting.

Will incorporate on Friday some ideas learned in the Country-wide World Community Day Service.

Wherever possible will take all others to meetings and situations where their attitudes may be changed.

In an institute, teaching high school youths, State Board Meetings, Baptist Women -- will share what I have learned. Hope to have integrated services.

Hope to have a telephone group whose job will be to get acquainted with at least one white woman each month.

THE CHURCH

Urge my church to study work book on Local Ecumenicity -- "Servants of Eternal Christ."

Continue to welcome every person who comes through the doors of my church.

Make it a personal responsibility to see that my church knows the official position of our denomination, and try to get them to do at least one thing to advance good relationships, taking steps toward recognition of persons.

I shall ask our Women's State Board to study "One Family" come together for discussion of it and consideration of participation in "Assignment Race."

Will try to integrate our local U.C.W. -- will try to go grips with our Methodist Church. Work more closely with League of Women Voters.

As a member of the official board of my church -- I shall try to make way to the opening of doors wider, extending the hand of fellowship and welcome to all people.

As a conference officer I will include in my message to the women what I have learned.

Work, hope, and pray that all churches may be willing to welcome Negro worshippers, and be willing to entertain inter-racial conferences.

Will work for a study group in our U. C. W.

Try to have an integrated U. C. W.

I will try to have the Negro Presbyterian church taken into white Presbyterian.

Urge my church to study the proclamation on open-door policy.

Integration of our churches is a Christian requisite. Will continue my efforts to bring it about.

Encourage our Woman's society to study Charter of Racial Policies.

Will write an article for our denominations weekly on concerns for church women.

Will serve on Committee of Local U. C. W. on"Assignment Race."

To help my fellow church members to realize the privilege and opportunities to promote better race relations.

Will report to my Synodical board and to my Sunday School class of 50 members my prayer is that may those who hear me will know these things are important for they are to God.

Will accept the invitations that have come to me -- to visit white churches which have invited.

SUMMARY FROM THE 100 OR MORE SHEETS TURNED IN BY THOSE ATTENDING THE WORKSHOP OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED, NOVEMBER 6-7, 1961

****

"What I Will try to do when I go Home."

There are certain phrases that appear over and over again in the answers, such as, "I will try to take the inspiration and information to the group with which I am affiliated," "Communication between the races," occuring so many times reveals an awareness that we do not know each other, and barriers exist that must be erased.

There are words also used often, i.e., "Contact" "Report" "Share" "Witness" and "Communication."

If all the promised contacts and reports are made to the many organizations, the 1961 Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned will be far-reaching.

Some Excerpts - each quote (in quotation marks) comes from a different sheet submitted.

THROUGH PERSONAL CONTACTS.

"I will take steps to break through the barriers by working harder than ever through my membership in organizations to find closer relationships between the races."

"I will try to stimulate white Methodist women to fellowship with sister churches in the Central Jurisdiction."

"I will work to break some barriers and intimidations that prevent action."

"I will write ten Negro and white church leaders to discuss Bishop Pike's 'Roots of Prejudice,' in hopes there will be enough interest to desire other discussion periods."

"Wherever possible I'll patronize only desegregated places - I hope to help my county United Church Women to desegregate - perhaps beginning with World Day of Prayer."

"Give my recent copies of New South to uncommitted persons, asking them to read carefully and prayerfully."

"I am going to see the Charter of Race Relations is adopted by my District Woman's Society."

"I will have an integrated group at my apartment to read and discuss religious plays."

"I will have an area meeting and at coffee hour, discuss 'One-ness'"

"I will continue to develop personal friendships with Negroes, visiting in each others homes, for meals, etc.

"I will entertain a Negro student from Bethune-Cookman College along with other students from Methodist Student Center at University of Miami."

"Report the Atlanta Meeting at P.T.A. as I moderate a panel on "Time to Explore New Ideas."

"Barriers in my church are the hardest, I will try on this. This may be my first, though I fear the last opportunity."

"Talk constantly with my husband, report to my church circle, my class of couples, to the Y. W. C.A."

"I shall talk to my pastor on integration in the church."

"I shall make a real effort to fullier integrate our Y.W.C.A. program for the under classes."

"I shall talk to the editor of our paper about this meeting."

"My highest priority is the Woman's Auxiliary of our General Hospital, where half or more of patients are colored - only white women are in the Auxiliary."

"I will spot leadership potential among Negro women in the integrated group to which I belong and will work to get recognition of their talent by helping them to be elected or appointed to leadership places, beginning with the P. T. A. Council. We hope to include Negroes in the 'World Day of Prayer' Service - Leaders of both races will plan to execute a Bible School for the Negro children."

HOUSING.

"I am working on housing for Negro students in the University, setting an example for others by taking a Negro graduate student into my home."

"I will look into a new housing project being instituted through the Urban Renewal."

"Check with Urban Redevelopment Commission to see about housing for Negroes being moved out of area."

CITIZENSHIP AND LAW ENFORCEMENT.

"Meet with Improvement Council to set up Registration schools in churches."

"Work in Registration Drive - Help prepare persons to pass the Alabama tests."

"Call a meeting - Christian Social Concern Commission in my church to plan observance of Human Rights Day."

"Try to do something to help and encourage High School students serving jail sentences in Pike County - Follow up my interest in justice in the courts in my state, at least by attending courts myself."

"I shall continue to press for law enforcement on our beach so that our Negro citizens and Negro college students shall not be molested or intimidated."

"I shall begin working for better training for policemen."

"I will give names of those in my state, who attended the Fellowship of the Concerned, to the Chairmen of Legislative Council of United Church Women, that she may contact them on issues in the legislature, January, 1962.

JOB OPPORTUNITIES.

"I will work to get a number of organizations to work together on a survey of job opportunities for Negroes and for qualified personnel available for jobs."

"Start investigating employment practices, seek to form a fact-finding committee."

"I shall alert our Public Affairs Committee to the need for gathering information about job openings giving equal opportunities for both races - need accurate information."

LETTER WRITING.--runs all the way from writing to Attorney General to articles to a Newsletter of organizations; to our Art Association protesting the fact that no Negroes have an opportunity to enter the classes; to letters of commendation to courageous editors, and sometimes letters to the public through the newspaper."

"I will try to write to my local papers questioning the lack of industry, which might be required by Federal law to maintain 'fair employment practices'" - It is fairly obvious that these industries are not being invited to my city by our Chamber of Commerce in order to maintain segregation of employment."

There are three promises of interviews with local editors.

PRAYER.

Many know the plans they have made are not easy undertakings - and know help must come from out and beyond them.

"At present time, I am living on a college campus - but it is the members of my own church in the State Capitol that needs help. Perhaps I can find a way - God being my help."

"I shall continue to pray for God's guidance in the whole matter."

"Pray, pray, pray, will try to form an inter-racial prayer group."

Five others have stated they will do their best to form inter-racial prayer groups.

"I will ask God to give me faith, strength and patience, keep me humble, and somehow grant me poise and wisdom and always love."

"The future, and its opportunities are unknown, all we can do is to stand by alert - concerned and willing to follow God's will.

STEWARDSHIP.

There is a sense of stewardship running through the lines - a feeling that they must "share" as evidenced by the number of promises to report to other groups. The word "witness" is used over and over . There is also a dedication to the job ahead. Two sheets by different women sum this up - - -

"To become deeply dedicated to ideas, principles, and practices of Christian living, to let our 'know' catch up with our 'doing.'"

"Recognizing the struggle for human dignity, I will take advantage of every opportunity to say something or do something to extend commitment to truth and worth of human beings and the realization of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man."

CONCULSION.

They listened to the messages of the speakers, they had their discussion groups - they really caught the spirit and purpose of the Workshop.....

We seek...

A Conviction that will not let us rest;

A Faith that will not shrink;

A Courage that will not faller.

REPORT OF THE DISCUSSION GROUPS

Q. What an we do as individuals to grow in depth and vision lest we grow weary in well-doing?

A. Reporter for Group I:

Take advantage of any opportunity. Meet with people of other races and nationality. Construct relationships on our part. We should use empathy.

Reporter for Group II

Individual action and commitment to good causes are necessary b before concrete results can be achieved.

Reporter for Group III.

Individual contact with individuals to establish true friendships and concern.

RECOMMENDATIONS: Subscribe to the Negro Magazines; read writers' work for greater dimension. Correspondence - lifting spirits through correspondence, knowing of what is happening in and around the world.

Q. How can we bring concerned individuals in Negro and white communities together in more significant communication?

A. Group I.

Help in daily vacation Bible School; Communication; have prayer groups meet regularly; Use youth Y-Teen groups; using all methods we possibly can, carry on meetings.

Group II.

The first step should be taken on both sides in order to bring concerned individuals in the Negro and white communities closer together. The "let George do it" attitude is out in achieving better human relations.

Jackson: Small towns and communities should be given a more tr true understanding of facts. Community relationships seemee better in larger towns and groups. Establish lines in communication.

Ashley: Depend on organized groups, for communication. Person to person communication.

Q. How can we bring to commitment those who are uncertain but troubled in conscience?

A. Group I.

Contact borderline persons, and through large groups, make known their need to know of complications of small groups, Study groups. Get definite feelings and positive attitudes.

Group IV.

In view of the fact that we represent such great faiths, we should depend on them, talk them up, live them up, and in this way possibly we can bring about a satisfaction to the troubled and uncertain conscience.

Group II.
For those who are uncommitted but concerned and are tottering on the brink of indecision, we should give all the love and understanding possible, and maintain a tolerant attitude while they are making up their minds.

Q. What can we do in our parishes and Synagogues to bring them to corporate witnesses?

A. Group V.
Set up leadership. Combine groups under one responsible leader. Issue a Manifesto, this could be done by the Ministers, College leaders, doctors, scientists.

Group VIII.
Start with the churches, extend invitations, exchange programs, etc. Workshops, personal connections, person-to-person contacts, challenge the face-to-face contacts.

Group II.
In our churches and synagogues, our corporate witness should begin with ourselves. Try inviting persons of another race into the fellowship of the congregation.

RECOMMENDATIONS: Begin within organized groups, and invite other races to jokn and attend our fellowship.

Q. What significant action can be taken as individuals to further employment on the basis of merit and the unrestricted opening of housing opportunities?

A. Group II.
Significant action should be taken by each of us as individuals if we would bring about a better world.

Group III.
Job opportunities based on technical training probably greater in small areas; pressure put on merchants and employers for the employment of youth, also certain citizens.

Housing: Urban renewal; subsidizing housing rule has been ignored; committee should be formed; people should live where they wish, not integration, but de-segregation.

Group VII. Urban Refugees - should be a concern for all; check with agencies and organizations, for housing and job opportunities.

It was reported that Louisville, Ky., had dropped its tag on racial property, equal opportunity in employment.

Mrs. Boozer: SRC has helped to conduct four employment surveys. Available information on these surveys available through the Southern Regional Council.

Q. What is our role in seeing that one Supreme Court decision on the desegregation of Public Schools is implemented in spirit and the truth in our own communities?

Group I. Check with such groups as OASIS, AND HOPE.

Group 5: (1) Quiet work is important; (2) Inter-group Conference a good way to improve the Supreme Cpurt's decision. OASIS grew out of the schools, religious, youth and civic groups. Let us remember that "God is not in an earthquake, or fire, but in a small voice."

DURR-CAHN: Beyond personal, volunteer groups, government groups, bring to attention the possibility of looking on the government groups handling housing. Write letters, write Kennedy, too, for protection of freedom riders. Ask for protection from terror.

STEVENS: Meeting has been a symbol of what we want to do when we get back home.

1. Meeting was given by one woman with upper-room experiences.
2. Meeting was under the great umbrella of the so-called agency, Allies, special church relations, etc.
3. Represented here in this room are three great faiths, which was felt to be a wonderful way to start helping to bring about better race relations, not only on the local level but also on a national level.

Comments on Employment: As a channel through which to work, government contracts, Chamber of Commerce especially. However, we find that many organizations, etc., will accept no government contracts because of pressure that will be put on them.

COMMENTS ON RELATIONSHIPS: Get our children to be friendly. Get attitudes "set in" in early life, also, help the mothers in seeing the need for togetherness.

1962-64 LEGISLATION

Senior Citizens Housing Act of 1962

New Public Law 87-723, signed September 28, authorizes the appropriation of an additional $100 million for what the House and Senate committees reporting on the bill called "the highly successful existing program" of direct loans to provide housing for the elderly. Housing and Home Finance Administrator can lend on favorable terms -- 3½ per cent interest and a 50-year loan maturity -- so that rental housing can be provided for the elderly at rents at $15 to $20 a month below projects financed with Federal Housing Administration (FHA) insurance.

Basically, however, the new law establishes a number of new housing aids under the Farmers Home Administration for the elderly who live in rural areas. It sets up a $50 million program of direct loans by the farm agency to rural residents over 62 years of age to construct or buy new homes or modernize old ones to fit their needs.

Child Welfare and Day Care Services

"Current day care services for children of working mothers add up to a 'national disgrace,' Mrs. Katherine B. Oettinger, chief of the Children's Bureau, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, declared last summer just after President Kennedy had signed the welfare reform bill into Public Law 87-543. "The President's approval of the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962," Mrs. Oettinger said, "gives us a golden opportunity to help the States expand and improve their day care services, and make life better for the thousands of children who need good care if their mothers must work."

There has been a 66 per cent increase in the number of working mothers with children under 18 in the past ten years. "We have to remember that most women work for economic reasons, so we have for more working mothers at low economic levels than at middle or high levels of income," she said.

At the time she was speaking, last July, Mrs. Oettinger reported, the capacity of all reported licensed day care facilities was only 185,000 children. Under the new law, up to $5,000,000 of Federal child welfare funds can be earmarked for day care for the fiscal year 1963, and up to $10,000,000 for each succeeding year. The States are required to match these funds and to give priority in providing day care to members of low-income or other groups in the population and to geographical areas which have the greatest relative need for extension of day care.

Under the new law, the present ceiling of $25 million annually on child welfare grants is raised in a series of steps beginning with FY 1963 to $50 million for 1969 and each year thereafter.

Federal Program for Delinquency Prevention

A report on the first year's operation of the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act (P. L. 87-274, signed Sept. 22, 1961) appeared in the September 15, 1962 issue of Concern, magazine of the

Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns. The article, by David L. Hackett, executive director of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, states that only one major grant was made during the first year of the three-year $30 million program. This was to Mobilization for Youth, Inc., a non-profit organization representing public and private youth-serving agencies on New York's Lower East Side.

This project, says the article, "has developed an exciting variety of new programs in the areas of youth employment, education, recreation, child and family welfare, and group services. It actively involves the adults in the community to create new opportunities for youth."

Funds from the Delinquency Act contribute $1.9 million of the $13 million budget for the Mobilization project's first three years. Other financial support comes from the City of New York and the Ford Foundation.

During the past year, no other community in the nation was found ready to enact a delinquency control program of this scope, although a number of cities expressed interest in developing such a program. For this reason, several grants were made for planning comprehensive youth service programs. These have gone to New Haven, Cleveland, Houston, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Washington, D. C., Chicago, and Detroit.

The nine recipients (named above) of curriculum development grants will provide new course material to be used in training such groups as teachers, police, parole officers, vocational guidance personnel, community organizers, gang workers, and other related groups. Eight short-term workshops and institutes have been supported to keep front line workers up to date on new developments in their own and related fields and to offer opportunities for exchanges of information.

Youth Employment Opportunities Act

A Senate bill to establish pilot programs to expand employment opportunities for young people, including training, employment in public service jobs, and employment in a newly established Youth Conservation Corps, never reached the Senate floor.

Migratory Labor

"Breakthrough" for Migratory Workers -Legislation providing a three-year program of health care for migratory workers was signed into Public Law 87-692 by President Kennedy on September 25. The bill, S.1130, was the only one enacted of ten introduced early in the first session by Senator Harrison A. Williams (D., N. J.) and other Senators to deal with the problems of migratory agricultural workers. Calling the new law "the first substantial, really helpful bill ever passed for the migrant." Senator Williams hailed it as "an historic breakthrough for migratory farm families."

Health-care Program Provided.--The new law authorizes Federal grants to the States of up to $3,000,000 annually through fiscal year 1965 to help establish clinics and other health projects in areas seriously affected by the seasnonal impact of migratory workers. The grants will be made by the Surgeon General of the United States (through Public Health Service, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare), to public or non-profit agencies.

Four Senate-passed Bills Died in House.--Of the nine remaining bills in the Williams packet, four were passed by the Senate and were reported to the House of Representatives by its Education and Labor Committee, but failed to reach the floor. These bills dealt with child labor, education for both children and adults, registration of agricultural labor contractors, and the establishment of a National Citizens Council on Migratory Labor. The child labor bill which would have prohibited farm work by Children under 14 years of age except when employed on the family farm or on a neighboring farm within 25 miles, was granted a rule and was considered briefly by the House on October 4.

The five bills which were not acted upon by either house were concerned with minimum wage coverage for migratory farm labor, improvement of housing, collective bargaining rights for agricultural employees, extension of benefits of the federal-state farm placement system to more agricultural workers, and the furnishing of day-care facilities for the children of migrant workers.

In the closing days of the session, the day-care bill passed the Senate as an amendment(offered by Senator Williams) to a tariff measure providing for temporary suspension of the duties on corkboard insulation and on cork stoppers. Congress adjourned, however, before final action was completed.

REFORM IN SOCIAL WELFARE.--Abriham Rubicoff, Secretary of Education and Welfare has ordered a 10 point reform and sent to State Welfare Agencies, among these;--

1. A special unit responsible for locating deserted parents of children on relief must be established by each state.
2. Strengthen procedure for control of fraud.
3. Children in relief families may keep money earned on jobs for future educational purposes and medical care or preparation for employment.
4. Intensive case work services;--

   At least one home visit every three months required for relief families with illigetimate children.
5. By July, all states must have submitted a five-year plan for increasing the training of qualified social workers.
6. Establish a new division to keep an eye on state projects aimed at reduction of dependency.

STAMPS SAVE LIVES!!!

Help us save the lives of starving children in other parts of the world by saving your canceled postage stamps (everything except the ordinary 1¢, 2¢, 3¢, 4¢, and 5¢ stamps).

All proceeds from the sale of our stamps go to Church World Service, the service arm of National Council of Churches. They, in turn, buy "Share our Substance" foods, and our money is multiplied 26 times. 500 stamps are worth $1.00. One CWS dollar buys 5,000 cups of milk; four CWS dollars will feed a child for a year. A little effort on our part can be the means of "Feeding the Multitudes."

REMEMBER...

1. We are collecting for DEALERS, who buy the stamps from us.
2. Stamps must be perfect - no performations torn.
3. Send all commemorative stamps (including special Christmas stamps); Air Mail, foreign, old stamps, rare stamps; large denomination stamps that come on parcel post; all pre-cancled stamps, whatever the denomination. Also, DO send 1/2¢, 1-1/2¢, 2-1/2¢, etc.
4. To Process: Cut around stamps, leaving 1/4 inch, so stamps will not get damaged.

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STAMP PROJECT REPORT

United Church Women of Atlanta have responded wonderfully this summer with large numbers of stamps. A shipment of 13,000 stamps was recently made.

The grand total of stamps collected since January is now approximately 53,000. This number translated into actual money for "Share our Substance" government foods equals a total of $2,756.00. Enough to supply 16 tons of food for needy families, orphanages, school lunch programs and emergency stations.

LET'S KEEP THE STAMPS MOVING

THESE - OUR CHILDREN

What strange-assorted children bear the name American!
Or draw a smaller circle, call them children of the South -
Or children of the North, or East or West: Our children - all.

They run the gamut of the human family in looks:
With blond hair ranged from cotton-top thru gold
To black hair, straight as bristles of a brush
Or curled as tightly as new karakul;
While in between are blended autumn hues
Of auburn, red, and gold-flecked chestnut brown.

Dark eyes, so deep and soft they seem to fold in trust
The whole wide world and all that they behold.
Blue eyes that pierce the heart with their clean innocence;
Hazel eyes, or violet, green, or gold - all hybrid eyes
That sing with joy or at a moment's hurt dissolve in tears.

Transparent nylon skin as clear as pastel peach
Or gently peppered by the freckling sun,
And all the smoothly burnished sun-tan tones
Blending at last to velvet-textured skin
That's like a soothing shadow's restful brown.

Short, pudgey hands that baby dimples somehow loathe to leave;
hands long and slender as a swaying reed;
Strong hands, and hands so delicately formed
They seem but mist - not made of flesh and bone.
Sure, sturdy feet that plant themselves with firmness on the ground;
Fragile, slender feet that brush the earth in whispers as they run.

As varied as the flowers of the South, our children are:
No two alike; each set apart, distinctive in his looks.
Yet more distinctive still is the wide variance in gifts
Of personality and mind and heart.

One sees the world a riddle to unfold:
His playroom is a laboratory even as a child;
Another loves the roar of rockets, or the whir of wheels,
And with his crayons fashions giant machines,
Or capsule space craft streaking to the Moon, Venus, or Mars,
Or to some planet and undiscovered yet.
Some swing and climb and build their houses in the towering trees,
Thus growing sinews needed for tomorrow's far-flung age.

Then there are those whose thirst for knowledge smolderingly burns
In endless "whys" until it bursts into a quenchless flame.

Dreamers, who seek for truth transcending things
That one can see, or hear, or touch, or ever hope to prove.
Artists in bud, in whom lies dormant creativity!

And there are those we call the down-to-earth
Who someday will make beds and tend the sick,
Or feed and clothe a hungry, needy world.
Some who seem born with faces to the past,
Soon learn to love the warm, familiar ways,
While others rush with open-armed delight
Out to the vast unknown of future days.

To each a countenance God gives to wear;
To each his own in gifts of mind and heart;
Each reaching out in confidence to be his best,
To bear the fruit which he alone can bear.

Would you - would I - dare look upon God's handiwork as judge,
And brand "inferior," "mongrel" on a single brow?
Or sear those hateful words with white heat into brain and heart?
Who among us, looking at the throng -
These multi-colored children of our land -
Can choose tomorrow's great? Or who is wise enough to weigh
The hidden qualities of soul by which alone
Man's character and worth may be assessed?

"Not I, not I," you cry, I cry with anguished mind, and yet -
How can we look upon these little ones without a tear,
Yea, more, a violent wrenching of the heart?
For, if we can be honest we must see
That long before they have a chance to try their budding wings,
To stretch their souls, or feed their hungry minds,
The subtle process of their poisoning begins.

"Lift your sights high," we say to those who are of fairer hue.
"Achieve! Attain! You are superior. The best of everything for you.
Nothing at all can stop you, if you try!"
While to the darker ones we say a thousand ways,
"Stand back and wait. The back seat, the back gate.
Don't mind the heavy door slammed in your face.
Keep in your place. Don't get ideas. Why try?
It's better to be pushed aside then - - dead!"

Thus do we feed our children stunting fare
Which leads them to believe that purity and honesty
And wholesome moral worth somehow depend
Upon the pigmentation in one's skin.
And so this bitter curd of lies grows down in some
To be a bloating, cancerous pride that eats away
Their inborn sense of oneness with humanity.
And all to soon they learn to point in scornful, crippling jest
To ridicule those different from themselves.

While still in others, sucking like a leach,
The poison eats away the vitals of their self-respect,
And all too soon these suffering ones must learn
The heart's defense of "don't care" or of hate.

May God forgive us for our lame incompetence and guilt!
For what we do to these - our children, in our "land of Liberty."
These many-gifted ones whom He entrusted to our care!

Across the centuries those ringing words our Lord once spoke
While holding a young child upon his knee,
Become a thunderous, crashing diatribe
Exploding and resounding in our ears:

"Whoso shall offend one of these little ones ...
It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck,
And that he were drowned in the depts of the sea."

Whoso - shall - offend - one - of these little ones -

O Lord,

Just one?

-- Noreen Dunn Tatum

Transactional Church

In Workshop Groups

WHEN NEGROES CAME TO OUR CHURCH

by E. JERRY WALKER

Group 1

It was the hardest assignment I ever faced.

I had been at Chicago's St. James Methodist church for little more than two months when Silas Brown applied for membership. Of course, churches are always eager to receive new members. But Silas was a Negro.

Already a prominent member's wife had given me "the word" on church policy. It was really quite simple. If the minister insisted on any foolishness, such as "mixing the races" in church, so many pledges would be canceled so fast the the program, and probably the church itseld, would die on the spot! The handwriting, it seemed, was on the wall.

I soon discovered there were two sides to the wall, and the picture was no better outside than in. As far up as school children could reach, the sides of the handsome Gothic building were scribbed with chalk and crayon. Tin cans, paper, broken bottles lay in heaps where they had been flung against the building.

The church custodian was resigned. "Our neighbors don't seem to like us very well," he drawled. "I don't know why."

During the next several weeks I turned up some interesting answers to his observation. Its present building erected in 1925, St. James is Methodism's largest and finest church plant in Chicago. There is a parish house with 75 rooms. The sanctuary will seat 1,000 worshipers. There are two pipe organs, a full-sized gym, two sets of outdoor chimes and most everything else that could be desired in the way of up-to-date equipment.

In the heart of the once-elite, south shore district, the rolls of St. James church contain names like Gustavus Swift, founder of Swift and Company. In the late twenties St. James became known as the "cathedral church" of Methodism in Chicago.

With the expanded war economy of the forties, tens of thousands of Negroes moved to Chicago. In a period of little more than 10 years our predominantly white neighborhood became 85 per cent colored, and the Negro population of Chicago passed the 500,000 mark.

Public schools, in particular, felt the pressure. Large additions were constructed, other buildings purchased. More than 5,000 pupils were enrolled in three public grade schools within a mile of St. James church.

Our Sunday school, meanwhile, had dropped to an average attendance of 25 youngsters, or one for every three rooms in the parish house.

Bishop Charles W. Brashares of the Chicago Area had warned that this would be a tough assignment when he appointed me in July, 1953. "Whatever

happens," he said, "even if the church closes its doors in six months' time, we'll stand behind you." I was wishing he was standing in front of me the day I had to face Silas Brown.

Mr. Brown lived in our neighborhood, but his letter was in a Negro Methodist church several miles away. I could think of nothing to do but be honest with him. feet were hardly on the ground, I explained. Would he wait just a little longer and be patient with me?

Next Sunday I looked anxiously over the scattered congregation in our large auditorium. Would Silas Brown be there? Or, offended at this racial bigotry, would he have disappeared for good?

Silas Brown was a big man. He was in his accustomed pew. Like most people, Mr. Brown was responsive to sincerity. Because he believed in my purposes, he was willing to be patient.

One of those purposes was to minister to the people who lived in the shadow of the church, rather than exclusively serving a constituency which had largely moved away. On most weekdays, as children streamed noisily by on their way to and from school, my secretary, the custodian and I were the only persons inside our buildings. It was obvious that we were accepting no responsibility for our neighborhood.

"I think," I told 84-year-old banker Albert W. Harris, "we should begin to bring the children into our building."

Bearded Mr. Harris, whose eyesight is nearly gone and who listens through a hearing aid, pounded his fist on his desk. "You are right!" he said. "Start with the children!"

But where does one find leadership? We had the buildings, but we had difficulty staffing a Sunday school for 25 children. Although our books showed 1,463 members, we knew this figure contained nearly 1,000 people we never would hear from again, except to transfer their names to other churches.

We began to inquire for leadership at the Chicago Boys' clubs, the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Junior Achievement and the YMCA. We offered to make a deal--put up our facilities if they would provide program. The "Y" was immediately interested. A part-time director, Ross Young, was assigned to the church from the Hyde Park YMCA, largest "Y" in Chicago.

Our gym was scrubbed, its floors refinished and relined, and soon the building was a bustle of activity after school and on Saturdays.

I was relieved when church members took obvious pride in this service to our own community. But when an interracial Sunday school was proposed, several pledges were canceled and a few memberships transferred elsewhere. "He's giving our church to the colored," one lady protested. Shortly afterward, a fine damask tablecloth and several other items disappeared from the church parlors, evidently so they would not fall into "undeserving hands."

One particularly vocal club woman protested to my district superintendent, "You have betrayed us! We asked you to send us someone to bring us comfort, and instead you sent him!"

"Have patience, Jerry," my bishop counseled. "It is a difficult situation. But it is good to know there is no question but what you are on the right side."

Church officials saw it that way, too. By an overwhelming majority, an interracial church school was approved. Now all I had to do was organize it.

Strangely, this was not so difficult as it might seem. Following the plan used to put our gym and recreation rooms to work, I looked for leadership on the outside.

Since most Sunday-school teachers already are busy Sunday mornings, we opened our church school in the afternoon. Searching for a director of religious education, I turned to the Chicago Church federation. At the top of their list was Mrs. Virginia Smallman. She was thrilled with the idea.

Soon she had recruited a staff of 37 people--more than the entire attendance in the morning children's division. Six theological students drove down from Garrett Biblical institute in Evanston. Others came from the University of Chicago. Several were teachers in other parishes, including three Negro churches.

Mothers in the community became interested, and under the leadership of Mrs. Sylvesta Bramlette, a former PTA president, a group was formed to make door-to-door calls inviting children to our "Sunday Afternoon Club." It is interesting to me that nearly all this calling committee took Mrs. Smallman's teacher-training course and are now active in the church-school program.

We set a goal of 150 students for that first eight-week trial period in May and June of 1954. By the second Sunday we had passed our goal. One Friday night, TV Cowboy Bob Atcher drew 357 people into our recreation hall. It was the largest crowd from the community ever to come into the church.

All that seems a long time ago. The experimenting is over now. We are beginning to run at full speed. At a community night a month ago, a puppet show brought 1,246 children and parents into the church. The YMCA now has one full-time and four part-time directors assigned to its extensive program in the church.

Silas Brown is a member, along with a growing list of other fine Negro folk who are taking their places in church activities, choir and official board. Several new organizations have been formed, including a junior choir with 127 children enrolled, and a young adult breakfast club which has in it many university and college students. Our church school has been moved to the traditional morning hours now that we have

trained an adequate interracial staff of our own people.

Begin And the handwriting on the wall has nearly disappeared. Our new custodian says there isn't a fourth the rubble along the sidewalks he encountered during his first month with us. Even Halloween left no scars from chalk, crayon or soap. And we haven't had a broken window in over 10 months!

The handwriting on the inside? Well--we've had a rebirth, a Christian experience. And interestingly enough, our growing congregation today includes more white people than there were in the whole congregation a year ago.

To me the most gratifying part of it all is the attitude of these white members. At a board meeting last October, I pulled a list of 10 Negro names from my pocket and asked what I should do with it. That was when a most remarkable thing happened. I guess you would call it a sort of testimonial meeting.

Here was a man who, three months before, had said, "If any Negroes sit in my pew, I'm leaving for good!" Now he stood up to say, "I'm going to do my part to see this through."

A woman planning to leave the community said, "But now I don't see how I can. I must stay and help."

A trustee who, six weeks before, had suggested we follow the precedent of nearly all churches who find themselves in our plight and sell out to a Negro congregation, now rose to say, "I want to be the first to welcome our new members. It's the only Christian thing to do!"

A retired executive of the Pullman company confessed, "Five years ago I refused to shake hands with a Negro on one of our trains. I'm ashamed of it. Let's do what is right and do it now!"

The president of a nearby college, who is one of our trustees, said after the meeting, "It's amazing how people have changed these past few months." Then he smiled as he added, "I guess I've changed too."

Our Methodist founder, John Wesley, believed in the personal experience of conversion. When Negroes came to our church, our congregation had a spiritual conversion. As one of our octogenarians recently commented after looking over the best congregation we had had since Easter, "Nothing is going to stop us now!"

I think he is right.

1. LIFT EV'RY VOICE AND SING

Lift ev'ry voice and sing, Till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of Liberty; Let our rejoicing rise
High as the list'ning skies, Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us,
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us;
Facing the rising sun, of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod, Bitter the chastening rod,
Felt in the days when hope un-born had died;
Yet with a steady beat, Have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?
We have come over a way that with tears has been watered,
We have come treading our path thro' the blood of the slaughtered,
Out of the gloomy past, Till now we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

God of our weary years, God of our silent tears,
Thou who has brought us thus far on the way
Thou who has by Thy might Led us into the light,
Keep us forever in the path, we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places, our God, where we met Thee,
Lest our hearts drunk with the wine of the world, we forget Thee;
True to our God, true to our Native land.

2. WORLD ANTHEM -- Beethoven

Brother, shout your country's anthem, Sing your land's undying fame,
Light the wondrous tale of nations With your people's golden name;
Tell your fathers' noble story, Raise on high your country's sign;
Join, then, in the final glory, Brother, lift your flag with mine.

Hail the sun of Peace, now rising, Hold the war clouds closer furled;
Blend your banners, O my brother, In the rainbow of the world!
Red as blood and blue as heaven, Wise as age and proud as youth,
Melt your colors, wonder woven, In the great white light of Truth!

Build the road of Peace before us; Build it wide and deep and long;
Speed the slow, remind the eager, Help the weak and guide the strong,
None shall push aside another, None shall let another fall,
Work beside me, O my brother, All for one and one for all!

3. UNITED NATIONS HYMN

Thou whose breathing fills our bodies, Thou Whose pulse the worlds obey,
Tune our mind to heed Thy rhythm Known along the starry way.
Swing the nations to Thy measure, Bid men's hatreds turn to song;
Till us, thrill us with Thy music, End earth's bitterness and wrong.

Thou whose order rules the atom, Thou whose law propels the sea,
Bring, oh bring Thy warring peoples Close within Thy harmony.
God of beauty, Heal our madness, God of love, our battles end.
Show the unity that binds us, Foe to foe, or friend to friend.

UNITED NATIONS HYMN - contd.

Thou who lightest with Thy glory Leaf and lake and cloud and star,
Light the hearts of man to justice, Show us kindred as we are.
Pour Thy mighty joy upon us, Thou whose grandeur filleth space,
Claim Thy cosmic sons and daughters -- Unify the human race.

4. AMERICA

My country, 'tis of thee, Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing; Land where my fathers died,
Land of the Pilgrims' pride, From every mountain side Let Freedom ring.

My native country thee, Land of the noble free, Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills, Thy woods and templed hills,
My heart with rapture thrills Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze And ring thru all the trees,
Sweet freedom's song; Let mortal tongues awake,
Let all that breathe partake, Let rocks their silence break, The sound prolong.

Our fathers' God, to Thee, Author of Liberty, To Thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might, Great God, our King.

Father of ev'ry race, Giver of ev'ry Grace, Hear us, we pray!
Let ev'ry land be free; May all men brothers be,
All nations honor Thee Now and for aye. Amen.

5. GRATITUDE GRACE Old Hundreth

Lord, gratitude we offer all Who labor that we may be fed;
O dignify our toil for them, Bring kinship thru our daily bread, Amen.

6. AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL

O beautiful for spacious skies, For amber waves of grain,
For purple mountain majesties Above the fruited plain.
America! America! God shed His Grace on thee,
And crown thy good with brotherhood From sea to shining sea!

O beautiful for pilgrim feet, Whose stern, impassioned stress
A thoroughfare for freedom beat Across the wilderness.
America! America! God mend thine every flaw,
Confirm they soul in self-control, Thy liberty in law.

O beautiful for heroes proved In liberating strife,
Who more than self their Country loved, And mercy more than life.
America! America! May God thy gold refine,
Till all success be nobleness, And every gain divine.

O beautiful for patriot dream That sees beyond the years
Thine alabaster cities gleam, Undim'd by human tears.
America! America! God shed His grace on thee,
And crown thy good with brotherhood From sea to shining sea!

7. NOW THANK WE

Now thank we all our God, With heart and hands and voices,
Who wondrous things hath done, In Whom His world rejoices;
Who from our mother's arms Hath blessed us on our way
With countless gifts of love, And still is ours today.

O may this bounteous God Through all our life be near us,
With ever joyful hearts And blessed peace to cheer us;
And keep us in His grace, And Guide us when perplexed,
And free us from all ills In this world and the next.

8. WE GATHER TOGETHER

We gather together to ask the Lord's blessing,
He chastens and hastens His will to make known,
The wicked oppressing cease them from distressing,
Sing praises to His name, He forgets not His own.

Beside us to guide us, our God with us joining,
Ordaining, maintaining, His kingdom divine,
So from the beginning the fight we were winning,
Thou Lord wast at our side, Let the glory be Thine!

We all do extoll Thee Thou Leader in battle,
And pray that Thou still our defender wilt be.
Let Thy congregation escape tribulation,
Thy name be ever prais'd! And Thy people be free!

9. LET THERE BE PEACE ON EARTH

Let there be peace on earth And let it begin with me.
Let there be peace on earth, the peace that was meant to be;
With God as our Father, Brothers all are we...
Let me walk with my brother In perfect harmony.

Let peace begin with me, Let this be the moment now.
With each step I take, Let this be my solemn vow;
To take each moment and live each moment in peace eternally;
Let there be peace on earth, And let it begin with me.

10. COME BY HERE
(Kum Ba Yah)

Kum ba yah, my Lord, Kum ba Yah! Kum ba yah, my Lord, Kum ba yah!
Kum ba yah, my Lord, Kum ba Yah! Oh, Lord, Kum ba yah!

2. Somenne's crying, Lord, Kum ba yah!
3. Someone's singing, Lord, Kum ba yah!
4. Someone's praying, Lord, Kum ba yah!

11. WE SHALL OVERCOME

We shall overcome, We shall overcome, We shall overcome some day...
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe, We shall overcome some day.

2. The Lord will see us through...
3. We are not afraid...
4. We're on to victory...

12. ONWARD BROTHERS --Beethoven

Onward, brother, march still onward, Side by side and hand in hand;
We are bound for man's true kingdom, We are an increasing band.
Tho' the way seems often doubtful, Hard the toil which we endure,
Tho' at times our courage falters, Yet the promised land is sure.

Olden sages saw it dimly, And their joy to madness wrought;
Living men have gazed upon it Standing on the hills of thought.
All the past has done and suffered, All the daring and the strife,
All has helped to mold the future, Make man master of his life.

Still brave deeds and kind are needed, Noble tho'ts and feelings fair;
Ye, too, must be strong and suffer, Ye too, have to do and dare.
Onward, brothers, March still onward, March still onward, hand in hand;
Till ye see at last man's kingdom, Till ye reach the Promised Land.

13. SONG OF PEACE
(Finlandia)

This is my song, O God of all the nations, A song of Peace
for lands afar and mine;
This is my home, the country where my heart is,
Here are my hopes, my dreams, my holy shrine;
But other hearts in other lands are beating
With hopes and dreams as true and high as mine.

My country's skies are bluer than the ocean,
And sunlight beams on clover leaf and pine.
But other lands have sunlight, too, and clover,
And skies are everywhere as blue as mine.
Oh, hear my song, thou God of all the nations,
A song of peace for their land and for mine.

14. GREAT DAY

Great day! Great Day, the righteous marching, Great day!
God's goin' to build up Zion's walls. (Repeat)

The chariot rode on the mountain top, God's goin' to build up Zion's wall.
My God spoke and the chariot did stop, God's goin' to build up Zion's wall.

This is the day of Jubilee, God's goin' to build up Zion's wall.
The Lord's goin' to set His people free, God's goin' to build up....

15. GO DOWN MOSES

Go down, moses, 'way down in Egypt's land,
Tell ole Pharoah, Let my people go.

When Israel was in Egypt's land, Let my people go
Opress'd so hard they could not stand, Let my people go.

Oh, let us all from bondage flee, Let my people go
And let us all in Christ be free, Let my people go.

16. WALK TOGETHER, CHILLUN

Oh, Walk together chillun, Don't you get weary, Walk together chillun,
Don't you get weary. Walk together, chillun, don't you get weary,
'Dere's great camp meeting in de promised land.
Goin' to shout and never tire; Shout and never tire; Shout and never
tire,
'Dere's great camp meeting in de promis'd land.

2. Sing 3. Pray 4. Walk

17. OH FREEDOM

Oh Freedom, Oh Freedom, Oh Freedom over me,
And before I'll be a slave,
I'll be buried in my grave,
And go home to my Lord
And be free.

No More segregation, No more segregation,
No more segregation over me, over me,
And before I'll be a slave, I be buried in my grave,
And go home to my Lord
And be free.

18. EVERYBODY WANTS FREEDOM

Everybody wants Freedom,
Everybody wants freedom,
Everybody wants freedom,
Freedom, Freedom.

19. JACOB'S LADDER

We are climbing Jacob's ladder,
" " " " "
We are Climbing Jacob's Ladder,
Soldiers of the cross.

Every round goes higher 'n Higher,
Every round goes higher 'n higher,
Every round goes higher 'n Higher,
Soldiers of the cross.

20. HAL-LE-LU-JAH

I got up this morning with my mind,
Stayed on freedom.
I got up this morning with my mind,
Stayed on Freedom.
I got up this morning with my mind,
Stayed on freedom.
Hal-le-lu, Hal-le-lu-, Hal-le-lu-jah.

Walking and talking with my mind,
Stayed on freedom.
Walking and talking with my mind,
Stayed on freedom.
Walking and talking with my mind,
Stayed on freedom.
Hal-le-lu, Hal-le-lu, Hal-le-lu-jah.

"FACTS ABOUT THE MODERN AMERICAN WOMAN"

FROM

THE SOCIAL CREED OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

By

A. Dudley Ward

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"She outnumbers man for the first time in history."
"She outlives man by an average of four and a half years."
"She is the beneficiary of 80% of all life insurance."
"She owns 70% of this country's wealth."
"She spends about 85% of family income --
...Suggests what should be done with the remaining 15%.
"She has, as a voter, a majority of the franchise."
"She is principally responsible for our youth education."
"She owns 40% of all real estate."
"She possesses 50% of the stock in industrial corporations."
"She has 92 labor-saving devices which should give her more time than any previous generation."
"She has greatly influenced political life in the United States by becoming senator, governor, judge, cabinet member, ambassador, etc."
"She can enter the new and interesting fields of medicine, law, engineering, the ministry, business, and finance."
"She also faces the facts that: While over ½ of all women devote full time to homemaking, the majority of women continue to be homemakers when employed."

"One-third of all women in the United States aged 14 years or over are in the labor force in any given month."

"Two-fifths of all women (28 million) work in the course of a year; 3 out of every 10 married women are working, and 2 out of every 5 mothers of school-age children are in the labor force."

"In 1900, ½ of the female labor force is made up of single women; 6 out of 10 working women are married; 5 out of 10 working women are over 40 years old.

"One-fifth of the nation's income (42 billion dollars) in wages and salaries was earned by women in 1955; ¼ of the total man-house (130 million) were worked by women in 1955.

All occupations from clerical and factory work to professions are open to women.[1]

Facts such as those listed above, indicating radical changes in America, make the study of family life in its new social context an important "must."

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[1]Womanpower (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957). Published by The National Manpower Council. See also Cynthia Wedel, Employed Women and the Church (New York: National Council of Churches).

T H E F A M I L Y o f M A N

The curtain is lifting, we can have triumph or tragedy

f o r

We are the playwrights, the actors, and the audience.

Let us book our seats for truimph.

The world is sickened of tragedy

--Dr. John Macaulay

THE UNITED STATES and THE NEW NATIONS

PROBLEMS and RESPONSIBILITIES

THE STUDY

UNITED STATES RESPONSIBILITY IN A WORLD COMMUNITY OF NATIONS

TEXT -- The United States and the New Nations -
Problems and Responsibilities
by Vera Micheles Dean

Published by -
The Woman's Division of Christian Service
The Board of Missions
The General Board of Christian Social Concerns

The Study Guide - Creighton Lacy

The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations - Barbara Ward

The Nation and the Kingdom - Charles Foreman

1964 World Almanac

Concern - May 1 and June 1 Issues

The World Outlook - May and June 1964

U. N. Monthly Chronicle - May, June, July, 1964

The Cross is Lifted - Chandran Devaneson of India

I Lie On My Back and Pray - Prayers of Young Africans
--Edited by Fritz Pawelzik

Current Magazines -- Daily Papers

Wright Studio Materials

THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

TO HELP METHODISTS UNDERSTAND BETTER -

1. The social, political, economic, cultural forces shaping the New Nations in the World Community.
2. The Responsibility of the United States to these nations.
3. Discover opportunities and channels for responsible action both as citizens and witnessing Christians.

GOD IS REMAKING HIS WORLD AND WE ARE IN THE WORLD DRAMA

Playwright, Producer, Director, Chief Actor, --GOD

Also starring MAN

The stage is the Universe, the issues are life and death, and the play is GOD's Great Drama in which You and I are contemporary actors.

--From Genesis, Beginning of the Biblical Drama

by Charles F. Kraft

DEMOCRACY - Is the responsibility of every citizen to know what is going on everywhere and let their views be known in Washington.

The responsibility is more urgent today when whatever disagreements there is between nations - agreement is on two points;

1. Isolation is impossible
2. Technological spread over the world through international contacts, create a degree of high independence.

By Whose Authority Does The Church Involve Itself in Social Action?

1. In theological terms --
   That God's will may be done on earth as it is in heaven
   "Thy Kingdom Come
   Thy Will be Done." Matt. 6:10
2. In human terms --
   So whatever you wish that men would do to you, do so to them, for this is the law and the prophets. Matt. 7:12
3. In Christian terms --
   Jesus' testimony
   I came that they might have life and have it more abundantly. John 10:10
4. By the authority of God --
   Who created all mankind, who set man in the middle of the world, who looked on everything he had made and behold, it was very good. Genesis 1:26-31
5. God's love for the world --
   For God so loved the world that He gave His only Son that whoever believes in Him might be saved through Him. John 3:16
6. God continues to give the manifestation of the Holy Spirit for the common good. To each is given the manifestation of His Holy Spirit for the common good. I Cor. 12:7

--From The Guide

7. It is the entrance requirement into Heaven --
   Come you, O blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundations of the earth,
   For I was hungry and you gave me food,
   I was thirsty and you gave me drink,
   I was a stranger and you welcomed me,
   I was naked and you clothed me.
   Then the righteous shall answer Him --
   Lord, when did we see thee hungry and feed Thee,
   or thirsty and gave Thee drink,

When did we see Thee a stranger and welcomed Thee,
or naked and clothed Thee.
And the King will answer --
Truly I say to you, as you did to one of the least
of these, you did it to Me. Matt. 25:34-40

The Bible's story of the divisions of men into nations is presented as both a natural part of created order, arising out of the many families of mankind. (Genesis 10)
And also as a punishment for human self-pride and self-sufficiency (Genesis 11)
At the end of the story the nations are pictured as bringing their glory and honor into the city of God. (Rev. 21:24-26)
When towards the end the Church was thrust into the human scene it was viewed as a new people of God, or even as a New Nation (I Pet. 2:9) drawn from all nations and overcoming all separations between them (Gal. 3:28)
It was given the task of making disciples of all Nations. (Matthew 28:19)

--From
The Nation and the Kingdom
--Charles Foreman

N E W N A T I O N S

New African Nations:

ALGERIA
BURUNDI
CAMEROUN
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
CHAD
CONGO (Brazzaville)
CONGO (Leopoldville)
DAHOMEY
GABON
GHANA
GUINEA
IVORY COAST
KENYA
LIBYA
MALAGASY
MALI
MALAWI
MAURITANIA
MOROCCO
NIGER
NIGERIA
RWANDA
SENEGAL
SIERRA LEONE
SOMALIA
SOUTH AFRICAN FEDERATION
SUDAN
TANGANYIKA
TOGO
TUNISIA
UGANDA
UPPER VOLTA

New Asian Nations:

BURMA
CAMBODIA
CEYLON
CYPRUS
INDIA
INDONESIA
ISRAEL
JORDAN
KOREA
KUWAIT
LAOS
LEBANON
MALAYSIA
MONGOLIA
PAKISTAN
PHILIPPINES
SYRIA
VIETNAM
WEST SAMOA

New West Indies' Nations:

JAMAICA
TRINIDAD-TOBAGO

We must deal with Facts

--From The Guide - Page 4-5

1.	Statistical Facts	- Population explosions - 10,000 people die everyday of malnutrition.
2.	Psychological Facts	- Racial sensitivity - widely divergent patterns of thought.
3.	Economic Facts	- Land reform may sometimes produce lower productivity. - surplus food shipments may disrupt natural economies.
4.	Political Facts	- Authoritarian government in undeveloped states. - image of America abroad
5.	Moral Facts	- Foreign aid, distorted by political realities.
6.	Spiritual Facts	- "The question of bread for myself is a material question. The question for bread for my neighbor is a spiritual and religious question."
7.	As Human beings we must deal with emotional Facts	- Parents watching their children starve. - student mobs enflamed by patriotism or less obvious force. - the emotion of races whose patience or resignation has come to an end. - the emotions of solid citizens who resist all change. - people uprooted from their primitive soil - encountering solid rocks of resistance against new roots in urban technoligical society. - empty souls looking for new gods to replace the old.
8.	As Christians we must deal with goals and standards	- distinguish between eternal truths and the changing patterns within which truth must be revelant. - develop broader perspective--to see ourselves as others see us--to see others, their hopes and dreams. - recognize the best of piety, aspiration, moral purpose in non-Christian faith--rather than measuring their practice against our ideals.

- witness to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, not as a competitive system but as Good News of a great joy that will come to all people.

9. As Concerned Churchmen we shall deal with resources and methods

- Every W.S.C.S., every congregation needs to examine its own committment, its own understanding, its own effective avenues of action.
- reaffirm our conviction that this Nations power and policies are dedicated to the practice of democracy here and abroad--thus to commend it to others.
- relate our Christian faith to issues of foreign aid and trade, immigration, segregation, disarmament, and tourist attitudes.

NEW NATIONS SPEAK TO AMERICA

"Something to Remember"
by Carlos P. Romulo

(Brig. Gen. Carlos Romulo, soldier, statesman and Philippine patriot, served with General MacArthur in World War II and played a leading role in creating the United Nations. A former President of the UN General Assembly, he has been his country's delegate to the UN and ambassador to the U. S. for many years. He is returning home to become president of his alma mater, the University of the Philippines.)

I am going home, America--farewell.

For seventeen years, I have enjoyed your hospitality, visited every one of your 50 states. I can say I know you well.

I admire and love America. It is my second home.

What I have to say now in parting is both a tribute and a warning: Never forget, Americans, that yours is a spiritual country.

Yes, I know that you are a practical people. Like others, I have marveled at your factories, your skyscrapers and your arsenals.

But underlying everything else is the fact that America began as a God-loving, God-fearing, God-worshipping people, knowing that there is a spark of the Divine in each one of us. It is this respect for the dignity of the human spirit which makes America invincible. May it always endure.

And so I say again in parting, thank you, American and farewell. May God keep you always--and may you always keep God.

A Challenge to America
by Charles Malik

(Charles Malik lived a long time in the United States, while serving as president of the General Assembly of the United Nations. He is now Professor of Philosophy at the American University of Beirut.)

"You Americans have in your traditions certain invaluable beliefs about man and society and history and human destiny and the nature of God--beliefs that you should feel free to export and to teach others. But many of you have taken life too much for granted. Therefore, the great deposit of belief and conviction and interpretation of life which has come down to you, you simply don't honor enough. You are a bit diffident.

"The Communist world will force you to articulate yourselves. Asia and Africa are going to ask, 'What do you believe?' My deepest fear--if you want it put bluntly to you--is that you don't know the infinite values that you have at the basis of your own civilization and you don't believe in them enough to put them strongly to the rest of the world."

YOUR COUNTRY DOES NOT HAVE A CIVILIZATION OF ITS OWN.

YOURS IS A THING OF PATCHES DERIVED FROM CULTURED

COUNTRIES. YOUR PEOPLE LACK TRADITIONS AND PATTERNS.

YOU CANNOT HOPE TO PRODUCE A LITERATURE OR ART OR MUSIC

OF ENDURING VALUE. YOU HAVE NO ORIGIONALITY; YOU MAY

ONLY COPY. YOUR ETHIC, BASED ON THE RAW CONDITIONS OF

A NEW COUNTRY, CAN NEVER ATTAIN EUROPEAN WORTH AND DIGNITY.

YOUR FAMILY LIFE IS CASUAL. YOUR EDUCATION IS INFERIOR.

--MWANT KAYEMBE

Chief of Lukua Tribe.

THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

6th Century B. C.	Promises and Prophesies ancient Israel's alliances Lycean League -- Asia Minor Amphictyonic League -- Greece
2nd Century B.C.	Archaen League -- Greece
1st Century A. D.	Birth of Christ John's Vision of Patmos Early Church
14th Century A. D.	Proposed Federation of States By Dante, Marcellius -- Italy Abbe Honore -- France
15th Century	Proposed - European Empire By George of Podie brad of Bohemia Proposed by Congress of Kings by William Coerura and John Sylevagires of Burgundy
16th Century	A Kingdom of Europe -- By Erasmus and Cardinal Woolsey
17th Century	Congress of Ambassadors -- By Emeric Cruce of France The Grand Design - by (Duke Cully - Henry IV) France -- A Society of Sovereigns -- by Ernest Landgrave -- Germany
18th Century	Alliance of European States By Abbe St. Pierre Reduction of Armament -- A Common Legislature By Rentham -- England Federation of All People By Emanuel Kant -- Germany European Diet - Parliment of State -- William Penn - England
19th Century	American Plan. William Ladd Monroe Doctrine Peace Literature - David Dodge - U.S. The Holy Alliance Austria, Prussia, Russia
1899	1st Hague Peace Conference
20th Century	
1890 - 1914	Peace Organizations
1907	2nd Hague Conference
1915	League to Enforce Peace
1918	League of Nations
	War

STEPS TO THE U. N. CHARTER

I. London Declaration

Signed on June 12, 1941, at St. James's Palace by the representatives of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, and of the exiled Governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia and of General de Gaulle of France. And states:

"The only true basis of enduring peace is the willing cooperation of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menance of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security;

"It is our intention to work together, and with other free peoples, both in war and peace, to this end."

II. Atlantic Charter

Signed on August 14, 1941, by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill. Clause 8 reads:

"They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, agression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments."

III. United Nations Declaration

Signed by the representatives of 26 states on January 1, 1942, at Washington, D. C. The Declaration reads:

Declared:

"(i) Each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.

"(ii) Each Government pledges itself to cooperate with the Governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

"The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism."

IV. Moscow and Teheran Conferences

On October 30, 1943, a declaration was signed in Moscow by Vyacheslav Molotov, Anthony Eden, Cordell Hull, and Foo Ping Shen, the Chinese Ambassador to the Soviet Union. Clause 4 of the Moscow Declaration on General Security proclaims that:

"they (the four Governments) recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

In December of the same year, Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill, meeting at Teheran, declared:

"We are sure that our concord will win an enduring peace. We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command the goodwill of the overwhelming mass of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations."

V. Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta Conferences

According to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the key body in the United Nations for preserving world peace was to be the Security Council on which the "Big Five"--China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom and the United States--were to be permanently represented. However, the proposals did not specify the voting procedure in the Council. This was discussed at Yalta at a conference between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. On February 11, 1945 the conference announced that this point had been settled.

VI. The United Nations Conference on International Organization

Delegates of 50 nations met at San Francisco between April 25 and June 26, 1945. Working on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the Yalta agreement, and amendments proposed by various governments, the Conference hammered out the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the new International Court of Justice. The Charter was passed unanimously and signed by all the representatives.

It came into force on October 24, 1945, when China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom and the United States and a majority of the other signatories had filed their instruments of ratification. October 24 is now observed as United Nations Day.

REPORT OF THE DISCUSSION GROUPS

Q. What an we do as individuals to grow in depth and vision lest we grow weary in well-doing?

A. Reporter for Group I:

Take advantage of any opportunity. Meet with people of other races and nationality. Construct relationships on our part. We should use empathy.

Reporter for Group II

Individual action and commitment to good causes are necessary b before concrete results can be achieved.

Reporter for Group III.

Individual contact with individuals to establish true friendships and concern.

RECOMMENDATIONS: Subscribe to the Negro Magazines; read writers' work for greater dimension. Correspondence - lifting spirits through correspondence, knowing of what is happening in and around the world.

Q. How can we bring concerned individuals in Negro and white communities together in more significant communication?

A. Group I.

Help in daily vacation Bible School; Communication; have prayer groups meet regularly; Use youth Y-Teen groups; using all methods we possibly can, carry on meetings.

Group II.

The first step should be taken on both sides in order to bring concerned individuals in the Negro and white communities closer together. The "let George do it" attitude is out in achieving better human relations.

Jackson: Small towns and communities should be given a more tr true understanding of facts. Community relationships seemee better in larger towns and groups. Establish lines in communication.

Ashley: Depend on organized groups, for communication. Person to person communication.

Q. How can we bring to commitment those who are uncertain but troubled in conscience?

A. Group I.

Contact borderline persons, and through large groups, make known their need to know of complications of small groups, Study groups. Get definite feelings and positive attitudes.

Group IV.

In view of the fact that we represent such great faiths, we should depend on them, talk them up, live them up, and in this way possibly we can bring about a satisfaction to the troubled and uncertain conscience.

Group II.
For those who are uncommitted but concerned and are tottering on the brink of indecision, we should give all the love and understanding possible, and maintain a tolerant attitude while they are making up their minds.

Q. What can we do in our parishes and Synagogues to bring them to corporate witnesses?

A. Group V.
Set up leadership. Combine groups under one responsible leader. Issue a Manifesto, this could be done by the Ministers, College leaders, doctors, scientists.

Group VIII.
Start with the churches, extend invitations, exchange programs, etc. Workshops, personal connections, person-to-person contacts, challenge the face-to-face contacts.

Group II.
In our churches and synagogues, our corporate witness should begin with ourselves. Try inviting persons of another race into the fellowship of the congregation.

RECOMMENDATIONS: Begin within organized groups, and invite other races to jokn and attend our fellowship.

Q. What significant action can be taken as individuals to further employment on the basis of merit and the unrestricted opening of housing opportunities?

A. Group II.
Significant action should be taken by each of us as individuals if we would bring about a better world.

Group III.
Job opportunities based on technical training probably greater in small areas; pressure put on merchants and employers for the employment of youth, also certain citizens.

Housing: Urban renewal; subsidizing housing rule has been ignored; committee should be formed; people should live where they wish, not integration, but de-segregation.

Group VII. Urban Refugees - should be a concern for all; check with agencies and organizations, for housing and job opportunities.

It was reported that Louisville, Ky., had dropped its tag on racial property, equal opportunity in employment.

A TREASURER OF A WOMAN'S SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE AND THE MONEY

The treasurer knows how important money is, but when she has talked money, and worked at it, and racked her brains about it, as she constantly has to do, sometimes the edges get frayed, and in some moodier moment it comes down upon her to wish that she might find surcease from the everlasting grind.

One might even imagine a missionary treasurer taking a silver dollar in her hand and looking at it, and when she thinks of it and its history, of the trouble it has made inside the Church and outside, because we have it and because we have it not. On this instant she wishes with all her heart that she might fling it into the fires of the pit, out of which it must certainly have come, and have done with it forever in the life and work of the Kingdom, this everlasting blight and snare, the almighty, but cursed dollar!

But when she turns it over and looks at it, she sees another side to the dollar.

WHAT IS A DOLLAR ANYWAY?

It is energy crystallized.
It is personality done in silver.

It is a person's self, her liveliest and most efficient self, coined in the noble currency of the realm, put up in parcels that are convenient and ready for immediate application in the service of this work-a-day old working world.

So that if a person cannot go herself as a missionary, but loving Jesus Christ with all her heart, would like to see this world brought to His feet, -- if she has a dollar, honest and clean, and that dollar she will bring to the altar, will lay it on, and bring enough other dollars with it, with these clean and multiplied dollars she may do a service, without which the world may no more be evangelized than without the service of the missionary who, taking her life in her hands, goes out across the sea, and lays out her life in teaching and preaching the Gospel to those who have never heart the glorious story.---

Taken from -- YES ANOTHER DAY IN METHODIST MISSIONS

--- W. G. Cram

JESUS AND THE HOUSEHOLD

"Our Master lived His life alongside us.. and knows our family anxieties and family joys." - ~~The Master Calleth For Thee~~ Jesus and Woman, Lady Hosie

	Matthew	Mark	Luke	John
Bed --- ---	--- ---	4:21	8:16 11:7	---
Bread making	13:33	---	13:20-21	---
Bushel Measure	5:15	4:21	6:38 11:33	---
Candle, candle stick	5:15-16	4:21-23	8:16 11:33-36	---
Children's food	15:27 7:9-11	7:27	11:11-13	---
Clothing	6:25-34	---	12:27	---
Cooking-serving	---	---	10:40-42	12:2
Fetching water	---	---	---	4:7
Fuel	6:30	---	12:28	---
Grinding corn	---	---	17:25	---
Guests	10:12-14	6:11	9:4	2:1-14
Hair	10:30	---	21:18	---
Hair, white	5:36	---	---	---
Hen	23:27	---	---	---
Maidservants	---	---	12:45	---
Marketing Sparrow	10:29	---	12:6	---
Marrying	24:38	---	17:26-27	---
Moth & Rust	6:19	---	12:33-34	---
Music-Dancing	---	---	15:25	---
Oven	6:30	---	12:28	---
Patching	9:16	2:21	5:36	---
Salt	5:13	9:49-50	14:34-35	---
Spinning	6:28	---	12:27	---
Sweeping	12:24	---	11:25 15:8	---
Thieves	6:19-20	---	12:33-34	---

GRAVE ALWAYS OPEN AT FEDERAL PEN CEMETERY

Prisoners Call Burying Ground "Boot Hill" and Tradition Calls for Open Grave

CEMETERY BEGAN WITH WILD WEST FLAVOR

IN FEDERAL PEN'S BOOT HILL SLEEP
SCORES WHO GOT BACK-DOOR PAROLES

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

By Frank Veale, Jr.

The Wild West of Billy the Kid, Jesse James and the Dalton boys had its boot hills -- where those who died with their boots on in blazing gun battles at High Noon were buried.

Atlanta has its own Boot Hill -- it's not on the lone prarie but on it the winds blow free and some men from the West lie in its dark red clay.

Boot Hill is the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary's prison cemetery. Prisoners in the penitentiary never visit Boot Hill -- that is, unless they get a back-door parole. That is their sentence, going out the back door of the penitentiary.

Has Buried fourteen.--The winds blew across the lonesome hill as a reporter and Chaplain H. Park Tucker kicked some oak leaves off the slabs of stone.

"I have buried 14 men on Boot Hill," said the chaplain as he looked sadly at the graves. On the side of Boot Hill in front of the chaplain lay a huge mound of dirt. A grave stood open with a crude ladder leading down its somber sides.

"An open grave on Boot Hill is a tradition at the prison," Chaplain Tucker declared. "When a prisoner is buried here, another grave is dug by the detail and left open."

"No words can describe the horror prisoners have for the prospect of dying in prison," the chaplain added.

Were Homeless.--"You see, the only men buried on Boot Hill are the ones who have no home, no relatives to claim their bodies -- or else their relatives refuse to claim the body and the government buries them," Chaplain Tucker said.

The stillness on Boot Hill suddenly was shattered by rifle fire. Ironically enough, the crackle of gunfire echoes each day over the forgotten graves of those who rest in Boot Hill. The rifle range adjoins the cemetery with only the Southern Railway tracks between.

The prison Boot Hill was started in 1902, the year the Atlanta Penitentiary was built out of Stone Mountain granite. In 1902 inmate No. 5540, born in 1873, died in the prison.

Sixty-Year Old Grave.--In the prison stone shed, prisoners made a headstone for No. 5540, possibly mixing a tear or two of sympathy in with the concrete, and his fellow prisoners buried him on Peckerwood Hill.

Boot Hill was born.

Most of the graves in the old days had the prisoner's name, his number, date of birth, date of death and where he was from carved into the headstone.

Later new headstones were prepared and these had only the name of the prisoner -- no number and no location.

In the center of Boot Hill stands a large monument with an inscription reading: "And in eternal peace thy penance end."

Why the Boot.--How did Boot Hill come by its Wild West name? "Back in the early days," Chaplain Tucker said, "many prisoners were sent to Atlanta from the West. And many of the gravestones were marked originally with I. T. or Indian Territory. It soon became known to the inmates as Boot Hill."

By 1932 Boot Hill had 134 men resting in the hard clay.

"There is only one free man in Boot Hill." Chaplain Tucker said as a train rumbled by on the tracks overhead with a piggyback load of shiny new automobiles.

The chaplain walked over and knocked some leaves off another gravestone. Inscribed on the stone was "Ike Henderson."

He Asked to Stay.--"Isaac Henderson was imprisoned in 1913 and when his time was up he had no place to work, so he asked the warden if he could stay and work at the penitentiary," Chaplain Tucker said. "When he died in 1918 he was buried on Boot Hill -- the only man in 177 who is not an inmate."

Chaplain Tucker, who has served at the Penitentiary for 15 years and has talked to thousands of prisoners in that time, walked slowly back toward the truck.

Recalls 81-Year-Old.--"The man who impressed me the most," the chaplain recalled, was Old Folks. Old Folks never committed a crime until he was 49. After that he spent the rest of his life in penitentiaries off and on and died here at the age of 81."

"No, I'll never forget Old Folks," the chaplain mused as he climbed back into the cab of the truck.

On the way past the rifle range a guard stopped firing and looked our way. "Don't shoot, we're with you," called the chaplain. The guard smiled and waved the truck on.

In 1932 Boot Hill was immortalized in the haunting verse of Capt. John Madden, a guard at the prison:

GOD LOOKED DOWN

They wreathed their graves
with flowers of spring --
Those mounds so long, long here;

And God looked down with
tender smiles, and placed
his blessings there.

Alone, forgotten through the
years, each stone a mark
of shame,
Their epitaph no word of
hope, a number, not a name.

Too long, too long, have we
forgot that God alone must
judge.
Too long within the human
heart, we carry hate and
grudge.

How quick we are to ridicule,
to score, to quick condemn,
When only by the grace of
God we might've been one
of them.
They do not sleep on glory's
field, nor in the hall of fame,
But some of them in words of
gold wrote high and
clear his name.

And each man had a mother
dear (the same as you and I)
And for her sake we lay a
wreath, for those who
slumber by.

Shine softly on each grave,
O moon, blow gently,
Southern breeze,
And sing a requiem soft and
sad, as you sigh through
the trees;
Then let the dewdrops fall
upon the unearthed, rugged
sod,
And know that they are tears
of love,
From their forgiving God."

YOUR CHURCH AND RACE

An Action Guide

> "This is the calling of the Church with regard to race, to witness within itself to the Kingship of Christ and the unity of His people, in Him transcending all diversity . . . Their calling requires Christians to witness to the Kingship of Christ and the unity of all mankind, and to strive through social and political action to secure justice, freedom and peace for all . . . From Report of the Section on Intergroup Relations, Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Evanston, 1954."

Assignment Race 1961-1964 provides the opportunity for church women across the nation to unite their efforts in helping to achieve full participation for all people without distinction of race in

- the local church and denomination
- the council of church women
- the community, concentrating in the area of greatest racial tension and need.

Each participating denomination is taking responsibility for an action program to be developed within its own communion. United Church Women is assuming special responsibility for the interdenominational action program.

This action guide suggests steps to take in looking at the local church. It has been prepared to help us know where we are in our own local church as a basis for plans to further implement our concern.

Although this guide can be used by any group within the local church, it is prepared primarily for the women's group. It is important to recognize at the outset that an assessment of where we are is only a first step in a study-action process. It is on the basis of such a study that a plan of action which is appropriate to each local church can be developed by a group in that situation.

Knowing Your Local Church

Your Denomination's Policy

What are your denomination's pronouncements and resolutions concerning segregation and discrimination in the church and community?

What is the evidence in your congregation of knowledge of such pronouncements and resolutions?

Your Local Church

A. What are the requirements for membership in your local church?

B. Is more than one racial group represented in the membership of your church?

If so, what percentage of the membership is represented by minority group or groups?

What were the circumstances that led to the church becoming interracial?

If not, why is this so?

C. Does your church serve and include in its membership all people in the neighborhood in which it is located?

If the neighborhood is all or predominantly of one racial group, what consideration has been given to ways of broadening and deepening the fellowship through more inclusive experiences?

D. What is your local church doing in the following areas:

1. Making available information concerning race through
   - the church library?
   - literature distribution?
   - literature displays?
   - audio-visual aids?
   - special reports?
   - speakers?

2. Studying and interpreting the Christian basis and responsibility for achieving an inclusive church fellowship and racial justice in the community by means of
   - regular study?
   - fellowship groups?
   - special study action groups?
   - the pulpit?

3. Providing opportunities for sharing in experiences across racial lines
   - through pulpit and congregation exchanges?
   - by bringing age level groups together for worship, study, action, discussion of mutual concerns, recreation, social occasions, etc.?

4. Being sure that the philosophy of Christian education expressed in the teaching, in the materials used, and in the attitudes of teachers reflects the Christian faith and the denomination's intention?

5. Working in the community through Christian witness to make the moral issue clear by
   - supporting movements and legislation toward racial justice, including housing, employment, education, hospital service, recreation, public accommodations, etc.?
   - encouraging and supporting the laity in their witness and work in the community?

E. What is the pattern of church membership in other churches in the community?

What evidence is there of growth toward the goal of inclusiveness?

F. What is the racial policy and practice in local church related institutions such as schools, hospitals, social welfare agencies?

G. Now a look at ourselves and our church

1. What does the review of our practices indicate to me
   - in relation to my concern and commitment as a Christian?
   - in relation to the need for continuous examination of my attitudes and behavior?
   - in relation to my responsibility to witness in the community?

2. What is required of my church for it to become "in reality a racially inclusive 'community of saints'?"

3. Do we as women have a particular contribution to make to our church in fulfilling its mission in this area? If so, how can this be done with greater power?

   Have we initiated or participated in projects with United Church Women, or if no council, then with women's groups from other churches?

4. What action is suggested as a result of this review?

   What constructive plan do we see being initiated, who would participate, what is the first step?

RESOURCES

Some local resources which can be helpful in carrying out this study-action process are your minister, official governing body of your local church, local council of church women, the local or regional denominational body, the local and state councils of churches and the experience of other local churches

Resources in the way of information, literature and consultation are available from the following national organizations:

1) The Social Education and Action Department of your denomination.

2) United Church Women, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York.

3) Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York.

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

STATE AND LOCAL

THE STATE COMMITTEE OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

The state committee is made up of the Christian Social Relations chairman of local councils (or in states with a large number of councils a representative number of local chairmen), the state denominational chairmen carrying comparable functions, and other church women of special experience and competence. Other women needed for their particular skills may be included as consultants. The Committee should be representative of the racial and cultural composition of the state and include women of various ages whose work is in the home or outside. The persons on the committee other than those automatically members by virtue of office are chosen by the president and the Christian Social Relations Chairman after consultation with the Nominating Committee.

An advisory committee, chosen by the chairman and president from among the members of the state committee, and representative of its various elements, carries on the work of the committee between meetings.

The number of meetings of the state and advisory committee to be held each year should be established according to the needs and the situation in each state.

The chairman is elected according to the suggested by-laws for a state council. She is a member of the board of managers of the state council of church women and of the national Christian Social Relations Committee which meets once a triennium.

The state chairman assists the local chairman with information and suggestions throughout the year. She is the liaison between local committees and the national office. She prepares summary reports of the work of the local council and of the state council as these are requested by the national office.

The functions of the state committee are to:

- serve as a two-way channel between the local and the national committee;
- help strengthen the observance of May Fellowship Day and encourage its observance in more communities;
- serve as a program resource for local councils and women's organizations in the churches;
- recommend study of issues before the United States Congress and the state legislature; actively support measures that ate in accord with the policies and procedures of United Church Women;
- study the objectives and programs of other organizations in the community to determine those with which the council should work, and those whose resources would be of use to the council;
- give practical help to local committees by providing workgroups at annual meetings and during the year;
- initiate and carry out state Christian Social Relations projects;
- prepare annually for the state council a budget which provides sufficient money for meetings of the committee and the advisory committee and for regular mailings of materials and information by the chairman, to local councils.
- work with the Public Relations Committee on publicity and promotion of the Christian Social Relations program.

Section from Handbook of United Church Women in process of publication.

January 14, 1963

ASSIGNMENT RACE ---- UNITED CHURCH WOMEN

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U. S. A.
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

MEMO:
From Carrie E. Meares January 14, 1963

The major emphasis in Assignment Race: this year, is full participation of all in our local and state councils. This letter brings two special aids for you as state chairmen.

First - Suggestions from Mrs. Donald Tracy of Michigan. Immediately after the National Committee meeting Mrs. Tracy sends a report from the state committee meeting with some ideas to pass along. Mrs. Tracy says she lives in a community and attends a council which is all white. The state committee counted 30 councils of 70 local councils that are all white communities. Some 15 of the 30 are within 20 miles or so of Negro families and churches. This state committee thinks that May Fellowship materials, including study group suggestions, should raise specific questions for these councils.

For instance, "How can you arrange meetings with members of another racial group? An example is: A Christian Social Relations group from a white and Negro church in different communities arranged for such a meeting together." Mrs. Tracy reminds us that members of both groups should be responsible for the meeting. The Michigan committee suggests participation in state meetings of denominations or United Church Women for councils too distant for such contacts.

Second - You remember that in the National Committee meeting Mrs. Rafe C. Martin of No. California -- No. Nevade brought a questionnaire she planned to use with local councils to see to what extent they are intergrated. You asked that this be reviewed and prepared for use by all state chairmen. This questionnaire is on the reverse side of this letter. Mrs. Tracy's points have been included in the questionnaire. Adapt it to your needs and include instructions for returning it to you.

Do Review all aids for May Fellowship Day observance in the packet. See The Church Woman, December 1962, and March 1963, and the November 14 letter from Mrs. Henderson and Miss French. The letter contains suggestions regarding the importance and methods for study groups in March and April on the May Fellowship Day study pamphlet. You will need to help people see that study groups are a means to action -- not ends in themselves.

Do see the new Leadership Education booklet, "Education for Leadership in the Church Ecumenical," with suggestions for training days, workshops, and caravans . Colorado reports they found faising questions about Assignment: Race, with local groups on caravan visits brought fruitful results. Illinois reports a series of workshops since the national meetings. Since workshops, officers' training days and caravans are important ways to move ahead, we suggest you take the initiative in exploring possibilities with the Leadership Education chairman and state president, including the funds available from the national headquarters.

(OVER)

THE LOCAL COUNCIL OF CHURCH WOMEN IN_____LOOKS AT ITSELF
Name of City Area

The following questions are to assist councils in determining "where we are" and "where we need to move" to express our faith as Christians --that we are members of one family, made in the image of God.

A Look At Your Community

1. How many races live in your council area?
List the races.

2. Is there equality of opportunity for all in:

Schools?_____ Churches?_____ Employment?_____ Housing?___-Voting____

A Look At Your Council of Church Women

1. Are there members of all the races in the community in your council?_____ If not, Why?_____----

2. How many racial groups are represented in your council Committee?_____
What is the total number of minority persons on all your Committees?_____
Do you have committee chairmen of officers from minority groups? _____
If so, list office or chairman ship currently held by minority persons.

3. Do councils meetings include members of different racial grouos?
_____
Would you describe this participation as:

Token_____ Good _____ Excellent_____

4. Has the council worked to improve race relations:

a) By cooperating with other organizations?_____,Give Examples, i.e., the council of churches, fair housing committee, Urban League, etc.
b) By engaging in action to effect change?____,Give examples, i.e., school desegregation, housing, public accommodations, Support of legislation, etc.
c) By helping to create a climate of opinion that accepts Change?_____- Give examples, i. e., use of the newspapers including letters to the editor, inviting friends to attend meetings for opportunity for contacts, etc.

d) If there is only one racial group living in your area:
Why is this true?_____

What outreach have you made for contacts with minority groups? Give examples, i. e., state denominational or United Church Women meetings, inviting individuals or groups of other races to participate in local meetings, etc.

_____

Have you worked on state legislation concerning minorities?_____

5. What steps is the council taking or planning to take to move ahead in seeing that there is full participation for all:
A) In the Council?_____
B) In community and/or State?_____

1962-64 LEGISLATION

Senior Citizens Housing Act of 1962

New Public Law 87-723, signed September 28, authorizes the appropriation of an additional $100 million for what the House and Senate committees reporting on the bill called "the highly successful existing program" of direct loans to provide housing for the elderly. Housing and Home Finance Administrator can lend on favorable terms -- 3½ per cent interest and a 50-year loan maturity -- so that rental housing can be provided for the elderly at rents at $15 to $20 a month below projects financed with Federal Housing Administration (FHA) insurance.

Basically, however, the new law establishes a number of new housing aids under the Farmers Home Administration for the elderly who live in rural areas. It sets up a $50 million program of direct loans by the farm agency to rural residents over 62 years of age to construct or buy new homes or modernize old ones to fit their needs.

Child Welfare and Day Care Services

"Current day care services for children of working mothers add up to a 'national disgrace,' Mrs. Katherine B. Oettinger, chief of the Children's Bureau, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, declared last summer just after President Kennedy had signed the welfare reform bill into Public Law 87-543. "The President's approval of the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962," Mrs. Oettinger said, "gives us a golden opportunity to help the States expand and improve their day care services, and make life better for the thousands of children who need good care if their mothers must work."

There has been a 66 per cent increase in the number of working mothers with children under 18 in the past ten years. "We have to remember that most women work for economic reasons, so we have for more working mothers at low economic levels than at middle or high levels of income," she said.

At the time she was speaking, last July, Mrs. Oettinger reported, the capacity of all reported licensed day care facilities was only 185,000 children. Under the new law, up to $5,000,000 of Federal child welfare funds can be earmarked for day care for the fiscal year 1963, and up to $10,000,000 for each succeeding year. The States are required to match these funds and to give priority in providing day care to members of low-income or other groups in the population and to geographical areas which have the greatest relative need for extension of day care.

Under the new law, the present ceiling of $25 million annually on child welfare grants is raised in a series of steps beginning with FY 1963 to $50 million for 1969 and each year thereafter.

Federal Program for Delinquency Prevention

A report on the first year's operation of the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act (P. L. 87-274, signed Sept. 22, 1961) appeared in the September 15, 1962 issue of Concern, magazine of the

Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns. The article, by David L. Hackett, executive director of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, states that only one major grant was made during the first year of the three-year $30 million program. This was to Mobilization for Youth, Inc., a non-profit organization representing public and private youth-serving agencies on New York's Lower East Side.

This project, says the article, "has developed an exciting variety of new programs in the areas of youth employment, education, recreation, child and family welfare, and group services. It actively involves the adults in the community to create new opportunities for youth."

Funds from the Delinquency Act contribute $1.9 million of the $13 million budget for the Mobilization project's first three years. Other financial support comes from the City of New York and the Ford Foundation.

During the past year, no other community in the nation was found ready to enact a delinquency control program of this scope, although a number of cities expressed interest in developing such a program. For this reason, several grants were made for planning comprehensive youth service programs. These have gone to New Haven, Cleveland, Houston, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Washington, D. C., Chicago, and Detroit.

The nine recipients (named above) of curriculum development grants will provide new course material to be used in training such groups as teachers, police, parole officers, vocational guidance personnel, community organizers, gang workers, and other related groups. Eight short-term workshops and institutes have been supported to keep front line workers up to date on new developments in their own and related fields and to offer opportunities for exchanges of information.

Youth Employment Opportunities Act

A Senate bill to establish pilot programs to expand employment opportunities for young people, including training, employment in public service jobs, and employment in a newly established Youth Conservation Corps, never reached the Senate floor.

Migratory Labor

"Breakthrough" for Migratory Workers -Legislation providing a three-year program of health care for migratory workers was signed into Public Law 87-692 by President Kennedy on September 25. The bill, S.1130, was the only one enacted of ten introduced early in the first session by Senator Harrison A. Williams (D., N. J.) and other Senators to deal with the problems of migratory agricultural workers. Calling the new law "the first substantial, really helpful bill ever passed for the migrant." Senator Williams hailed it as "an historic breakthrough for migratory farm families."

Health-care Program Provided.--The new law authorizes Federal grants to the States of up to $3,000,000 annually through fiscal year 1965 to help establish clinics and other health projects in areas seriously affected by the seasnonal impact of migratory workers. The grants will be made by the Surgeon General of the United States (through Public Health Service, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare), to public or non-profit agencies.

Four Senate-passed Bills Died in House.--Of the nine remaining bills in the Williams packet, four were passed by the Senate and were reported to the House of Representatives by its Education and Labor Committee, but failed to reach the floor. These bills dealt with child labor, education for both children and adults, registration of agricultural labor contractors, and the establishment of a National Citizens Council on Migratory Labor. The child labor bill which would have prohibited farm work by Children under 14 years of age except when employed on the family farm or on a neighboring farm within 25 miles, was granted a rule and was considered briefly by the House on October 4.

The five bills which were not acted upon by either house were concerned with minimum wage coverage for migratory farm labor, improvement of housing, collective bargaining rights for agricultural employees, extension of benefits of the federal-state farm placement system to more agricultural workers, and the furnishing of day-care facilities for the children of migrant workers.

In the closing days of the session, the day-care bill passed the Senate as an amendment(offered by Senator Williams) to a tariff measure providing for temporary suspension of the duties on corkboard insulation and on cork stoppers. Congress adjourned, however, before final action was completed.

REFORM IN SOCIAL WELFARE.--Abriham Rubicoff, Secretary of Education and Welfare has ordered a 10 point reform and sent to State Welfare Agencies, among these;--

1. A special unit responsible for locating deserted parents of children on relief must be established by each state.
2. Strengthen procedure for control of fraud.
3. Children in relief families may keep money earned on jobs for future educational purposes and medical care or preparation for employment.
4. Intensive case work services;--

   At least one home visit every three months required for relief families with illigetimate children.
5. By July, all states must have submitted a five-year plan for increasing the training of qualified social workers.
6. Establish a new division to keep an eye on state projects aimed at reduction of dependency.

THE NEED FOR FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

1960 - 67 -- 26,000,000 of young people will pass from school into the labor market.

7,500,000 of the 26,000,000 will be school drop-outs.

2,500,000 will have less than eight years formal schooling.

Roughly - 2/3 of the labor force population who never completed high school are unskilled or semi-skilled workers.

Progress in automation and technology constantly elevates the educational requirements, and also displaces 35,000 workers per week.

GEORGIA DROP-OUTS --
1961-62 -- Enrollment - 1,433,316
Drop-outs -60,000 or 7%

THE DROP-OUTS -- Lower status of population the disadvantaged, the Negro, Spanish-American, American Indian, rural migrants, Puerto Ricans.

1. Helps Federal Government for Old-Drop-outs--Area Redevelopment and Man Training Act.

2. Proposed legislation for youth conservation Corps for 16 to 21 year olds -- out of school and unemployed.

3. Federal Funds under Juvenile Act have established in New York "Mobilization for Youth Program."

4. Every School System should have a program in early identification of potential drop-outs -- Michigan has such a program.

   "The so-called culturally deprived child has little if any opportunity to acquire the ordinary familiarity with the world we take for granted.

5. Three films--

   A. When I'm Old Enough -- good-bye.
      16 MM black and white sound picture -- 28 minutes -- Available from our State Employment Service Office. A useful resource to encourage youth in preparation for a changing labor marker.

   B. The Drop-out -- 16 MM black and white sound motion picture narrated by Dr. E. G. Carr, stressing drop-outs' hidden causes -- suggests remedies on loan from State Education Association.

   C. Challenge of change -- Case for Counselling -- 16 MM color sound motion picture available from State Education Board, Deals with counselling in high schools.

Retarded Children

A Child In Waiting -- First presentation of the problem of retarded children. See review in March Church Woman.

PRESIDENT Kennedy in his Program, (his oldest sister Rosemary is mentally retarded) is urging strenuous efforts to prevent and treat mental illness, 6000,000 Americans are in mental institutions and more than 200,000 are mentally retarded.

The President's program -- $4,200,000 in fiscal 1964, By 1963 the Community will be ready for building -- Congress should help with 45% to 75% of first costs of new centers -- and make short-term grants to pay staff for first few months.

FACTS ON PUBLIC EDUCATION IN GEORGIA

From the Atlanta Journal -- Taken from Report of National Education Association.

1962 -- Only 51.8% of students in 8th grade
1957 -- 58 were graduated from high school
National average -- 70.6%

Average Georgian 25 years and older has had only 9 years of schooling rating 42nd in line of states (Utah 12.2 years)

10.3 years schooling - whites -- 10.3 years Negro - 6.1 years.

(Only Negroes in Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina are more poorly educated.

47th in % population were 25 years or older with less than 5 years schooling and less than 8 years.

43rd in % population 25 years old and older -- 4 years of high school

40th in % with at least 4 years of college.

TEACHER'S SALARY -- 41st in nation;average $4,740;National average - $5,940 (Georgia's increase in past 10 years -- 75.2 % increase).

46th in Pupil Load - average 28.9 per 4 teachers.

State pays 66.4% of school costs -- National Average 66%

42nd Cost per pupil in average daily attendance $297.76
-- National Average $432.

Per Capita Income -- 1961 - $1,649
41st in Nation - National Average $2,263.
(In increases Ga. ranks 10th $44.3 per capita)
43rd Medium income of families $4,203.

42nd in % of families income less than $3,000

38 in % earning over $10,000

Unemployment -- 46th in % of persons employed

NOTE -- Georgia Drop-outs -- 1961-62 -- 7%

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.

PROPOSED RESOLUTION
on
EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

WHEREAS, the National Council of Churches has declared: "It is a clear Christian responsibility to work against those special forms of economic injustice that are expressed through racial and other group discrimination;"*

WHEREAS, the basic principle of equal pay for equal work is a matter of economic justice, and

WHEREAS, the persistent denial of this principle in the remuneration of women constitutes, in our opinion, a clear case of unjust discrimination against women as a group of workers, and

WHEREAS, the justice of this principle as a matter of national and international concern has been widely recognized through the acceptance by 38 countries of the Convention on the subject adopted by the United Nations' International Labor Organization (including the six member nations of the European Economic Community);

THEREFORE, be it resolved:

That the principle of equal pay for equal work should be supported as a matter of basic economic justice;

That the General Board authorizes representatives of the National Council of Churches to testify at hearings in support of the embodiment of this principle in legislation, both national and state; and

That the General Board calls to the attention of member communions of the National Council the special opportunity which is theirs to support this principle in their own employment practices, and to encourage a climate of acceptance of the principle by their churches and church members.

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* Christian Principles and Assumptions for Economic Life, adopted September 15, 1954.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE

It is a clear teaching of the Christian faith that human rights, far from being granted by human authorities are inherent in man as fashioned in the image of his Creator and should be thus honored by society. The Christian faith also affirms the belief that men have a corresponding responsibility to exercise these rights. The responsible society affords all men the opportunity to do so.

As Christians in the United States we believe that local, state and national governments deriving "their just powers from the consent of the governed," are responsible to God and to the people to maintain the freedom of all men under their respective jurisdictions to exercise these rights with due regard for the rights of others and for public order.

The right to vote is guaranteed by the basic law of the land. Whatever qualifications are made by state laws, the Fifteenth Amendment to The Constitution of the United States specifically provides that "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

Yet it is a fact that thousands of citizens are denied the opportunity to exercise the right to vote because of race or color. In many communities Negroes are denied the opportunity to register, or having been registered, have had their names removed from the registration rolls, or do not vote because they fear bodily harm, the loss of jobs or other economic pressures. It is noteworthy that courts have declared unconstitutional state laws designed to deny the opportunity to register and vote on the basis of race or color.

The denial of the right to vote contradicts the professed ideals and undermines the democratic heritage upon which this Nation is founded. It is a violation of justice that prevents the exercise of responsible citizenship which is necessary to the creation of the good society.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED THAT THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES:

1. Commits itself to work to assure the opportunity for all citizens regardless of race or color, to exercise their right to vote:
   a) by moral suasion;
   b) by social education and action;
   c) by supporting public officials and government agencies in the enforcement of existing laws guaranteeing the opportunity to register and vote; and
   d) by supporting in principle through appropriate means additional legislation which may be necessary to guarantee to all citizens regardless of race or color, full opportunity to register and vote.

2. Calls upon the member denominations, their churches, councils of churches and individual Christians to work to assure to all citizens, regardless of race or color, the opportunity to register and vote.

3. Urges church groups and individual Christians

   a) to discover the facts about registration and voting in their communities;

   b) to acquaint themselves with state laws and practice affecting registration and voting and with the provisions of the Federal Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960;

   c) to develop programs such as citizenship conferences and voter's clinics to encourage all citizens to register and vote intelligently and responsibly;

   d) to support and cooperate with similar programs carried on by community organizations;

   e) to support persons in their efforts to register and vote in communities where the opportunities are denied or restricted because of race or color;

   f) to support public officials and government agencies in the enforcement of federal and state laws that protect the right to register and vote;

   g) to support the enactment of additional federal and state legislation necessary to guarantee the franchise to all citizens.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:

that the General Board authorize representatives of the National Council of Churches to testify at public hearings along the lines indicated above.

THE UNITED NATIONS IN ACTION

THE UN WORKS FOR YOU

If no United Nations peace soldier stood in the Congo jungles or in the Mid-East deserts in all probability a U. S. soldier would be there. It might be you – or your son – your husband – your father – your brother.

How does the United Nations help keep the peace? • By discussion, conciliation, police action where absolutely essential • By economic help which gives hope to people fighting against hunger, poverty, illiteracy and ill-health • By encouraging respect for human rights, freedom, and international law, in a world in which a major war could mean the end of all of us, irrespective of age, sex, race, creed, color or nationality.

UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
375 Park Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

THE UN AND THE U.S.

THE ISSUE	UN ACTION	U.S. VIEWS
WARS PREVENTED AGGRESSIONS HALTED 1945-62	In the early years of the UN, communist infiltration of Iran and Greece was halted. • A truce was brought about in Kashmir. • Mediation brought fighting to an end in Indonesia.	The U.S. assumed leadership in all these UN actions.
THE MIDDLE EAST ISRAEL 1949	In the Middle East, the UN achieved and maintained the 1949 armistice agreements between Israel and her Arab neighbors.	The U.S. favored the armistice and the creation of the new state of Israel.
SUEZ 1956	In 1956 the UN brought about a cease-fire in Suez and organized a UN Emergency Force with troops from 10 small nations. A reduced but alert UNEF is still on guard along Israel's troubled borders.	The U.S. has strongly supported UNEF.
LEBANON 1958	A UN Observer Group was requested by Lebanon to counter communist-supported subversion. The country was *not* subverted; U.S. troops were relieved.	The U.S. urged UN action, wishing to withdraw its troops as soon as the UN could take over.
THE FAR EAST KOREA 1950-53	Under a UN Command, headed by the U.S., 16 member nations joined the Republic of Korea in a UN action to halt communist aggression southward. While South Korea and the U.S. incurred the greatest losses, other nations suffered 17,000 casualties. UN resolutions condemned the aggressors and gave world backing to the defenders.	Major commitment of U.S. forces in Korea resulted from our view that the defense of South Korea was vital to U.S. security. The U.S. led in rallying UN support and welcomed the additional troops and supplies.
AFRICA CONGO 1960	The UN Force in the Congo has worked under great difficulties to help bring about a unified, independent Congo. 16,000 UN troops in the Congo have kept the Soviet Union and other "big powers" out. Without the UN, there would have been chaos, followed by a communist take-over, or a great-power confrontation in Africa — possibly leading to World War III.	The U.S. under two Presidents, a Republican and a Democrat, supported UN action as the best way of avoiding communist subversion or an all-out war.
NEW MEMBERS The UN has increased from 51 to 104 members. *(In addition—Burundi, Rwanda, Algeria, Jamaica and Trinidad are expected to be admitted during the 17th Assembly.)*	The UN's growing membership reflects the present day changes in the world, where old empires are breaking up peaceably rather than through conflict. • The UN did not create the desire for freedom; it merely reflects it. • The UN helps the new nations by providing a forum where they can learn diplomatic and democratic procedures, and by supplying some of the technical aid they need.	The U.S. has welcomed the new nations, remembering that we too had a revolution against colonial rule. We support their desire for peace, independence and a better life. This community of interest has resulted in support of U.S. policy by the new nations on all vital issues.
CHINESE REPRESENTATION	For 10 years the General Assembly has rejected all Soviet attempts to secure the admission of Communist China and the unseating of Nationalist China. (Last year such a proposal was defeated by a vote of 48 to 37).	The U.S. has taken the lead in support of Nationalist China and in opposition to the seating of Red China.
THE SECRETARY GENERAL Trygvie Lie 1946-53 (Norway) Dag Hammarskjold 1953-61 (Sweden) U Thant 1961 — (Burma)	The Soviet Union tried to make it impossible for the UN's first Secretary General, Trygvie Lie, to function, following his support of the UN action in Korea; however he completed his term of office and stayed two years beyond. • The Soviets also attacked Dag Hammarskjold following his strong stand in the Congo, but the Assembly defeated Soviet attempts to discredit him by supporting his Congo policies 83 to 11. After his untimely death, Soviet attempts to replace a one-man chief executive with an impractical 3-man "troika" were defeated, and U Thant of Burma was unanimously elected to complete Mr. Hammarskjold's term.	The U.S. supported Trygvie Lie, Dag Hammarskjold and U Thant, and strongly opposed the "troika" proposals as contrary to the Charter and an effective United Nations—a view which received the overwhelming support of UN member nations.
ECONOMIC AID	The UN has strengthened the foundations of peace and freedom through its Technical Assistance Programs, UNICEF, the Special Fund, Refugee Aid, and the Specialized Agencies. • Four out of five of the UN's staff work on programs related to economic improvement. • Last year the Assembly adopted a U.S. suggestion that the 60's be known as the "Decade of Development."	We believe we must help other nations develop, not through violence but through dynamic evolution. UN Technical Assistance generates $4 of aid for every dollar we contribute. UN technical aid programs are one-twentieth of our bilateral programs, but they are well-run, popular and effective.

— A 17-YEAR AUDIT

THE ISSUE	UN ACTION	U.S. VIEWS
COLONIALISM	The UN has helped 8 Trust Territories to reach independence peaceably. • It has also assisted in resolving other colonial disputes and in alleviating tensions resulting from the dissolution of old empires. • The UN serves as a bridge to freedom for the emerging nations, who would rather belong to a UN community than to a new communist empire. • Communist injustices in Hungary and Tibet have been exposed many times in UN reports and resolutions.	The U.S. has faced, on occasion, difficult choices between support of its Allies and support of freedom and self determination for new nations. On the whole, the U.S., in the UN, has exerted a moderating influence. • Furthermore, we believe that UN debates have helped alert the new nations of Asia and Africa to the dangers of communist imperialism. The fact is the Soviets have **not** captured the new independence movements.
HUMAN RIGHTS	The UN has attempted to increase respect for individual freedom regardless of race, creed, sex or nationality. • The authority of the UN is limited in this because it cannot, under the Charter, interfere with matters within the "domestic jurisdiction" of member states. • A Human Rights Declaration was adopted, but this is a *standard*, not a binding treaty.	The U.S. has supported all attempts to stimulate nations to extend human rights and freedoms, recognizing however the UN Charter's limitations on "domestic jurisdiction."
DISARMAMENT AND NUCLEAR TESTS	The UN has urged agreement on a supervised, enforceable disarmament treaty, but so far this objective has not been achieved. • The UN General Assembly has urged the cessation of nuclear tests but without immediate effect on the USSR or, as a consequence, on the U.S.	The U.S. has voted with the majority many times in favor of controlled disarmament and a world open to inspection, but the USSR has refused to comply. The U.S. has therefore been forced to continue nuclear tests and heavy armaments.
OUTER SPACE	The Assembly has created an Outer Space Committee to try to work out technical and legal cooperation so that explorations of space and the heavenly bodies can be carried on, unhindered by old rivalries between nations, for the benefit of all mankind.	The U.S. has assumed leadership in urging UN cooperation in outer space programs such as weather forecasting; communications satellites; the sharing of information; and the solution of new legal problems. Space exploration and use can best be achieved through global cooperation.
FINANCES	A scale of assessments was set up by the General Assembly, based broadly on ability to pay. • According to the Charter and a World Court decision, a nation loses its vote for non-payment of assessments, both regular and special, after 2 years. • It has been the heavy costs of UNEF and the Congo Force which have put the UN in debt because some nations have been unable to pay their share and others, like the USSR, have refused to pay for policy reasons. • Additional voluntary contributions are requested for special activities such as UNICEF, Refugees and Technical Assistance.	The U.S. pays 1/3 of the regular budget (the USSR pays 1/6). We have paid 47% of the UNEF and Congo operations and 40% for most of the special projects. • While pressuring others to pay their share, we have supported a UN loan to meet the deficit. • The cost of the UN might well be considered part of our national defense. Even so, we will spend less than $200 million this year for UN operations, ($1.11 per person) compared to nearly $50 billion ($280 per person) for our military budget.

WHERE YOUR $1.11 GOES

Per Capita Cost of the UN to the U.S. in 1962

UNITED NATIONS	
The regular budget	12-3/4¢
UN Emergency Force	2-1/4¢
The Congo: Military	20¢
Economic	18¢
SPECIAL VOLUNTARY PROGRAMS	
United Nations Children's Fund	6-1/2¢
Technical Assistance and Special Fund	23-1/2¢
Refugees: Relief and Works Agency for Palestine	13¢
UN High Commissioner	7/10¢
Others	1-1/2¢

RELATED AGENCIES	
Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO)	2-1/2¢
International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)	1¢
International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)	7/10¢
International Labor Organization (ILO)	1-1/2¢
Intergovernmental Maritime Organization (IMO)	5/100¢
International Telecommunications Union (ITU)	1/10¢
United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)	2-1/2¢
Universal Postal Union (UPU)	1/100¢
World Health Organization (WHO)	4¢
World Meteorological Organization (WMO)	7/100¢
TOTAL	**$1.11**

YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED

What use is the UN to the U.S.?

In the development of the United Nations lies the only true alternative to war; and war appeals no longer as a rational alternative. A nuclear disaster, spread by winds and waters and fear, could well engulf the great and the small, the rich and the poor, the committed and the uncommitted alike. Mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind. Never have nations of the world had so much to lose or so much to gain. Together we shall save our planet or together we shall perish in its flames. Save it we can — save it we must — then shall we earn the eternal thanks of mankind and, as peace-makers, the eternal blessing of God.

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

How about our sovereignty? Can the UN send American boys to fight abroad?

No. The United Nations cannot make the United States or any nation send troops to fight anywhere. In the Korean war, it was our Government that sent our forces into battle — because it was in the American interest to stop the Communist aggression.

There isn't any loss of sovereignty in the United Nations. The United Nations is not a world government. It cannot impose a tax of any kind. It cannot pass a law. It cannot draft a single soldier from any country. Its charter specifically prohibits intervention in domestic matters. The General Assembly — where every country, big or little, has one vote—can only recommend.

Is it true that military secrets of the United States go to members of the United Nations Secretariat?

No, there is no truth whatever to this statement. There is no reason why the Secretariat should have any such information.

Is it true that prayer is forbidden in the United Nations?

No, it is not true. Every session of the General Assembly, in fact, opens and closes with a minute of silent prayer or meditation for the benefit of all delegates, whatever their religion may be.

What do the United Nations aid programs — like the technical assistance program and the United Nations Children's Fund — have to do with world peace?

The greatest single threat to peace is aggressive Soviet communism. But there are many millions of people on the sidelines whose first desire is to conquer poverty and backwardness so that they can play their full part in the community of nations. If we want them to think about what interests us — freedom — we must first do something about what interests them — food. Therefore, when you help people get rid of sickness, irrigate the deserts, drain the swamps, and increase their food supply, you are creating a spirit which will resist aggression. This spirit is a force for peace.

HENRY CABOT LODGE

U. S. Representative to the UN 1953 — 1960

Is the UN a "super-state?"

The UN is not a super-state above nations, but a world community embracing them all, rooted in law and justice and enhancing the potentialities and common purposes of all peoples. In urging progress towards a world community I cite the American concept of the destiny of a progressive society. Here in this land, in what was once a wilderness, we have generated a society and a civilization drawn from many sources . . . The United Nations is available to mankind to help it create just such a community. It has already accomplished what no nation singly, or any limited group of nations, could have accomplished alone.

GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Why should each country have one vote regardless of size?

The fact is that members are equal in their voting rights but very far from equal in their influence. The greatest influence will always be exerted by that great power whose basic purposes harmonize with those of the majority of members. Judged by that standard, which of the two leading powers, the U.S. or the USSR is likely to be the more influential? The answer is given thunderously by the overwhelming majority of votes in the General Assembly, time after time, year after year. Whatever the reasons, it is a fact that in sixteen years we have never suffered defeat in the United Nations on any vital issue.

What about the Congo?

Of all the myths about the United Nations, the most astonishing to me is that the United Nations policy in the Congo somehow helped the Soviet Union. The fact is that it was the United Nations policy of insulating the Congo from outside interference that led Mr. Khrushchev to demand Mr. Hammarskjold's resignation. It is the only time in the history of the United Nations that frustration has reached the level of shoe pounding.

Can the UN really help us attain a peaceful world?

The most dramatic contribution any international organization can make to our long-range national security is the substitution, on a global basis, of the rule of law for the rule of force. Modern weapons have made war more than ever a self-defeating policy—more inhuman by far than the ills it pretends to cure. Therefore manifestly it must be a major goal of our foreign policy to create and extend institutions of law and peaceful change which can progressively replace the "balance of terror." The pressures of history must have somewhere to go; and one of the main places in which those pressures work is the United Nations. In the long run, international organizations — and preeminently the United Nations — will create a global web of law and practice which will progressively make the use of force more difficult and the achievement of change and justice through pacific means certain.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON

U. S. Representative to the United Nations

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ROAD OF VALOR

BY

MARIE SYRKIN

Kvish Ha-gvura, the Road of Valor, is not a figure of speech describing some estimable way of conducting one's life. It is an actual road linking Jerusalem with Tel-Aviv, and its construction is a unique chapter in the vast epic of the Siege of Jerusalem.

In its various stages, the road was given several names, for the road lived in the imagination of the people and the whispered knowledge of its progress stirred every dweller in Israel. First it was "Burma," then "Malaya." At one time it was called the "Marcus Road," in honor of the American Jew David Michael Marcus who fell in the hills of Jerusalem while commanding one of the major battles for the relief of the city. But "Burma" and "Malaya" were abandoned for they stemmed from other peoples, in another mortal struggle. The Road, marking one of the climactic points in Israel's war for independence, could not be dismissed with a comparison. Even "Marcus" was inadequate, because the Road had the creation of a people's genius in its hour of direct need, and the name had to honor that spirit rather than any one man, no matter how great. Anywhere else, Kvish Ha-gvure might have sounded a bit fancy. But Israel, knowing the bloody history of every inch of the steep and twisting road, found the name simple and literal.

The Battle of the Roads has played a vital role in Palestine's recent history. From the start of Zionist colonization, the scattered agricultural settlements tempted aggressors with the hope of cheap victory. During the 1936 disturbances, the chief objectives of the Arab attackers had been to disrupt communications, to isolate village from village and town from country. Characteristically, the nahag (chauffeur) who drove his bus or taxi regularly, despite the constant danger of being shot or ambushed, became the here of the period.

When Arab assualts began in December 1947, immediately after the passage of the Partition Resolution, attempts to sever the arteries of communication were repeated. Jerusalem was in a particularly vulnerable situation. Surrounded by thickly populated Arab villages, the 100,000 Jews of Jerusalem were completely isolated from the rest of Jewish Palestine. Their sole link to the coast ran almost entirely through Arab-held territory, and Arab strategy concentrated on cutting this link.

Beginning with December, the efforts of Jewish buses to get through from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem became a major part of the battle for the Holy City. The Mandatory Power, though duty-bound to maintain freedom of traffic, preferred to remain "neutral." That is to say, it consistently strove to thwart the efforts of Jews to defend themselves, while at the same time declining to interfere with Arab aggression. This extraordinary concept of "neutrality" resulted in the repeated massacre of civilians, forced to ride defenceless the guantlet of Arab bands crouching in the hills. The skeletons of overturned buses, which can still be seen all along the winding Jerusalem highway, testify to the ambushed convoys whose passengers were murdured by Arabs. It was in one such convoy that Hans Beyth, the head of Youth Aliya, was shot down in cold blood.

Nevertheless, the contact with Jerusalem had to be maintained. The inadequately protected convoys of Egged buses set out regularly on their perilous journey accompanied by Palmach girls with sten guns hidden under their skirts. British soldiers did not search pregnant women in buses, though they painstakingly disarmed Jews in the convoys even immediately after an attack. This occasional spurt of chivalry made it possible to have a few guns on hand.

Primitive devices to re-enforce the buses come into being. Since the Jews had no armoured plate, they used metal sheets so thin that the buses were derisively called "sardine tins" by the passengers who insisted on using them. To make matters worse, the thin metal sheet woul be wedged between layers of wood to save the precious metal. As a result the buses were cumbersome in addition to being readily penetrable.

Between December and February, these lumbering convoys continued to crawl through the deep gorges and up the steep hills. The effort to reach Jerusalem at whatever cost went on doggedly. In February, however, the Arabs blew up a mountain-side between Bab-ol-Wad and Kastel, so covering a stretch of the road with debris.

The result of this huge natural road block meant the virtual isolation of Jerusalem. Neither supplies nor reinformcements could reach the city. The desperate situation of Jerusalem prompted "Operation Nachson," (named after the Biblical hero who dashed in first when Moses divided the Red Sea) for the purpose of opening the road.

"Operation Nachson" marked a turning point in the Jewish struggle. Depsite the Hagana's lack of equipment and the need to guard against British intervention as well as Arab attack, Jewish forces went over to the offensive in the battle to clear the road. Castel, the grim Roman bastion on a hill-top overlooking the highway, was captured by the Hagana, as well as several Arab villages strategically situated along the road. The storming of Castel meant the temporary relief of Jerusalem. Two large convoys succeeded in reaching Jerusalem with supplies for the Passover. But the relief was short-lived. Heavy infiltrations of Arab "irregulars" continued to ambush the convoys, threading slowly through the tortuous mountain passes.

The full-scale invasion by the Arab States completed the encirclement of Jerusalem. Enemy armies lay entrenched on the hills surrounding the city, and a large Arab force held Laturn, midway between Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem, and the seat of the pumping station of the Jerusalem water- pipe line.

The agony of Jerusalem had begun. The plan to starve the city into submission, and reduce it by thirst appeared to be diabolically easy of execution. All sections of the young state were reeling under the impact of invaders on every border. Tel-Aviv was being bombed by Egyptian planes. Syrian and Iraqi tanks were battering at the settlements in Galilee. Egyptian battalions were marching up the dusty roads of the Negev. Against such aggressors, equipped and officered by the British, Israel had valor and little else to oppose. The scant arms and men available had to be divided among many fronts, each of which was in a desperate position, each of which was vital to the defense of the country. The same brigades of Jewish youth had to answer the call for help which came from Northern settlements in Galilee, from the Southern outposts in the Negev, or from the heart of the Sharon.

And over the whole land lay the shadow of the besieged citadel.

There was a period when the men and women of Jerusalem believed that they had been forgotten by the rest of embattled Israel. As the weeks drew on and neither food, water nor reinforcements reached the city, the sense of abandonment grew. But it was in these very weeks that the attempt to break through to Jerusalem was assuming its most dramatic form. A way to Jerusalem was being hewn.

The notion of creating an alternate road through the mountains in the midst of the conflict, within easy range of Arab fire, and without proper engineering equipment seemed mad. In such terrain and under such conditions, the plan was not likely to recommend itself to sensible contractors who appreciated the engineering problem presented by rocky mountain-sides and wildly twisting paths. But the Burma Road was not soberly built according to a neat chart. It was born, foot by foot, and remained to the last a living thing.

Before the end of the Mandate, the road was conceived. Through "Operation Nachshon" much of the Tel-Aviv-Jerusalem highway had already been cleared. Only Latrun remained in the center blocking traffic; Latrun had to be by-passed.

On the night of May 5, three Palmach scouts set out on foot from Jerusalem to discover whether they could link up with the nearest Jewish outpost from the Tel-Aviv side. They threaded their way through the Judean hills following ancient foot-tracks and camel paths which were barely discernible amid the boulders. Arabs with camels still used these immemorial tracks in preference to motorized highways, and the paths usually followed natural contours and utilized easier grades. The scouts managed to plot their way along these mountain-trails till they were within sight of Hulda, the most advanced Jewish outpost from the coast.

The scouts returned with the message that a road suitable for jeeps might be made along the wadis and camel paths. The very next night a small convoy of jeeps carrying desperately needed flour and munitions began to make its way up the dirt track by the scouts. On some stretches the jeeps had to be carried. One incline was too steep to be negotiated by any type of vehicle, and even the small jeeps had to be hauled up by means of a wind-lass. It wasn't smooth motering but there was enough to warrant asking the army engineers to improve and grade the road. Since the road was within range of Arab shells, all construction had to take place at night. In the meantime, heavy engagements under whose cover the building of the alternative road could proceed were taking place on the main highway.

The construction of "Burma" and its use proceeded simultaneously. There was no time to wait for a finished product. From both Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv the work went on. The gap was closing, and while the distance narrowed, the jeeps continued to clamber around the hair-pin turns and up the steep rocky mountain-side. Where jeeps could not go, donkeys went. There was one percipitous incline near Bab-el-Wad which no jeep could traverse. Soldiers and civilian volunteers would trudge up the ½ mile stretch carrying sacks of flour and guns on their backs. At the foot of the hill, the sacks would be piled into trunks which had been sent from Jerusalem. That is how food and munitions reached the starving, unarmed population of Jerusalem.

An army correspondent (Frontline, December) has vividly described the process: "Fuel was brought into Jerusalem: The petrol tanks could not be carried across that treacherous hill, so they were set up in one wadi and tanks from Jerusalem were brought to the next, and the precious fuel was siphoned across the intervening rocks.

"Even the mountain was made passable - squads of men worked away at it during the long nights, blasting away with dynamite and nosing boulders aside with bull-dozers under cover of diversionary attacks the nearby Latrun sector.But inthe last stretch of the improvised road, two kilometres of the old road to Har Tuv, was still within range of the Arab Legion mortars at Latrun, and night after night it was a race between the fast little jeeps piled with powdered milk, and flour and bullets and the Legion flares and mortar bombs before the convoys reached the shelter of the towering hills at Bab-el-Wad."

The road grew like living a organism advancing tenaciously forward in the wake of the men, mules and jeeps. Finally, by the beginning of June, the sixteen kilometers of Burma were completed. A truck from Tel-Aviv could reach Jerusalem.

But this was not enough. Water was an even greater need. While the road was being built, a new pipe-line was being laid alongside. Those jolting for the first time on Burma had added thrill of seeing the new pipe-line. Soon water would again flow from the taps of Jerusalem.

The construction of Burma had been a miracle of daring and ingenuity. It had saved Jerusalem, but it was, nevertheless, only a dirt road, narrow, dangerous and uncomfortable. The clouds of choking dust which periodically swirled around the cars were a signal to the enemy. Signs along the way reading "dust invites fire" were an academic warning. No driver could avoid stirring up the thick columns which might "invite" a shot.

Despite the energy and imagination which had been lavished on Burma, it could be viewed as only a temporary expedient. The torrential winter rains would soon turn it into impassable mud. A paved road had to be built at once if Jerusalem was not again to run the risk of being cut off.

Burma had been completed several days before the first truce (June 11). In the ten days between the first and second truce, Israel forces succeeded in further clearing Arab forces out of the immediate area. This meant that the narrow strip of comparatively "safe" territory had been widened into a corridor allowing the construction of a real road. The new road could be 5 metres wide, and, most important of all, paved. The menace of begging down in thick mud would be averted.

The new road would have to be built fast, before the start of the winter rains. Despite the need for speed, the order to go ahead was not given at once. Much effort and sacrifice had just been expended on the Burma Road. The military situation made the problem of manpower acute. Men of fighting age could not be demobilized. The problem of equipment and materials was equally critical. There was a shortage of bull-dozers, tractors, graders - all the heavy equipment which engineers require for such a task.

Again there was no choice. The experience of the past months had shown that Jerusalem was entirely dependent on the rest of Israel for its protection. The 100,000 men, women and children who would have perished of thirst and hunger if not for "Burma" could not be left to the uncertain mercies of an indifferent world.

As in the case of Burma the planning of the road was unorthodox. Instead of being designed conveniently on a map and then leisurely surveyed according to the rules, the experience of "Burma" was utilized. Only this time instead of sending scouts in the dark of night to find camel-tracks, air photos of the country-side were made, and a possible road traced, using old camel-tracks as a guide.

The road had to be completed in two months. An asphalt highway 40 kilometers in length was to be substituted for the rough sixteen kilometers of "Burma." The new road would by-pass not only Latrun, but, if necessary, Bab-el-Wad, The Gate of the Valley, which leads abruptly from the plain into the Judean hills. The deep gorges of Bab-ol-Wad had repeatedly been the scene of bloody attacks on Jewish convoys in the past. An alternative route had to be available in case of an emergency.

Kvish Ha-gvura was built in eight weeks. One gets a notion of the speed of construction if one remembers that the old Tel-Aviv-Jerusalem highway, built under the Turks, had taken seven years to finish. Even the slightly longer Haifa - Tel-Aviv road, built under the Mandate in 1936, had required two years. In view of the special difficulties under which Israel was laboring, the rate of 5 kilometers weekly through mountainous terrain was a feat. Inadequate machinery had to be compensated for by man-power, and no skilled or unskilled laborers were available. No more motley crew was ever assembled than the builders of Kvish Hagvura. Jerusalem sent its over-age civilians and its striplings. Professionals, office-workers not physically acceptable to the army and school-boys joined in digging the road. The orthodox Old Yishuv contributed a unit. Long - caftaned men with ear-locks and grey beards could be seen bending over pick and shovel. One hundred and fifty Arabs from the friendly village of Abu Gosh were among the workers. In the burning sun and chill nights of the Judean hills the race with time went on.

The road was paved with a plastic mixture which represented one of the newest devices in road construction. Part was cut directly out of rock, and the remainder built of a mixture of sand, asphalt and small-stones. It was a solid road, not a make-shift, and linked Jerusalem securely to the coastal plain.

The official opening of Ha-Gvura, December 8, 1948, was made the occasion of a solemn ceremony. The road had become the symbol of the deliverance of Jerusalem and of the valor of Israel. It was a curious parade that marched past the reviewing stand where sat Prime Minister Ben Gurion and Brigadier Dori. There were, of course, young soldiers from every unit that had fought to free Jerusalem, and had captured villages and hills in the costly battles which made the building of the road possible. There were the elderly workers who had slaved for long hours on the road itself. In addition, there drove past every type of vehicle which had figured in the lifting of the siege: jeeps, bullet-pierced Egged buses which braved Arab fire, crudely improvised tin-plated cars, and finally, stout bull-dozers and heavy armoured cars

with turrets. The donkeys who used to clamber up the slippery mountain slope of Burma, laden with sacks of flour and milk-powder, marched too.

At a Jerusalem celebration in honor of the Road, the Chief of Operations, Col. Yigal Yadin, himself a native of Jerusalem, said: "A road is not a road unless it leads somewhere." And where the road led, the banner behind him declared: "The way to Jerusalem is the gate to the capital."

The new highway will be flanked by Jewish settlements which in the words of Ben-Gurion "will constitute a living bridge between the centres of Jewish strength and economic activity in the State of Israel and its eternal capital, Jerusalem." Already new settlements are springing up in the bare Judean hills. They mark a fresh development in the history of Jewish colonisation. Their name "stronghold settlements" indicates the emphasis. Their primary aim will be to protect the corridor to Jerusalem but instead of being a small, sterile Maginot line, with guards stationed to ward off attack, these settlements will be employed productively in the development of peaceful agricultural villages. In normal times, they will devote themselves to soil- reclamation and irrigation in the stony mountain-territory. Even now, with the war still in progress, ploughing and soil-reclamation have already been started. The settlers are a picked group. In view of the dangerous, isolated, but strategically important hill-tops they occupy, they will be prepared for defence of the road to Jerusalem as no heterogeneous group of pioneers could be. The creation of these settlements is part of the lesson learned from the Arab invasion.

A tall obelisk, to commemorate the Battle of the Judean Hills, will be erected on the Road of Valor. The emblem of the Hagana - an olive-branch winding around a sword - will point from its height. It will bear the dedication: "To our comrades who blasted the rock, routed the enemy, and made this road" and on it will be inscribed the eternal lines: "If I forget thee, Oh Jerusalem may my right hand forget its cunning."

February 19, 1962

Mrs. Stanley Rawn
4574 Stella Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Rawn:

We, the planning committee of the Facade of Brotherhood, wish to express to you our appreciation for your participation and help in our program on February 16th.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

February 19, 1962

Mrs. Hildegard Bennett
2494 Morosgo Place, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Bennett:

The Planning Committee of the Facade of Brotherhood is deeply grateful to you for your presentation of the Dolls for Democracy. You did it in a most wonderful way, and we feel sure you will have calls to bring it to other groups of children all over Atlanta. It is a most telling project.

Please accept our thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

February 19, 1962

Dr. Robert Coles
35 Lombardy Way, N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Dr. Coles:

You and the students were wonderful additions to our Facade of Brotherhood. We wish to express our appreciation of the fact that you were down here to give counsel and strength to the students, who have to travel the new roads of relationship.

We wish to thank you for giving your time, not only during the hours of the February 16th meeting, but the many hours you spent in getting in touch with these young people and having conferences with them.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

February 19, 1962

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
Editor
The Gainesville Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Meyer:

The Planning Committee for our Facade of Brotherhood wishes to express our appreciation for your presence and your participation in our program on February 16.

We are especially thankful that you brought it down to an individual responsibility. We have been thinking now that we will have a meeting of a smaller group in April. "The Definite Analysis of the Fears, and find Ways to Allay Them." This is certainly most important as you may have noticed the School Principals are afraid; people are afraid; the churches are afraid.

We hope you will be with us that day, and as soon as we have a planning meeting, we will get in touch with you.

Over and over again people spoke to us about the forthright statement you made that set them thinking.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

February 20, 1962

Miss Thelma Stevens
Executive Secretary
Woman's Society of Christian Service
The Methodist Church
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Thelma:

I hope your knee is entirely well by now - a cast must have been most uncomfortable and inconvenient. Fortunately, I do not have a cast - I am nailed together.

It has not bothered me too much - I have been coming to the office, filling engagements all over town - and went to Washington, D. C., two weeks ago to a meeting of Board of Americans for Democratic Actions.

Most of the Committee Meetings I've had have been at my home. We are distressed about the fears that beset us here in Atlanta - our school board is afraid, teachers and pupils are also. Our U. C. W. of Atlanta and Georgia are really afraid also, of our race emphases, so we had a Facade of Brotherhood - Breaking Through the Fears that Bind Us. I am enclosing a program.

We are planning another meeting for April - with only one big discussion time - pulling out into the open our fears with Sylvan Meyer, Editor of the Gainesville Times and Chairman of Civil Rights Commission to show or lead us to the way out.

Best wishes always.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

February 20, 1962

Dr. Harry V. Richardson
President
Interdenominational Theological Center
671 Beckwith Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Richardson:

The Planning Committee of the Facade of Brotherhood Program, which was held on February 16, is so grateful to you.

You gave us illustrations that we will never forget, and reminded us that if man just would, the new earth would come to be.

We won't forget this and will be considering it in all of the programs that we plan. You are a busy man, and yet you found time to be on our program in order to better our thinking, and challenge us to greater effort.

Please accept our thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Mrs. Ra. Billings

Mrs. Sue Crank

Mrs. McEwen

Mrs. T. M. Alexander

Mrs. A. V. Jett

Mrs. Dorothy Manley

Mrs. Benjamin Mays

Mrs. Julia Borders

Mrs. McPheeters

Mrs. M. J. Winn

Mrs James Paschal

Mrs. Yates

Bishop and Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen

Mr. and Mrs. Yungblut

Mrs. H. S. Murphy

Mrs. George Clary

Mrs. Rembert Sisson

Mrs. Arthur Styron

Mrs. Tom Hayes

Mrs. L. M. Bechnell

Mrs. N. C. Johnson

Mrs. Judson B. Hodges

Mrs. Annie Ruth Hill

Mrs. Boone Bowan

Mrs. G. Ray Mitchell

Mrs. Eva Parks

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A·CHARTER·OF·RACIAL·POLICIES

WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

·WE BELIEVE·

1. We Believe that God is the Father of all people and all are His children in one family.
2. We Believe that the personality of every human being is sacred.
3. We Believe that opportunities for fellowship and service, for personal growth, and for freedom in every aspect of life are inherent rights of every individual.
4. We Believe that the visible church of Jesus Christ must demonstrate these principles within its own organization and program.
5. We Believe that the Woman's Division as an agency of The Methodist Church must build a fellowship and social order without racial barriers in every area it may touch.

·WE WILL·

1. Commit ourselves as individuals called by Jesus Christ to witness by word and deed to the basic rights of every person regardless of cost.
2. Unite our efforts with all groups in the church toward eliminating in The Methodist Church all forms of segregation based on race whether in basic structure or institutional life.
3. Create in local churches opportunities for inclusive fellowship and membership without restriction based on race.
4. Act with other groups and agencies to involve families in new experiences with other races and cultures.
5. Share in creative plans that challenge youth, students and young adults of all races to new understanding of the Church's mission and ministries.
6. Interpret and strengthen recruitment and employment practices of the Woman's Division consistent with our belief in the oneness of God's family.
7. Open the facilities and services of all Woman's Division institutions without restriction based on race and make such policies clearly known.
8. Establish all Schools of Missions and Christian Service and all leadership development and enrichment programs on a regional basis without restriction based on race.
9. Seek to change community patterns of racial segregation in all relationships including education, housing, voting, employment and public facilities.
10. Work for national policies that safeguard the rights of all the nation's people.
11. Support world-wide movements for basic human rights and fundamental freedoms for peoples everywhere.
12. Join with others who seek in church and community justice and freedom for all members of the family of God.

As we begin this New Decade, the Woman's Division of Christian Service calls with new urgency on the Woman's Society of Christian Service and Wesleyan Service Guild to study the principles and goals stated in this Charter, looking toward early ratification. Such ratification will constitute a commitment to work for the speedy implementation of those principles and goals within jurisdiction, conference, district and local Woman's Society or Guild.

Woman's Division of Christian Service, Board of Missions, The Methodist Church, Literature Headquarters: 7820 Reading Road, Cincinnati 37, Ohio.
5 62 Price, 5 cents; 6 for 25 cents.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

October 20, 1961

FOR: Church-State Committee

FACT SHEET

On Bus Transportation by States

22 states "allow the benefit of bus rides to students in non-public schools." Robert F. Drinan, S.J., America, September 17, 1960.

New York State - a 1960 law requires local school districts, New York City excepted, to provide such service.

Attorney Generals' opinions, as reported by the American Jewish Committee, 1958:

Allowed: 5 (Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Oregon, Wyoming)

Prohibited: 14

Connecticut - The state's permissive law, carried to Supreme Court, was upheld when the Court in February, 1961 refused by a vote of 7-2, to hear an appeal brought by taxpayers. Court dismissed "for want of a substantial Federal question" and so confirmed its decision in Everson.

Alaska In April, 1961 Alaska Supreme Court, reversing a lower court, ruled, in a 2-1 decision, that the State does not have to provide bus transportation for non-public school pupils. Refused to accept the child welfare concept in Everson. Effort to amend State Constitution so so as to permit bus transportation failed in last session of Legislature.

November 20, 1961

To: Church-State Committee

From: George Soll

Re: The School Bus Question

The purpose of this memorandum is to suggest a statement to be adopted by the ACLU on the question of public financial aid for the transportation of children to religious (parochial) schools. An attempt will be made to provide a rationale for determining which types of "indirect" financial assistance to children attending parochial schools are permitted and which are forbidden by the First Amendment.

This memorandum will not attempt to re-argue or to discuss such basic constitutional questions concerning Church-State separation as the following: Whether the First Amendment meant to deny aid to all churches or only discriminatory aid in favor of a single church. Whether parents who send children to parochial schools may "opt out" from paying public school taxes in order to use such tax funds for parochial schools. Whether such parents may receive tax credits or deductions for funds paid to parochial schools attended by their children.

This memorandum begins with the premise that direct assistance for the construction of school buildings or facilities or the payment of teachers' salaries (both declared to be unconstitutional by the National Board in its March 23 statement) or for the provision of textbooks is barred by the First Amendment. The types of assistance which will be dealt with in this memorandum ("indirect") involve such services as free bus transportation, school lunches, medical and dental examinations, psychological examinations, etc.

This memorandum will not discuss non-civil liberties issues which I believe fall outside the jurisdiction of the ACLU, to wit: Whether parochial school education is better than, as good as, or inferior to public school education; whether public schools are fostering a kind of secularism; whether parochial schools promote undesirable distinctions among children; or what the increase in cost would be in operating public schools if all parochial school children attended public schools.

Here then is a proposed statement:

AN ACLU STATEMENT ON
BUS TRANSPORTATION AND OTHER "INDIRECT"
FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

The ACLU opposes financial assistance to any church and to all churches on the ground that it violates both the letter and spirit of the First Amendment to the Constitution which mandates a distinct separation between Church and State. In our opinion, direct

financial assistance to parochial schools on the elementary or high school level constitutes assistance to the respective churches which run such schools. The avowed purpose of such schools is to indoctrinate children in religious beliefs while providing them with education. Hence, any direct financial assistance to parochial schools in the form of grants, or of loans by the State, or of guarantees by the State of loans made to parochial schools by private lending institutions at interest rates or on terms more advantageous than those available in the open financial market is prohibited by the Constitution. This is true whether such grants or the proceeds of such loans are used by parochial schools for general purposes, teacher salaries, textbooks or for the construction of buildings or other facilities.

The more difficult constitutional and civil liberties problems arise where indirect aid is at issue, such as providing free bus transportation for parochial school students, medical anddental examinations, school lunches, psychological tests, etc. Reasonable people have differed as to whether assistance of this type is permitted or prohibited by the spirit or letter of the First Amendment. Attempts in the past to establish a rule which would clearly distinguish between permitted and prohibited types of assistance have not been completely successful. Thus, it has been suggested, for example, that financial aid to children attending parochial schools be permitted, while aid to the parochial schools itself be prohibited. Or it has been proposed that assistance which constitutes a welfare measure be permitted but that which is an auxiliary to education be prohibited.

In a sense all financial aid to children attending parochial schools constitutes financial assistance to the school itself, for, if the State did not provide the assistance to the child, the parochial school itself might have to provide the service. Whether financial assistance is a welfare or educational measure depends on what one includes as a welfare measure or what one excludes from education. Unfortunately, these formulations do not solve the troublesome issues that arise. They merely create semantic problems that have to be determined in order to resolve the particular case in point.

In our opinion, a more helpful approach is to suggest that those types of financial assistance to children attending parochial schools should be permitted which would be provided by society to all children even if the State did not provide educational services at all. On the other hand, if the assistance being provided is for a service available only because of the existence of the educational program then the assistance is not permitted. Since it is the intermingling of the religious and educational programs in parochial schools which makes them the equivalent of churches for purposes of interpreting the First Amendment, those services which exist primarily because of the educational system should be prohibited.

Using this formulation it is perfectly obvious that free bus transportation to parochial schools is prohibited since, by its very nature, it is something which would not exist but for the existence of schools. There is no doubt that bus transportation is provided for the convenience and safety of children. But it is the convenience and safety involved in going to and coming from school which is at stake, and since, in our opinion, aid to parochial schools is equivalent to aid to a church, we believe that such assistance is prohibited. Indeed, if the issue were whether the State could provide free bus transportation for <u>all</u> children to attend <u>any</u> church of their choice, we think the problem would be more easily understood and the result more easily determined. Such assistance would be forbidden, we believe,

for the same reason that bus transportation to parochial schools is also prohibited.

On the other hand, medical and dental examination, school lunches, as well as psychological tests might very well be provided by society even if there were no State purpose in sponsoring education. If such services were provided all children regardless of their means or educational status, their dispensation by schools (public, private or parochial) is simply a financial and administrative convenience. It is not intended as part of the educational process itself. We believe no Constitutional problem is raised if such services are provided to all children, including those attending parochial schools.

C
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P
Y

From the Greater Philadelphia Branch, ACLU

January 9, 1962

Hon. Richardson Dilworth
Room 202, City Hall
Phila., 7, Pa.

Dear Mayor Dilworth:

According to a story in the EVENING BULLETIN of January 9, 1962, Dr. Eugene A. Gillis, Commissioner of Public Health is "in general agreement with the need for a centralized and streamlined health unit for services to school age children" which would include children in non-public as well as public schools.

The American Civil Liberties Union endorses a program which will bring the medical services for children in Catholic parochial and other private schools up to the level of the services provided to public school children. As we wrote to you on November 10, 1960, it is our belief that to offer inferior health services to students in denominational schools is to discriminate because of religion, and thus to inhibit the exercise of religious liberty.

In that letter, we expressed our support for the expenditure of public funds (then estimated at $500,000) to equalize the services.

We reaffirm this support, and we endorse Dr. Gillis's suggestion, that you appoint a committe to work out the difficult question as to how a comprehensive program should be administered. Administrative difficulties should not be permitted to stand in the way of remedying the present situation which so unfairly discriminates against parochial school children.

Enclosed is a copy of our earlier letter, setting forth in more detail our views.

Sincerely yours,

Spencer Coxe
Executive Director

SC:p
enc.

American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

January 31, 1962

To: The Board of Directors

From: Walter Millis

Re: The Soll re-draft of the report on free speech and the military.

I feel that for ACLU purposes Mr. Soll's draft is an improvement on my own in style and approach, and am glad to substitute it as a basis for the report. I disagree strongly with some aspects of it, however, and since Mr. Soll and I have been unable to resolve our differences, I here try to state them as succinctly as possible in order that the Board may decide between us.

1. The basic differences between us appear to be three:

   i.) Mr. Soll believes that in discussing limitations on military speech it is both practicable and necessary to distinguish between "high military officers in or closely connected with policy-making positions" and the general run of military personnel. I believe the distinction is impracticable in fact and unnecessary from a civil liberties viewpoint, in the present context.

   ii.) Mr. Soll believes that troop indoctrination can be conducted on the "same principles that would apply to a respectable civics course" and that it is the business of the civil libertarian to see that this is done. I am somewhat dubious of the first; but I feel very strongly that it is no business of the <u>civil libertarian</u> as such to intervene in the question. He may have ample standing as a citizen, but none, so far as I can see, as an up-holder of civil liberties. (In the current context, I also feel that the ACLU would be making a fool of itself if it came out with this recommendation -- but that may be beside the point.)

   iii.) Mr. Soll believes that the McNamara directive on participation of Department of Defense personnel in private public information programs may "unduly curtail the free expression of subordinate officers and enlisted men." I do not. It seems to me that the very limited restrictions it imposes on higher officers are just as applicable to lower officers and enlisted men; and if the <u>civil libertarian</u> accepts the restrictions for the higher officers I see no civil liberties principles on which he can reject them for the lower.

2. Two other points do not, so far as I am aware, involve any difference between Mr. Soll and myself, but should be called to the attention of the Board.

   i.) The last paragraph on p. 6, repeated in the recommendations (4 p. 10), is the best that Mr. Soll and I could do with what I understood to be the instructions of the Board at the last meeting. The wording is unsatisfactory to me (and I think to Mr. Soll as well). I think this reveals the unsatisfactory nature of the Board's vote.

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   ii.) The treatment on p. 6 of the NSC directive is to me unsound. In view

of the doubts about it, all mention of it might be dropped in favor of a simple statement that it was the policy of the Eisenhower Administration (so far as we know not rejected by Kennedy) to use "military personnel and facilities to arouse the public to the menace of the cold war." This should be introduced on p. 5, before beginning the discussion of the McNamara directive. It should be made clearer that this policy affected three rather different things: the intervention of high officers, like Arleigh Burke, into speech-making campaigns intended to educate the public in the menaces of the cold war; the "beefing up" of troop indoctrination to the same end; military participation in privately-sponsored programs to the same end. The McNamara directive refers specifically only to the last.

I agree that there would be (top of p. 6) no civil liberties issue presented by confining all such programs, public and private, to "objective reports about the function of the military establishment itself," but this is just not the point. The point is whether there is a civil liberties issue in urging the military on to discussion of political issues. I agree that the McNamara memorandum (middle of p. 6) has eliminated "most of the problems in this area" -- most of those which are eliminable, at any rate -- but not for the reason assigned. It does not restrict military "sponsorship" to programs authorized by the departmental secretary, but only military "co-sponsorship" with private programs. Apparently, this refers to military co-sponsorship of such private programs as Strausz-Hupe's experiments in the strategy of "protracted war." The "assumption" that this will limit such programs to areas in which the military has expertise (bottom of p. 6) seems to me ill-founded; and if it is advanced, as Mr. Soll has suggested to me, as a means of hinting to the Department of Defense that it should be realized, it strikes me as a very weak instrument indeed.

I have made a number of suggestions for textual changes which would bring the Soll draft within the range of my own views, but until the Board has decided the basic differences in one way or another it is useless to present them. As to the "Conclusion", beginning on p. 9, I would specifically accept paragraph "First;" I would reject paragraph "Second" as quite immaterial -- the right of military men to vote is fully written into law, and the matter has been raised only as illustrative. I would accept paragraph 1, but eliminating the first phrase ("Except for ... non-policy positions") and the second sentence in toto.

I would accept paragraph 2 (p. 10). I have no objection to paragraph 3: though it does not seem to me to be very relevant to the issues we are asked to take a position on. The issue is not the exclusion of military personnel from cold war discussions but the issue of how far they should be brought into the discussion.

I would reject paragraph 4 as meaningless and totally impractical of application; and I would reject paragraph 5 as also largely meaningless and at any rate involving a question on which the civil libertarian as such is incompetent.

American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

January 31, 1962

To: Board of Directors

From: George Soll

Re: Free Speech and the Military

The questions here considered arise out of what to many seems an increasing intervention by military officers in political issues. They have been posed by General Walker's attempt to indoctrinate his troops in the tenets of the John Birch Society; by the participation of serving military officers in "public information programs" and "seminars" on the "cold war" sponsored by private pressure groups, and by speeches and articles by high military officers, often with a content strongly affecting domestic or foreign policy. What should be the civil liberties attitude toward matters of this character? We will attempt to confine our remarks to the civil liberties issues only while recognizing full well that there are many public policy considerations involved which are outside our field of interest.

1. The Right of the Military to Freedom of Expression

In our opinion, the right of free speech should not be curtailed because it is exercised by military men. At the same time, military men have no greater right to free expression than other governmental officials in similar circumstances. Thus, like other persons, the military man may not discuss classified information. Further, like other government employees, they may not participate in partisan political campaigns because of the restrictions of the Hatch Act. In addition, certain high military officials, like important non-military officials, in or closely connected with policy making positions may, while they hold such positions, justifiably be limited in what they say on matters involving the formulation of public policy.

This last limitation is required so that the public at large and the nations abroad will not mistake the personal utterances of specific high officials as the official statements of our government. For many high military and non-military officials, no disclaimer by them that what they say is personal will persuade the public or other nations that they are not speaking in an official capacity. Hence, we see no civil liberties issues presented in the monitoring of speeches, press releases, magazine articles or books of high officials (military and non-military) while they are still in government employ. For the military, specifically, this rule might, for administrative reasons, apply to all general or flag officers and to others beneath such rank who are in or closely connected with policy making positions. The precise determination of which officers are subject to this limitation is something which must be worked out by the Department of Defense in the first instance.

The form that this limitation has taken has presented problems, but we believe them to have raised administrative, not civil liberties issues. Such an administrative problem exists in connection with whether speeches or articles are to be submitted for prior censorship or to be scanned after utterance or publication subject to reprimand if improper material is included, In either event, no civil liberties issue is presented. Further, whatever policy considerations may be presented, there is no civil liberties issue involved in whether speeches of top-level officers are reviewed by high or low ranking military officers, by military or civilian officials of the

Department of Defense, or by that department, the Department of State or some other governmental official or agency.

Of course, if an important governmental official -- military or civilian -- disagrees with his superiors on policy matters, there are several courses he may follow. He may, of course, remain silent. He may privately express his disagreement to his superior. He may resign and express his disagreement publicly. He may decide not to resign and, nevertheless, to express his disagreement publicly.

The consequences of such public disagreement may mean the loss of his position, through discharge or forced resignation. This consequence does not raise any issue of free speech. The problem is not substantially different from a subordinate disagreeing with his superior in business life or in a membership organization, such as the A.C.L.U. It is clearly the right of the superior official to retain in policy making positions only those who do not publicly manifest their differences with him just as it is the right of the subordinate official to resign his post and thereafter, openly, or any other way, broadcast his divergencies with his former superiors.

Top-level officials must, therefore, consider in each case, whether their participation in any publicized activity -- writing books*, magazine articles, making speeches, participating in forums, testifying before Congressional Committees -- constitutes opposing a policy enunciated by their superiors. If it does, then their choice is to resign or, if they do not resign, to be prepared to suffer the consequences of such public disagreement. If the policy in any case is not clear, then the subordinate official who acts without clarifying the issue in his own mind and with his superiors takes the risk of having acted imprudently.

For those members of the military not in or closely connected with policy-making position, their right to free expression, when off duty and out of uniform should, subject to the limitations of the Hatch Act, be as privileged as those of private citizens. In all cases, the military man should state explicitly that he is expressing his own personal opinions and not those of the office he holds or of the branch of the armed forces in which he serves. We recognize that, even when this disclaimer of official status is made, some people will nevertheless attach particular weight to comments made by military men, even on subjects on which the military have no special expertise, such as the appropriate method to fight the "cold war" or the ideological menace presented by either internal or external communism. However, this is a risk which a democracy must take, just as it does when, for example, a professor of biology at a leading university signs his name to an open letter in a newspaper opposing fall-out shelters. Despite the disclaimer made by the professor that he is not speaking on behalf of the university, no doubt many persons suppose that the university itself opposes fall-out shelters, a subject on which neither the university nor the professor may be expert.

We believe that the memorandum dated October 5, 1961 of the Secretary of Defense concerning participation of that department's personnel in public information programs sponsored by non-governmental organizations is, in large part, consistent with the views set forth above. To the extent that it imposes restrictions on senior officers -- that they address their remarks to subjects within the cognizance of the Department of Defense, that their views be non-partisan and in accordance with established

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*This memorandum is not intended to cover questions involved in the publication by military or civilian officials of what may be classified information. Nor is attention here given to the question of what "property" rights an official may have in speeches previously made by him.

national policy and that their participation not lend an air of sponsorship to partisan statements of others or statements contrary to established national policy -- the memorandum seems wholly justified and not violative of civil liberties.

To the extent, however, that the memorandum does not distinguish between those excluded from and those in policy making positions, it unnecessarily curtails the free expression of subordinate officers and enlisted men. It is possible that this is an unintended consequence of the Secretary of Defense's Memorandum and further clarification should be forthcoming.

2. Military Sponsorhip of Informational, Educational or Propagandistic Programs for the General Public.

We see no civil liberties issue presented in confining such programs to objective reports about the function of the military establishment itself. Apparently, because of a 1958 policy paper issued by the National Security Council, use was made for a period of "military personnel and facilities to arouse the public to the menace of the cold war".* In our opinion, such use of military personnel and facilities was unwise though it is doubtful that this constituted a civil liberties problem. In any event, the Secretary of Defense's Memorandum of October 5, 1961 has eliminated most of the problems in this area by restricting sponsorship by the military to those programs authorized by the Secretary of a military department. We assume this will limit such programs to those areas in which the military has expertise.

We should add that to the extent military facilities and personnel are available for use by non-governmental groups they should be available on a non-discriminatory basis to all groups serving a similar purpose and character.

3. Troop Indoctrination

We believe no civil liberties issue was presented in the discipline meted out to General Edwin A. Walker for attempting to indoctrinate his troops with right-wing political views. Orientation programs for enlisted personnel, courses for top-level officers at the War College or similar institutions and all activity of the armed forces directed to providing political information for the military should be governed by the same principles that would apply to a respectable civics course offered by a school -- i.e. the purpose should be to educate, not indoctrinate -- the distinction here being that the former is a presentation of information as objectively as possible and an exposure of all relevant points of view, with the student free to criticize and evaluate them for himself. The promotion of partisan viewpoints on questions of public policy -- political, religious, social, etc. -- should be strictly forbidden. Indoctrination such as that attempted by General Walker partakes not only of the evil inherent in lecturing to a captive (and possibly, coerced) audience, but runs afoul of the fundamental principle that no governmental official, high or low, shall ordain what it is right on political, religious, economic or social issues.

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*NSC papers are highly classified. The quotation is from Senator Fulbright's "Memorandum." Newspaper reports accept the fact of such a policy paper, and quote President Eisenhower as advocating such a policy while he was in office. Apparently, there is no doubt that there was such a determination by NSC in 1958. How far it was actually controlling in subsequent developments may be open to question.

The activities of some officers in attempting such indoctrination has been defended on the ground that a commanding officer has the obligation to inculcate his troops with a high morale in order to equip them as competent fighters, and this morale, it is argued, is bolstered by the type of indoctrination practised by such commanding officers as General Walker. Though we are not experts on military morale, we doubt that warped indoctrination is necessary to achieve competent fighting men. We believe that it is proper to infuse troops with a love of democracy as compared with totalitarianism and with a conviction that discussion rather than suppression of dissent is a means of seeking truth. But specific personal views delivered in an official capacity on political and similar issues, (except in terms of debates where different views may be presented) is highly improper.

Conclusion

We should like to address ourselves to two other facets of the question of the military and free speech that received much attention from the press but which, in our opionin, do not deserve much comment.

First, there seems an undue concern with the application of the important principle that the military be subordinate to the civilian. So long as the military forces, like any other branch of government, continue to take their instructions from the civilian authority, we think this principle is being obeyed and no further comment is necessary. So far as we are concerned, this principle is not in danger and is not involved in the question at issue.

Second, there has been some lip-service paid to the somewhat vague concept that military men should not participate in political life -- even to the extent of not voting in elections. Regardless of how this approach may be viewed by the military itself, we see no reason why a democratic society need extract this restraint from persons holding military office.

We, therefore, conclude that:

1. Except for its possible application to military men in non-policy positions, the memorandum of the Secretary of Defense dated October 5, 1961, relating to the participation of Defense Department personnel in public information programs sponsored by non-governmental organizations, does not violate the civil liberties of military officials. Further amplification is required to determine whether the memorandum is intended to apply to officers and men not in or closely connected with policy making positions.

2. The submission of speeches of high military officials for prior review on matters involving public policy does not present a civil liberties issue.

3. The limitation in the use of military personnel and facilities to those areas of public life in which the military is expert and their exclusion as government officials from discussion of how to prosecute the "cold war" does not present a civil liberties issue.

4. To the extent that military facilities and personnel are available for use by non-governmental groups, they should be available, on a mon-discriminatory basis, to all groups with a similar purpose.

5. Orientation and public policy discussion programs for military personnel should be directed to educate and not to indoctrinate.

FEATURE PRESS SERVICE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, 156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

ERNEST ANGELL
Chairman
Board of Directors

EDWARD J. ENNIS
OSMOND K. FRAENKEL
General Counsel

PATRICK MURPHY MALIN
Executive Director

ORegon 5-5990

Alan Reitman, *Associate Director*
in Charge of Public Relations

WEEKLY BULLETIN 2130

March 12, 1962

REVIEW OF MILITARY SPEECH RAISES NO CIVIL LIBERTIES PROBLEM, ACLU SAYS

Restrictions on the speech of military personnel imposed to "prevent a mistaken belief that they are stating government policy" raises no civil liberties issue, the American Civil Liberties Union declared on March 5.

Concluding a six-month study of the free speech rights of the military stimulated by current charges of alleged censorship of military personnel, the civil liberties group also declared that the "monitoring of speeches and articles of serving military officials on matters involving the formulation or execution of public policy does not present a civil liberties issue."

The Union's views were disclosed by the chairman of its Board of Directors, Ernest Angell, who released the text of a policy statement adopted by the Board and submitted to the Special Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee in Washington. The Subcommittee is holding hearings on charges of alleged censorship of military officials.

The ACLU study also concluded that Secretary of Defense McNamara's directive last Fall limiting the participation of military personnel in non-official, public anti-Communist "seminars" and "strategy conferences," while "loosely worded and...open to abuse... appears to provide as well as possible for most of the problems in this area; it supplies some general criteria likely to be useful in specific cases and...does not...violate the civil liberties of Defense Department personnel, military or civilian." The McNamara directive, issued after strong opposition was voiced to military personnel taking part in anti-Communist seminars which often turned into partisan political attacks, restricts the participation of Defense Department personnel to discussion of "subjects within the cognizance of the Department of Defense." The views expressed by the military figures must also be non-partisan and in accord with established national policy. Military participation "must not lend an air of sponsorship to statements of others which may be either partisan in character or contrary to established national policy."

Troop indoctrination programs which are kept free of partisan comment also raise no civil liberties issue, the ACLU study said, as such programs have "always been recognized as a primary responsibility of military command." The Union saw no civil liberties violation in the oral admonition given last Summer to Major General Edward A. Walker for indoctrinating the troops of the 24th Division "with extreme radical right politics...this was found contrary to existing laws and regulations which properly bar partisan indoctrination."

Although recognizing that military men are entitled to free speech as other government officials are, the ACLU declared that certain limitations may be required so as to assure that the military's speech is not mistaken for official policy. "It is required in order that the public at large and foreign powers will not mistake their personal utterances for official government statements or reflections of government policy. It is required in order to prevent high military officers from utilizing their position to undermine superior civil policy. It is required in order to insure that political utterances made in good faith by high officers do not inadvertently disrupt diplomatic or policy negotiations. For all these reasons we see no civil liberties issue presented in the monitoring of speeches, press releases, magazine articles or books of high officials (military and non-military) while they remain in active service."

The civil liberties group saw no distinction between the right of free speech for military men and other high officials of government. "If a government official -- military or civilian -- disagrees with his superiors on important policy matters...he may...keep silent. He may (as he now normally does) privately

express his disagreement within his organization. He may resign and express his disagreement publicly. Or he may publicly express his disagreement without resigning. In the last case, the consequences may possibly be reprimand or dismissal; if so, this will not raise any issue of free speech. The problem is not substantially different from a subordinate publicly disagreeing with his superior in business life or in a membership organization."

However, outside of these limitations, the ACLU said, the right of military men to free expression when off duty and out of uniform should in general be as guaranteed as that of the private citizen. The ACLU cautioned that the principles it espouses concerning the speech of military figures should not be used to support "suppressions in cases to which they do not apply." For example, the situation of the enlisted man and the junior officer "differs drastically in at least one respect from that of the higher officer -- they cannot resign. Nor are they of course able to exert the kind of influence in diplomacy and civil policy which justifies the monitoring of high officers' speeches."

The ACLU study discussed the policy of the "Eisenhower Administration (not so far as is known, withdrawn by its successor)" to employ "military personnel and facilities to arouse the public to the menace of the cold war." The wisdom and efficacy of such a policy may be questioned, the ACLU said, "but it is doubtful that it creates a civil liberties problem. As applied to indoctrination of military forces, the Union said, such indoctrination -- "to make men better soldiers, not necessarily better citizens -- has always been recognized as a primary responsibility of military command; and as long as this is, like all other military functions, exercised in conformity with the superior policies of the civil government, its content appears to present no civil liberties issue. A citizen may feel that indoctrination of the troops in sound principles and practices of democratic citizenship will make better soldiers out of them than indoctrination in extreme anti-Communism, but it is difficult to see how this view can be sustained on civil liberties grounds."

The Eisenhower policy extended, however, to "arousing" the general public, the ACLU said. "In this it apparently encouraged speech-making campaigns, like those of Admiral Burke and others, on the menaces of Communism. We have already suggested that monitoring such speeches does not invade the officers' rights of free expression; but those who deplore them as in general unhelpful cannot adduce any reason in civil liberties for their further suppression."

COURT BATTLES STILL WAGING ON RIGHT OF "THE LOVERS" TO BE SHOWN

The box score in the legal battle now being waged over the right of motion picture theaters to show the controversial French film "The Lovers" now stands at two to one in favor of the exhibitors. The Oregon Supreme Court held unconstitutional a Portland ordinance under which the city tried to keep the movie from being shown. Similarly, the Ohio Supreme Court declared unconstitutional a section of the state code which had led to the conviction of a Dayton exhibitor. On the opposite side, the Ohio Supreme Court ruled that a different section of the state code -- which was the basis for convicting a Cleveland theater manager -- was constitutional.

In the Oregon case, Nancy Welch, manager of a Portland theater, was arrested and convicted in Municipal Court for showing "The Lovers" without cutting two scenes as ordered by the police chief as a condition for getting a license to show the picture. Miss Welch's conviction was upset originally because the state Supreme Court felt that the complaint against her "did not allege a crime." The decision did not deal with the constitutional question and so the city petitioned for a rehearing. In denying it's position, the court substantially agreed with the position taken in a friend-of-the-court brief filed by the ACLU of Oregon. The ACLU argued that an "ordinance requiring administrative approval of motion pictures as a condition of exhibition imposes unconstitutional previous restraint upon freedom of expression."

The Oregon Supreme Court based its ruling mainly on the state constitution, but said that the ordinance violated the "First and Fourteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution, since it contains no constitutional standards for enforcement."

In the Dayton, Ohio case, the state Supreme Court reversed the conviction of an exhibitor for showing "The Lovers", because a section of the law under which he was charged was unconstitutional. The court said this section makes mere possession or exhibition of a film without knowledge of its obscene nature a misdemeanor.

In the Cleveland case, the Ohio Supreme Court affirmed the conviction of Nico Jacobellis, a theater manager, for showing "The Lovers." The majority upheld the constitutionality of the law used to convict him which does require knowledge of the obscene nature of a film. Thus, Jacobellis would have been subject to prosecution just for having the film in his theater even if he hadn't shown it. The majority opinion maintained that had the Dayton exhibitor been charged under the same section as Jacobellis, his conviction would have been upheld.

Judge Taft dissented from the Court's ruling that mere possession or control with knowledge of the contents constitutes a crime. He declared this part of the law "constitutionally invalid," because the statute is not limited to a person having a picture for the purpose of exhibition nor was it the legislature's intent to so limit possession or control.

Jacobellis' lawyers plan to appeal the Ohio court's decision to the United States Supreme Court.

NEW YORK LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE INTRODUCES BILL TO RESTRICT USE OF WIRETAP EVIDENCE

A New York state joint legislative committee has renewed its drive for a law to bar the use in criminal trials of evidence obtained by illegal wiretapping or other unauthorized eavesdropping. The Committee -- whose title is the Joint Legislative Committee on Privacy of Communications and Licensure of Private Investigators -- seeks to extend a civil prohibition against admission of evidence obtained through violation of the state's law on eavesdropping to criminal cases.

Earlier, in four consecutive years, such bills proposed by the legislators were vetoed by Governors Harriman and Rockefeller. Governor Rockefeller, in his second veto message, pointed out the inconsistency of excluding evidence obtained by illegal wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping, while admitting evidence obtained by illegal searches and seizures. At a hearing held in New York City prior to the Committee's introduction of its proposed new law, Victor S. Gettner, chairman of the New York Civil Liberties Union, told the law-makers that the 1961 U. S. Supreme Court decision in the case of Mapp vs. Ohio had taken care of the illegal search and seizure situation, and that in order to achieve consistency the legislature should prohibit admission at criminal trials of the fruits of illegal wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping.

The Supreme Court's decision in Mapp vs. Ohio has been seen as a major advance in curbing illegal police practices at the local level. The exclusion of illegally-obtained evidence from federal trials has been in effect since 1914, but in 1949 the Court ruled that state courts were not similarly restricted. This later decision has now been reversed.

The Joint Legislative Committee declared that though its members were opposed to the use of evidence gained through illegal wiretapping, they support the use of information obtained through wire-tapping or secret microphones where the eavesdropping is authorized by the courts in a particular case.

In a related development, the NYCLU's Committee on Admissibility of Illegally-Obtained Evidence, reporting on Mapp vs. Ohio, urged, among other things, the desirability of the magistrate's trying the issue of illegally-obtained evidence at the arraignment, if the defendant objects that insufficient admissable evidence has been produced to warrant his being held. The committee reports that "a substantial number of policemen appear to be perjuring themselves in order to avoid the effect of the Mapp case. Their testimony indicates that evidence was obtained without search or that the search was with the voluntary consent of the accused. The pattern of such testimony makes it appear incredible." The group recommended taking up the matter with police officials, district attorneys and the courts.

CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS

The Vermont Education Board has held that towns without high schools can use tax funds to pay tuition for pupils who attend private schools where religion and education are separate.... The Mayor of Torrance, California has banned The Weekly People, official organ of theSocialist Labor Party, "because it is garbage."... Governor Elbert N. Carvel of Delaware has come out against legalized film censorship.... Film exchanges in Memphis, Tennessee, have refused to allow the Judeo-Christian Council of Decency, a local group whose spokesman is a Baptist pastor, R. Paul Caudill, to view movies before they open in Memphis.... Complaints to the Federal Communications Commission about broadcasting -- mostly about television -- have risen sharply since Chairman Newton Minow's "Wasteland" speech last Spring....The East Baton Rouge, Louisiana Parish School Board has set up a censorship committee to screen all books, magazines and films used by parish public schools.

American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

MINUTES

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

MONDAY, MARCH 19,1962 - 1:00 P. M.

ACLU OFFICE

PRESENT: Mr. Brown, presiding
Messrs. Bierstedt, Crowell, Ennis, Fraenkel, Frank, Galantiere, Gellhorn, Hacker, Huebsch, Jones, Lacy, Maslow, Millis, Rice, Soll, Waring; Judge Kenyon, Mrs. Pilpel.

Office: Messrs. Reitman, Speiser, Watts, Wulf; Mrs. Bromley, Miss Carmody, Mrs. Floyd, Miss Golden, Mrs. Greene, Mrs. Runyon.

1. Minutes. The minutes of the March 5 meeting were approved as circulated with one correction. Item 10, page two, should have included the fact that the Kentucky affiliate had informed the office requesting the deletion of paragraphs four and five of the Board's October 9, 1961 statement on religious holidy observances.

2. Leave of Absence for Mr. Hecksher. Mr. Hecksher's request for a six-month leave because of his appointment as Special White House Consultant on the Arts was approved.

3. Professor Knowlton's Illness. Mr. Brown reported that Professor Knowlton, one of the new Board members, had suffered a heart attack and would be confined for several weeks. The Board asked that the office convey to Professor Knowlton its best wishes and hope for a speedy recovery.

4. Wiretapping Pamphlet. Mr. Reitman reported that the May, 1961 report on wiretapping approved by the Board is now available as a pamphlet, entitled "The Wiretapping Problem Today," and will be publicly released next week. It will be used particularly in the forthcoming congressional battle on wiretapping legislation.

5. Censorship and Alleged Obscenity. Mr. Reitman summarized the working papers previously circulated and presented for the Board's consideration the four

specific recommendations proposed in the Censorship Committee's March 7, 1961 minutes. These recommendations cover: (a) the standard the ACLU should apply in situations in which allegedly obscene material is concerned (including prosecutions and legislation); (b) opposition to all prior restraint on publication or exhibition; (c) due process protections that should apply in obscenity prosecutions; and (d) opposition to governmental restriction or punishment on the basis of age, of access to any form of expression.

After discussion the Board adopted Mr. Rice's motion to substitute, instead of the Committee's recommended standard, point (a) of Mr. Fraenkel's July 14, 1961 memorandum:

> "The ACLU believes that the constitutional guarantees of free speech and press apply to all expression on all subjects. Thus, any expression on sexual matters, whether fiction or nonfiction, is protected by the Constitution. This standard should apply at the federal, state and local levels; to laws, regulations and injunctions; to censoring, licensing, in rem proceedings, prosecutions and any other means of governmental restriction or punishment."

The Board then defeated - 1) A motion to adopt point (b) of Mr. Fraenkel's memorandum:

> "However, the ACLU will not oppose legislation imposing penalties on the distribution to persons under 16 of narrowly-defined obscene material";

and 2) an amendment to the Committee's recommendation opposing governmental restriction or punishment on the basis of age, of any form of expression, which would have added:

> "However, the ACLU does not oppose the denial to children of access to hard-core pornography. By hard-core pornography we mean materials like photographs, films, or cartoons depicting details of normal or abnormal sexual acts and lacking the slightest redeeming social importance."

The Board put over until the April 2 meeting other sections of the Committee's report.

American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

March 21, 1962

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Alan Reitman

RE: Report on Ultra-Right Organizations

In the past year the office has responded to requests from affiliates, members, the press, national organizations and the general public for information on the activities of ultra-right groups, their impact on civil liberties, and measures which might be taken to combat their dangers.

We have replied that in addition to reviving McCarthyism within some local communities (especially in the far West and Southwest), which creates an atmosphere hostile to the exercise of civil liberties, these groups have made specific attacks on teachers, textbooks, libraries, public officials and the judiciary. We have also expressed our concern that, unless counter-measures were taken, we might experience a full return to the McCarthyism of the 1950's when loose charges exerted heavy pressure on civil liberties by making teachers less courageous in handling controversial issues, librarians less willing to stock politically unpopular books and public officials eager to ferret out "subversives" through investigations which attacked the right of freedom of speech and association.

Several national organizations, such as the Foreign Policy Association, the National Council of Churches and the National Education Association, have been assailed by ultra-right groups, and the Union itself is a prime target. We have seen statements by Robert Welch of the John Birch Society, Dr. Fred Schwartz of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, the Rev. Billy James Hargis of the Christian Crusade and Hurst A. Amyx, a daily radio broadcaster in a number of cities under the title "Know Your Enemy," attacking the Union for its support of Communism or its alleged failure to follow a single-standard defense of civil liberties.

Several of our affiliates have directly locked horns with ultra-right groups; the use of a Houston public school for a public meeting sponsored by our Greater Houston Chapter was denied after ultra-right pressure was exerted; two Board members of the Arizona Civil Liberties Union lost their teaching jobs because of the ACLU activity re: House Un-American Activities Committee; the Florida Civil Liberties Union came under heavy attack by right-wing Protestant ministers in Miami when one of its Board members ran for the Board of Education. Other affiliates have suffered similar attacks. Our press clipping service shows a rise in letters to editors scoring the "pro-Communist sympathies" of the Union. Happily, -- chiefly through provision by the national office of myriad defense materials -- there has been increased local defense of the Union in reply letters to the editor. This is evidence of a growing general consciousness of civil liberties and their importance (perhaps a lesson learned from the McCarthy period), a determination to fight assaults on the First Amendment and growing professionalization and know-how of our staffs and volunteer workers -- national and local.

The similarity between today's ultra-right phenomenon and the McCarthy period has been reported in numerous newspapers and magazine articles. However, one striking difference -- which illustrates one difficulty in dealing with the current revival -- is the high degree of organization attending the activity of today's rightist groups. There is no single person who symbolizes the "crusade," no McCarthy or Huey Long; rather there are many "crusades" which are well publicized in advance of their arrival in local communities and bring within their folds some of the major segments of the community. Municipal officials, the clergy, the press -- and especially the schools -- are asked and frequently agree to endorse the "crusade." When Dr. Schwartz went to Phoenix, Arizona in 1960, the Acting Superintendent of the Phoenix College and High School District arranged facilities for a great rally and urged faculty members, students and their parents to attend.

There is also, frequently, a degree of sophistication which marks this period as different from the McCarthy period. Dr. Schwartz, for example, takes pains in his speeches to warn against "guilt by association;" the Rev. Hargis disavows any anti-racial overtones to his movement. Yet the emotional setting created by the mass meetings of the former leaves the local community ripe for attack on "subversives" after Dr. Schwartz's school departs, and advocates of racism have been featured at Hargis' meetings.

In dealing with this problem, the Union has been confronted with the usual dilemma: the need to defend the civil liberties of groups which by their activities do fundamental injury to constitutional freedoms. We have, of course, publicly reiterated our traditional position (through such actions as our March 31, 1961 letter to the House Un-American Activities Committee opposing its announced preliminary investigation of the John Birch Society) and coupled this opposition to governmental investigation of any group's political opinion with acknowledgment that the activities of the extreme right can limit civil liberties, and explanation that it is the responsibility of individuals and non-governmental organizations to utilize their own free speech to combat this danger. (The opinion voiced by the Santa Barbara News Press, the first newspaper to expose the John Birch Society, is an example of such effective non-governmental action.)

This position was amplified in a memorandum to our affiliates on December 8, 1961 in which these guide lines were set down:

"1. The right of all groups to express their opinions must be defended regardless of the point of view they express.

"2. The ACLU does not comment on any part of the content of these groups' (the ultra-right) programs which does not directly concern civil liberties, whether it be repeal of the income tax, the social security program, or removal of the UN from New York City.

"3. However, when these groups espouse positions adversely affecting civil liberties, for example, efforts to remove a teacher for her "liberal" views, or attacks on librarians for refusing to take "Communist" books off library shelves, we should vigorously present our position (while defending their right to speak). We should also emphasize the point... that the loose accusations of these groups can create an atmosphere of caution in which dissident views will not be expressed."

We also noted in the memorandum that because the national office lacked the financial resources to conduct a major educational drive of our own, we had stimulated and were working closely with other national organizations that were concerned with the threat to the democratic process from the ultra-right. The Union helped plan and participated in late January in a week end conference attended by over 100 persons from 20 communities. This unpublicized Greenwich, (Connecticut) "Conference on Preserving the Democratic Process" included persons representative of organized labor, international relations, civil liberties, inter-group relations, public schools, universities, non-partisan political groups (for example, the Fair Campaign Practice Committee), government agencies, publications, and all major religious faiths.

The Conference heard appraisals of the ultra-right in the context of (a) the cold war, (b) its particular characteristics, and (c) specific case histories depicting assaults on schools, labor, welfare organizations, foreign policy groups, and religion. After plenary discussion, the Conference broke into small discussion groups from which the following points emerged:

1. There is a lack of precision in discussing the ultra-right organizations. For example, there is a real difference between the approach and program of The National Review and Hargis' Christian Crusade.

2. So far there has been almost complete isolation on the local level among organizations concerned with preserving the democratic process. Isolation includes the separation of local groups from one another, from their own national organizations, and national organizations among themselves. (Happily, this is not true within the ACLU, as communication on this problem has been frequent and rapid.) One of the results is the relative lack of local activity in support of the democratic process.

3. There is a lack of sensitivity to the importance of the democratic process. There is a tendency, indeed a desire, to protect the individual group's program content, but not to defend the principles of free speech and fair debate for everyone. This failure was related to the problem of isolation, the fear of standing up alone to say that ultra-right activity impaired constitutional liberties that are of importance to everyone.

4. Community apathy prior to local ultra-right activity and harm is especially conspicuous; preventive measures are necessary.

5. In communities where at least one medium of mass communication expresses concern about the democratic process there is a better chance to offset the ill effects of the ultra-right.

6. There is need for full information about ultra-right groups.

To sum up, increased leadership from national organizations is needed; hopefully, local branches would respond through improved communication and activity -- and in advance of attacks by the ultra-right.

These points led to the adoption of the following recommendations:

1. A national clearing house should be established for the purpose of assembling, analyzing and distributing information about ultra-right activities.

The clearing house would be responsible for:

a. Screening and identification of materials, and channeling them to local groups either directly or through the national organizations;
b. A fact-finding operation designed not only to keep abreast of developments, but also to anticipate them whenever possible so that affected areas might be alerted and appropriate action taken;
c. Publication of periodic newsletters to include analyses of various groups, to convey techniques which might be used locally, and to report on success stories.

2. Regional meetings paralleling the Greenwich Conference should be held.

The national groups would cooperate in setting up such meetings, either off-the-record or publicized, on an ad hoc basis. Maximum use would be made of the resources of each group. An understanding would be reached among them as to the degree to which they are prepared to sacrifice and subordinate their day-to-day programs to the basic issue at hand. Also, the degree to which they are prepared to meet the larger problem, namely, the threat to the democratic process, rather than to be fragmented into dealing with specific issues.

3. Task forces should be established to visit communities under attack and to provide guidance and help.

The individuals involved would be provided by each participating national organization which would pay their full salary and expenses. There would be a determination of priorities to select those geographic areas requiring concentration of resources. This would require continuing review and analysis of developments to determine where resources may be most needed and effectively used at any given time. The task teams would train local leaders.

4. A meeting similar to the Greenwich Conference should be planned for the lay leaders of national organizations.

5. An educational program for the mass media should be developed including the preparation of a national television program and the production of audio-visual material. Also, a national prestige rally of leading American figures, -- Warren, Eisenhower, Kennedy, et al, should be arranged.

The implementation of the above recommendations will be the responsibility of the ad hoc steering committee, on which the ACLU is represented, which is

to continue functioning as the Continuation Committee. In the meantime, until resources can be provided, it was agreed that:

1. Local or regional conferences of concerned groups and individuals should be set up immediately.

2. Information should be directed from local groups to their national organizations to be channeled to a central source.

3. Counter measures should not await the completion of the plans outlined, but should be initiated without delay in each affected community as best they can, with whatever guidance and resources national groups can now provide. (Our local affiliates have been deeply involved in such counter-measures. The ACLU of Washington state successfully protested against indoctrination-in-Communism courses in public schools; the St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee recently reproduced sections of speeches made at Dr. Schwartz's School of Anti-Communism for presentation to the local school superintendent as an indication of the indoctrination materials being pressed in the schools [full recognition was given to the right for all points of view to be expressed]; and the ACLU of Illinois made strong protest against military participation in partisan "education for security" seminars on U. S. Navy property.)

Comment on Greenwich Conference Recommendations

1. From the outset of the planning committee's work, the ACLU's primary role was to keep the group's attention focussed on the ultra-right's threat to civil liberties -- the democratic process -- rather than the content of the ultra-right programs. Although there was some mixing of the two points at the Conference, we will continue our effort to delineate our civil liberties concern. This is particularly true with respect to the clearing house of information about ultra-right groups. It is impossible that in such a broad information-gathering operation, information will not be presented about what is being said at ultra-right meetings -- the content of their speeches -- and indeed organizations -- other than the ACLU -- have every right to discuss the merits of ultra-right programs. But every effort must be made to:

a) Keep such discussion from degenerating into charges of "guilt by association," smears and intimidating activities (for example, a listing of ultra-right groups without making clear the dangers of using it as a private "Attorney General's list.")

and

b) Include detailed information on how the ultra-right attacks the democratic process (economic coercion, middle-of-the-night telephone calls, kinds of pressures on school boards and libraries) and what can be done to combat such attacks. This effort has special meaning for our affiliates, and we should encourage them to forward information on this aspect of the ultra-right activity.

2. A regional meeting has been held in Boston, and others are now being planned for Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle; we have urged our affiliates in those communities to cooperate in such endeavors. The Illinois Division has sparked organization of a "Communications Group" of interested organizations and individuals in the Chicago area who are concentrating on information-gathering and various educational activities (speakers, a list of suggested written materials and films, etc.) All this activity should help to break down the sense of isolation at the local level and enable strong opposition to be organized. A kit of materials is being developed by the Greenwich Conference Continuations Committee for use by all participating groups. In addition to the kit, plans are under way for production of a popular pamphlet which would contain suggestions for action.

3. The idea of a task force composed of representatives of different organizations available for training local leaders to oppose attacks on the democratic process by the ultra-right is a creative approach which, if fully implemented, could produce good results. Presumably such forces would not be needed in major metropolitan areas where existing organizations are strong and experienced in techniques, but would be needed in smaller communities where organization is not as great nor effective. There are unanswered questions such as how much time would be taken from normal national staff operations and the expense involved. Because of the small national staff of the ACLU these are serious problems; perhaps the cooperation of affiliates close to affected areas can be enlisted, or the assistance of ACLU members who are particularly skilled in a particular technique.

4. As the Conference discussion groups agreed, preventive action is needed so that there will be more community understanding of the dangers before attacks occur. Apart from continuing general education on civil liberties, in which our affiliates more and more are engaging, the suggestion has been made that the Union should sponsor full-page advertisements and/or special communications to groups likely to be attacked. Apart from the expense of such advertisements, which is quite high, the question arises again of the Union's commenting on the specific content of the ultra-right programs. Certainly a general advertisement could be written extolling the virtues of the democratic process. But most of the ultra-right attacks are quite specific and would place the Union in the position of evaluating all kinds of government policies and non-governmental organizations. For example, is it the Union's business to defend the United States NATO policies with countries Dr. Schwartz alleges are Communistic? Is it the Union's business to answer specific charges of Communist-sympathy against the National Council of Churches, or rather to urge the National Council of Churches to do so? I suggest it is not, and that our job is to work to keep the communication channels open for all groups to make their answer.

Certainly we should make every effort through our ACLU channels of communication to enlarge community understanding of civil liberties so as to reduce the effectiveness of ultra-right attacks, but this is part of our regular educational work and does not require a special project.

5. The role of the mass media naturally is of great importance. It was suggested at the Greenwich Conference that committees made up of local organizational representatives should visit editors and radio-TV stations in advance of ultra-right "crusades" to point up their danger to the democratic process. This is a good idea provided again that it is made clear that no effort is being made to hinder the right of an ultra-right group from presenting its opinions, or the right of the press to report the news as it sees fit. However, effort should be made to convince newspapers and radio-TV stations to editorialize on the ultra-right visit in the context of our civil liberties concern.

Another aspect of the problem is the growing use of radio-TV to air ultra-right commentators and the widely-publicized "anti-Communist schools," such as the recent three-hour Hollywood Bowl telecast of Dr. Schwartz's Anti-Communism School. Here, too, as the Union has always held, our job is not to insist that a particular commentator or program be kept on the air, but to encourage the widest diversity of opinion on controversial issues -- which is the station's obligation under the FCC law. The attached memorandum from Dorothy Dunbar Bromley explains our operational position in full.

Recommendation

The Board should endorse the Greenwich Conference recommendations, as qualified by the Comments in 1-5 above, within the ability of the national budget and staff resources.

American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

March 21, 1962

TO: Affiliates

FROM: Dorothy Dunbar Bromley,
Executive Officer, Radio-TV Committee

The lead article of Broadcasting, January 22, 1962 captioned "Red Threat Livest Program Theme" reported:

a) that the networks are busy producing their own programs on Communism, and
b) that many radio and TV stations are warmly receptive to recordings of meetings held by the extreme right organizations.

As an illustration, the October 16th, 1961, 8-11 p.m. Hollywood Bowl meeting held by Fred Schwartz' Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, was reported to have been carried live over "a 35-station specially devised network in western states." Only three of these stations - the Crown group - in Seattle, Portland and Spokane, were reported by Broadcasting to have (during the same week) presented a follow-up program which presented views on ways of meeting the Communist threat different from those advocated by the Schwartz group. This was a 90-minute program in prime time, the panel consisting of Arthur S. Fleming, Gilbert Seldes, Edward Teller and Richard Rovere (as reported by Robert Shayon, Saturday Review, January 27, 1962). The discussion was followed by questions and answers from local studio audiences.

Mr. Seldes, a member of our Radio-TV Committee, is endeavoring to obtain the names of the 35 stations. We do not know as of now whether any of them are network-owned stations, nor which ones are located in our affiliate areas. Nor do we know the total number or the identity of other stations over the country which may have run a re-broadcast of the 3-hour Hollywood Bowl show, as did WPIX (the Daily News TV Station) in New York City, the evening of November 2, 1961.

Having learned from Mr. Seldes that the Crown Group had offered their 90-minute program free to WPIX and had it rejected, the national office, with the approval of NYCLU, on February 3rd wrote the General Manager of WPIX. We stressed first that his station had every right to program or refuse to program any particular show; second, that it has also an obligation under the FCC Act, as specifically amended in 1959, "to afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance." We inquired, therefore, what plans WPIX had to do just that. (Full text of letter attached).

Receiving no answer from WPIX, we sent a follow-up on February 26, with a copy as before, to the FCC. On February 28th we received a courteous reply, saying the station had scheduled a follow-up program for March 20 (this proved to be one taped at the December NAM annual meeting); speakers, - Admiral Arleigh Burke, Lt. Gen. Trudeau, Charles Vetter of the U. S. Information Agency, and William C. Sullivan, Deputy Director, FBI. "Other programs will follow," WPIX wrote us. (Copy of their reply attached.)

(Page 1 A follows)

After watching the NAM program, as telecast by WPIX, we concluded that it did present a diversity of views, different from those advanced in "Hollywood's Answer to Communism." (Sullivan of the FBI said "the central issue for us is freedom under law, freedom of enquiry and dissent"; Vetter of the USIA was educationally objective, and the two military men stuck to President Kennedy's line, one quoting his criticism of both the extreme left and right.)

Before suggesting what action affiliates should take when a local station goes overboard in giving a large segment of time to any propaganda group, I should like to point out that Chairman Minow and his fellow Commissioners appear to be aware of the growing problem.

(Page 2 follows)

Minow, speaking on March 1 before the Public Affairs-Editorializing Conference of the National Association of Broadcasters, said:

> "Since the development of an informed public opinion is our objective, we have consistently held that some allotment of time must be made to news and programs devoted to a discussion of public issues. In such allotment of time, there must be overall fairness through the expression of contrasting views of all responsible elements -- with the licensee playing a "conscious and positive role" in achieving a balanced presentation. It is against this background that licensee editorialization serves the public interest. The broadcaster has the opportunity to express his own views as part of an overall presentation of varying opinions on controversial issues."

Broadcasting, March 19, reports:

> "In discussion stage at FCC is possible inquiry into fairness doctrine as it applies to stations on controversial issues. View is that broadcasters should have more precise guidelines to follow across-the-board and thus relieve FCC of necessity of case-by-case consideration. Proponents want to get licensee views before attempting to set any rigid standards. Plan has not reached formal FCC consideration."

Recommended action by affiliates when a meeting of a rightist or any other extreme group is given a large block of prime time on a local station:

1. Moving more promptly than we did in the WPIX case, you may wish to address a letter of inquiry to the station similar to the one we sent WPIX. Be sure to stress that each station has the right to fashion its own programs but has an overall responsibility to present conflicting views, under the Federal Communications Act.

2. If you receive no answer, write a follow-up letter or if circumstances warrant, request an appointment with the program manager.

3. Make it clear that the ACLU itself suggests no speakers for programs on how the threat of Communism should be met. All we are interested in is balance and diversity. Leave it to other organizations, which have political and social programs, to suggest speakers. (In New York City, Norman Thomas has twice written WPIX, suggesting that they put on Irwin Suall, Secretary of the Socialist Party and author of the Party's pamphlet on the ultra-right; so far no answer.)

4. Send copies of all correspondence to Chairman Minow, so indicating on letters to the station. This is routine procedure, and should not be resented.

5. Whenever possible, monitor any follow-up program that is put on so as to determine whether the station has met our civil liberties standard of diversity of expression. Far from evaluating the validity of the views presented, your sole concern as a civil liberties representative should be to urge that "conflicting views", to use the FCC's phrase, be presented.

6. Better not release to the press your first letter to the station. Should the station manager be completely recalcitrant and refuse to admit he has a duty to present conflicting views, or should he fail in a "reasonable time" to present different views, then publicize your criticism. As yet, the FCC has not interpreted the word "reasonable" - as regards the lapse of time.

Please send me copies of correspondence and reports on what you do. We should be glad to have your comments on the suggestions we have made. Many thanks.

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February 3, 1962

Mr. Fred M. Thrower
Vice-President and General Manager
WPIX T V Station
220 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Thrower:

We write to enquire whether you plan to produce for your viewers a program advocating methods of meeting the Communist threat different from those advanced in the three-hour program depicting the rally of the Anti-Communist Christian Crusade entitled "Hollywood's Answer to Communism", shown by WPIX November 2, 1961.

We note from Robert Shayon's article in the Saturday Review of January 27 that the Crown group in the northwest, after showing the Hollywood "crusade" program, aired (during the same week in October, Broadcasting reports) a 90-minute program entitled "The Threat", broadcasting it simultaneously on KING, Seattle; KCW, Portland; and KREM, Spokane. As described by Mr. Shayon, the Crown group's program, introduced by Attorney General Kennedy, consisted of a discussion among former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Arthur S. Fleming, now President of the University of Oregon; Richard Rovere, staff writer for The New Yorker; Gilbert Seldes, Dean of the Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania; and Dr. Edward Teller, Professor of Physics at the University of California. Following the discussion, studio audiences, representing diverse groups in the three cities, asked questions of the panel.

Mr. Shayon further reports that Mr. Seldes, upon hearing that WPIX planned to present an edited version of the Hollywood "crusade" show, suggested to you that WPIX balance it with an airing of "The Threat". After reading the script of the latter program, you are reported by Mr. Shayon to have rejected it because "the speakers didn't have a good deal to say."

The American Civil Liberties Union believes that you were most certainly within your rights as a station manager in rejecting "The Threat", as you would be in the case of any other program offered you. Under the Federal Communications Act the responsibility is yours and yours alone to determine what programs are aired by WPIX. At the same time, the Union believes it to be clear under the Act that when a station airs a controversial program, it is obligated to seek out responsible proponents of other viewpoints. As you know,

the so-called Lar Daly amendment to the Act, passed by Congress in 1959, embodies the following:

> "Nothing in the foregoing sentence shall be construed as relieving broadcasters, in connection with the presentation of newscasts, news interviews, news documentaries, and on-the-spot coverage of news events, from the obligation imposed upon them under this chapter to operate in the public interest and to afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance."

We hold that the public is entitled to hear a wide spectrum of views. We take this position under the First Amendment, and specifically under the Federal Communications Act, which enjoins each station licensee "to serve the public interest, convenience and necessity", and as stated above, in the 1959 amendment, "to afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance."

This standard should be met across the board, - whether it involves time for a Senator McCarthy to answer an Ed Murrow, time for the City Manager of Newburgh to answer an NBC documentary which he finds biased, or time for representative citizens who believe the country can be better served by an approach to the Communist threat different from the one preached by Dr. Fred Schwarz and his followers.

The Union appreciates that there is nothing in the FCC Act which requires a station to make time available for the presentation of conflicting views immediately or even soon after the original presentation. The phrase "reasonable opportunity" may be taken to mean "within a reasonable period of time." We trust, therefore, that WPIX, having found the Crown stations' program not air-worthy, will arrange to call before its microphones reputable citizens and authorities in cold war strategy who take issue with the Schwarz methodology. We are sending a copy of this letter to Chairman Minow of the Federal Communications Commission, and will await with interest your answer.

Yours sincerely,

Patrick Murphy Malin
Executive Director

cc: Mr. Minow
encs.

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TELEVISION WPIX CHANNEL 11

Leavitt J. Pope
Vice President
In Charge of Operations

February 28, 1962

Mr. Patrick Murphy Malin
Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Malin:

This is in reply to your letter of February 3rd to Mr. Thrower regarding the responsibility of television stations to present varying points of view on controversial subjects.

Let us assure you that we are fully aware of our obligation and over the coming months we expect to present a number of other points of view on the subject of Communism.

Although I am sure you realize many of the items you read in various publications frequently reflect inaccurate reporting, we chose not to run the program called "The Threat", to which you refer, because it was made primarily for the local audience in the Seattle area (the question and answer portion, for example, involved only local people) and because we felt we could do a better job ourselves with the subject at hand. Rather than hastily assembling a group of names to participate in an inconclusive discussion, we plan to present a series of talks by uniquely qualified individuals especially addressing themselves to the dangers of - and how to deal with Communism.

We have scheduled the first such program on March 20th. It includes four United States government officials with special experience in this subject: Admiral Arleigh Burke, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Lieutenant General Arthur G. Trudeau, Chief of Army Research and Development, Charles T. Vetter, Jr., Director of Training for Overseas Personnel, United States Information Agency and William C. Sullivan, Deputy Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation. Other programs will follow.

We appreciate receiving your point of view on this subject and I think you will find in our future programming that we concur with the general viewpoints you have expressed.

Sincerely,

L.J. Pope

LJP/hs
cc: Mr. Ernest Angell

American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

March 27, 1962

To: Board, National Committee, Affiliates

From: Alan Reitman and Leanne Golden

Re: 1962 Biennial Conference: Bulletin #1 - Place, Time, Agenda

As we wrote you on September 13, 1961, the 1962 Biennial Conference will be held in New York City on the last week-end in June. The National Planning Committee met on January 19 and agreed upon the Conference's place, schedule, and agenda. The Committee was composed of: Edward Ennis (national Board), chairman; Clarence Ayres (National Committee); Julian P. Boyd (National Committee); Howard Dixon (Florida CLU); Eason Monroe (ACLU of Southern California); Robert Risk (Indiana CLU); Milton Stanzler (Rhode Island CLU).

(The function and representation of the National Planning Committee were recommended to the national Board by the 1960 Biennial Conference Planning Committee. That recommendation was "that the national Board appoint, prior to the Conference and from among the delegates attending, a national Planning Committee of seven members - one from the National Board, two from the national Committee, and four from the affiliates. During the 1960 Conference, the members of the National Planning Committee would make special notes /in addition to the usual record kept by the national staff/ and be ready to serve as a drafting committee for any recommendations which the Conference might wish to make to the Board. The Conference might also refer to the National Planning Committee the drafting - on the basis of Conference discussion - of other recommendations, which would be submitted to the Board as coming from the Conference after a mail vote had been taken of Conference delegates. Further, the National Planning Committee would from time to time review nation-wide ACLU programming, and offer suggestions thereon to the Board; and would prepare the schedule and program of the 1962 Biennial Conference."

(Although the original recommendation and Board action did not establish the Planning Committee as a continuing committee and its mandate has now expired, the office plans to propose its continuation to the Board).

PLACE

Park-Sheraton Hotel, 870 Seventh Avenue (56th Street), New York 19, New York.

TIME

June 22, Friday	9:30 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.
	2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.
	7:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.
June 23, Saturday	9:00 a.m. - 11:45 a.m.
	12:15 p.m. - 1:45 p.m.
	2:00 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.
June 24, Sunday	10:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.

AGENDA

(Opening speakers on each topic will be announced later unless otherwise indicated.)

Thursday, June 21, 3:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. Advance Registration

Friday, June 22, 9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m. Final Registration

9:30 a.m. - 9:40 a.m.

Opening remarks by Ernest Angell, chairman of the Board, and introduction of delegates.

9:40 a.m. - 10:20 a.m.

Opening address by John Pemberton.*

10:25 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.

Civil Liberties and the Military-Industrial Complex -- the Threat of the "Garrison State," Including the Rise of the Ultra-Right Organizations

2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

CHURCH-STATE ISSUES AND EDUCATION

(a) Federal Aid to Church-Related Colleges

(b) Use of Public Schools for Religious Purposes, with Emphasis on Curriculum and Other Direct Ways of Inculcating Religion into Public Schools

7:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.

CENSORSHIP

(a) The Regulatory Power of the Federal Communications Commission

(b) Local Official and Private Group Control of Alleged Obscenity

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* This will include comment on substantive issues such as the House Un-American Activities Committee, the 1950 Internal Security Act, the civil rights scene, etc.

Saturday, June 23, 9:00 a.m. - 11:45 a.m.

DUE PROCESS

Problems of Administrative Agencies with Emphasis on the State and Local Levels

12:45 p.m. - 1:45 p.m.

CONFERENCE LUNCHEON. The main address (speaker to be announced) will be supplemented by a presentation by Lawrence Speiser on Congress and civil liberties

2:00 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.

How Can the Union Grow?

(a) Financial Issues; major emphasis on suggestions for long-range program to increase income and including the Southern California experiment and field work*

(The affiliates will need to meet briefly during this afternoon session to elect their four new members to the Joint Finance Committee.)

(b) Structure and Educational Development; including the organization of new affiliates in the face of limited resources, possibility of a field director to aid affiliates on substantive issues, chapter organization, and general educational work.

Sunday, June 24, 10:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.

EQUALITY

(a) Racial Discrimination in Housing, with Emphasis on the Proper Role of Law in Attempts to Eliminate Discrimination in Private Housing

(b) Racial Discrimination in Labor Unions

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* Office note: John Pemberton was asked to prepare a statement for this session, after consultation with members of the Joint Finance Committee and such affiliates as he chooses, for circulation in advance of the Conference. The work of the Joint Finance Committee, at its February 17 meeting, accords with this plan; as its minutes report, another meeting which will include representatives from other affiliates will be held the day before the Conference.

The Committee made the following decisions concerning the format of the Conference:

1. Speakers should be asked to limit their speeches to 30 minutes. (Office note: Because of time pressures in sessions where more than one subject is to be discussed, some reduction in length of speeches may be necessary.) The texts should be submitted to the office sufficiently in advance so that copies can be available for distribution at the Conference.

2. The Conference is primarily a working conference of delegates and outside attendance, including ACLU members, should not be solicited.

3. The press should not be invited to cover the conference. If inquiries are made by reporters, they should be told this is a working conference. (No physical effort would be made, of course, to bar reporters who insist on attending.)

4. Because of the free Saturday evening, the social aspect of the Saturday luncheon, and -- most of all -- the heavy work schedule, no cocktail party will be held.

American Civil Liberties Union
156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

March 29, 1962

To: Board of Directors

From: The Office

The attached statement concerning the Board's March 19 action on censorship and alleged obscenity, is being sent to the Board at the request of Ralph Brown.

American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

March 28, 1962

To: ACLU Board

From: Ralph Brown

Subject: Obscenity again; Board action of March 19.

My considerable feeling of unease about the Board's all-out action at the last meeting, including its rejection of an exception with respect to children, was crystallized by a brief item in the New York Times on March 24:

> "Paterson, N.J., March 23 -- Seven persons, including a policeman, a constable and a school-crossing guard, Friday were charged with possessing and conspiring to sell obscene films to teen-agers.
>
> The defendants pleaded not guilty before Magistrate Charles Alfano, who released them on bail pending a preliminary hearing April 4..."

Of course the films in question may be only slightly scandalous. They may also be of the sort that would be clearly comprehended in any definition of hard-core pornography, if the Board had been willing to adopt one.

If we declare our new position, and these defendants come to us for assistance, and the films in question are what overwhelming community sentiment would consider obscene, what is our position going to be? Are we going to defend these people?

Suppose the defendants mentioned ("a policeman, a constable, and a school-crossing guard"), are threatened with loss of their jobs. I suppose, by analogy to the loyalty-security programs, our position is that the exercise of First Amendment rights should not be impaired by employment tests. Will we also protest their dismissals?

I think we have put ourselves into an untenable position. If we say that we will not defend extreme cases, then we are being hypocritical, and did not mean what the majority voted.

If we do defend them, our situation is that, because of the admitted difficulty of phrasing and applying exceptions, we have taken an absolute position. We say that here there is no valid community interest in sustaining an exception to the language of the First Amendment (which clearly does not "apply to all expressions on all subjects". We go further, by our explicit rejection of prohibitions for children. We say that, although the full sweep of First Amendment rights may be constitutionally modified for children, we have decided that the difficulties of applying such an exception are too burdensome. Or is it that we have decided that sex -- any kind of sex -- is a Good Thing?

I think we all incline to dwell on the excesses of censorship, and to assume that the remaining problems are just one more example of cultural relativism. I suggest that it is no longer true that there is a great deal of defensible material on the forbidden side of the line, and that it is all a matter of taste. If Henry Miller is not obscene, then there is very little left to argue about. If we are going to defend the remaining pockets, we are going to affront, I suggest, a good part of our membership. I say nothing of our critics, who will now describe us as defenders of communism and filth.

I crave your indulgence for this querulous communication, which is brought on by the current constraints of my occupying the chair at Board meetings. Ernest, come back!

American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

March 29, 1962

To: Board of Directors

From: Alan Reitman

Re: Censorship Committee Report on Censorship and Alleged Obscene Material.

The Board at its March 19 meeting did not act on the following Committee Recommendations set forth in the latter's March 7, 1961 minutes, which are before the Board for its April 2 meeting.

1. "The ACLU believes that any governmental restriction or punishment, after publication or exhibition, of any form of expression on the ground of obscenity, even with the proof prescribed above, must also meet all other applicable constitutional requirements, including a clear statutory definition of the offense, the right to counsel, the right to a prompt and fair public trial by jury, and the right to appeal; and that no action should be directed against persons who are without knowing and substantial responsibility for the creation or distribution of the material in question. Indeed we prefer the use of in rem proceedings against material alleged to be obscene -- with a right to defend the material being afforded the publisher, distributor, retailer, etc. -- as a prerequisite to any criminal prosecution of any person for publishing, distributing, or selling such material thereafter. Also, a) as in a criminal prosecution, knowledge of any prior in rem finding of obscenity should be required; b) in any criminal prosecution following an in rem finding of obscenity a trial de novo on the question of obscenity should be required; c) any party in interest should be permitted to reopen an in rem finding of obscenity after the passage of a reasonable period of time. The statute should define such a period as within five years, but should not bar subsequent action."

2. "The ACLU opposes any governmental restriction or punishment, prior to publication or exhibition, of any form of expression on the ground of obscenity, even with the proof prescribed above."

3. "The ACLU opposes any governmental restriction or punishment, on the basis of age, of access to any form of expression, principally because it believes that freedom of expression would thereby be -- on balance -- too much limited."

With respect to the due process protections that should apply to obscenity prosecutions, discussed in the first point, the Board may wish to consider the proposal of Professors Lockhart and McClure mentioned at the March 19 meeting. Their proposal would judge alleged obscene material in the context of a) the primary audience at which the material is aimed, and b) the way in which the material is marketed. The Board's adoption of Mr. Fraenkel's standard for determining our position with respect to allegedly obscene material rules out consideration of the Lockhart-McClure proposal in that area, but Mr. Fraenkel suggests that their proposal might be studied in the context of our deciding our position re: in rem prosecutions (against the material directly). The second point represents basic ACLU policy to which there has been no objection.

On the third point, the Board did not act on this specific proposal at its March 19 meeting. It defeated a motion to amend this point by excluding so-called hard-core pornography from its coverage.

Two other sections of the Censorship Committee report are reported to the Board for its consideration. They do not require formal action, but the Board's comment would be helpful in connection with our general educational efforts against censorship, especially our forthcoming pamphlet.

1. "The ACLU, not being primarily a defense organization, will -- in situations of actual or proposed governmental restriction or punishment of any form of expression on the ground of obscenity, as in other areas -- confine its activity to instances which it believes present a significant challenge to the right of freedom of expression guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

"Mr. Soll moved that this paragraph be eliminated. A minority believed its purpose is to provide an "out" for the ACLU in hard-core pornography cases, and, while the majority did not agree with that interpretation of the paragraph, it supported the motion for deletion, which passed. It was understood that the office, in interpreting the policy, would make the point contained in the paragraph as it does in all other areas."

2. "The ACLU reaffirms its positions with regard to restraint or punishment of any form of expression by industry codes or group boycotts.

"The Committee agreed that its reaffirmation of the Union's present positions on industry codes and group boycotts, discussed in detail and decided up at a previous meeting, should be transmitted to the Board for its information and action (the Committee having had, as part of its charge, restudy of policy in these areas)."

The pertinent section of the Union's November 1951 policy on pressure-group censorship is:

> The Union defends, as being within both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, any simple expression by any individual or group of disapproval of the contents of any book, etc., or any attempt simply to dissuade others from buying it. It recognizes as far as legal right is concerned, the use of such orderly and lawful means as peaceful and unobstructive picketing and the organization of a specific and primary boycott, even when they imply some degree of coercion. However, in view of the fact that the field of communication differs significantly from the general field of industry and commerce, the Union actively opposes, as being especially contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, the use of such means in the following ways: (1) as pressure, or explicit threat thereof, at any time prior to the actual offering of a motion picture, etc. to the public; and (2) even after the actual offering to the public, in the form of a general or secondary boycott - designed, for example, to close a theatre entirely or to close other theatres whose proprietors ally themselves with the proprietor of the first theatre.

The pertinent section of our January 28, 1953 policy statement on codes is:

> Freedom in the trade of ideas may be limited by law, as through censors, by pressure group action, as through boycotts or intimidation, and as well by industry agreements or practice. The latter, generally called codes, are agreements undertaken by industry members of a media of communication, which are intended to set standards of propriety. Ostensibly, codes have been instituted in the motion picture and radio-television

media to ward off threatened governmental censorship.

Insofar as codes set forth limitations on what may be said or done, they are restraints upon freedom of expression. Where as in the motion picture industry the major producers have combined to prohibit the use of certain subject matter in motion picture scripts, there is an effective restraint of trade in ideas. The ACLU's interest is involved because this code, in effect, covers practically the entire industry and has made practically impossible the distribution or exhibition of any U. S. made motion picture not produced in compliance with code standards or requirements.

In the radio and television field, a code is even more vulnerable from a civil liberties standpoint because the subscribers to a code are operating their business on a franchise obtained from the public domain. We support the statement of the chairman of the Radio Committee and the director of the ACLU to Mr. Paul A. Walker, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, of June 2, 1952, copy of which is attached.

The ACLU, therefore, opposes the Motion Picture Production Code and the Radio-TV Code insofar as they restrict freedom of expression.

American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

APPENDIX

June 2, 1952

Mr. Paul A. Walker, Chairman
Federal Communications Commission
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Walker:

A radio or television station licensee has always had the final responsibility for program content and the Federal Communications Act specifically requires that no official regulation providing for censorship can be made. Yet, several months ago, the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters adopted a "TV Code of Ethics," which in our opinion imposes a censorship on the industry, to which all stations are required to conform in program selection and content, on penalty of losing the NARTB seal of approval.

It is clear to us that this is an improper delegation of a licensee's responsibility for program selection and content. The Code provides for an extreme form of censorship which, in effect, rules out material which would be offensive to many groups or parts thereof, in any community in the country, however reasonable or unreasonable the particular potential objectors might be. It seems to us that this abnegation of responsibility for licensee self-restraint, and the substitution thereof of a code of industry-wide censorship, is improper and fraught with great dangers both to the free operation of radio and TV and the public at large. We urge that the Commission hold a public hearing on the issue of whether the existence and use of this Code is consistent with or contrary to the public interest, convenience, and necessity clause of the Federal Communications Act.

The Code, moreover, is a combination in restraint of trade in ideas which may well constitute a violation of the anti-trust laws, in which case all stations abiding by the Code might be held to lack the requisite qualifications for the holding of licenses. For this reason, a public hearing is even more essential to clearly establish this point.

At this time we are not commenting on the content of the Code, as we believe that it is stultifying and illegal censorship which must be abrogated in its entirety. We do wish to call to your attention, however, that the Code would completely prohibit the production of any adult, mature programs dealing with issues of a serious nature, except that in some cases treatment of such problems would be permitted <u>if</u> the solutions thereof conformed to certain requirements laid down by the Code. It may be sufficient to note that neither "Death of a Salesman" nor "Streetcar Named Desire," two highly praised theatrical productions, could be presented on television were the Code to be followed. Even T. S. Eliot's "The Cocktail Party" might well be banned. Rather than becoming a medium for the transmission of ideas, on which democrary thrives, and the expression of opinion which a healthy society and culture must have, television, under the iron fist of the Code, will be a diluted force in our national life. We are not discussing in this letter the difficulties in administering the Code, or the barriers it will create to individuals working in a field

where freedom of expression should be unhampered, but should a hearing be held, we will enlarge on this point then.

Each individual licensee has a responsibility to see that no obscene or other illegal illegal material is sent out over the airwaves, on penalty not only of loss of license but of criminal prosecution as well. The complete abandonment of that responsibility through adherence to a Code is one which this Commission should not permit. If allowed to continue, it would create conformity and reduce TV to dull mediocrity. One reason for the rise and strength of TV has been its ability to produce programs unhampered by censorship; this Commission, we believe, should help that growth and defend the principle of free expression by removing the stultifying cancer of censorship embodied in the Code.

Very truly yours,

Thomas Carskadon
Chairman, Radio Committee

Patrick Murphy Malin
Executive Director

American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

March 29, 1962

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Larry Speiser

RE: Voting test qualifications

There are a number of proposals presently pending in Congress which have been introduced on the basic subject of voting test qualifications, all of which raise serious questions involving the Union's position on these bills. They fall into two general categories.

a) to eliminate poll taxes, and

b) to prohibit the application of unreasonable literacy requirements with respect to the right to vote by adjudging anyone with a sixth grade education as qualified under any such test.

The major drive to eliminate poll tax requirements is by means of a constitutional amendment (the Senate has passed such a bill but the issue now goes to the House), while the proposal on literacy tests is by means of legislation.

1. Should the ACLU have a position on whether proposals to eliminate disqualifications for voting should be attempted by constitutional amendment as compared to federal legislation?

In May, 1949, the ACLU approved legislation which would have banned the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. At that time it took the position that, both under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, legislation for accomplishing this was a proper exercise of congressional power. Recently a volunteer attorney studied the matter and came up with this same conclusion, as did the Civil Rights Commission in its 1961 report. However, Ralph Brown, in his comments on this question, felt that any attempt to reach beyond race-color discrimination (which is the real reason for the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments) would probably be unconstitutional, saying "After all, the Constitution leaves to the states the 'qualifications' of voters, and to Congress only the 'time, place and manner' of elections. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments forbid only qualifications of race or color." He urges that it probably should be done by constitutional amendment.

The NAACP, American Jewish Congress, AVC, ADA, Anti-Defamation League, IUE, UAW, recently issued a joint statement asking for immediate abolition of the poll tax through federal legislation rather than constitutional amendment. A copy of their statement is attached hereto.

There is a practical argument which probably should be considered. If we arrive at the conclusion that proposals to eliminate voting disqualifications can be accomplished by either legislation or constitutional amendment, then we probably

should favor doing it only by legislation, since doing it in one case by constitutional amendment will inevitably raise the argument that it should be done in all voting disqualifications. There is, obviously, a serious question whether a constitutional amendment could obtain the necessary 3/4 of the states for ratification. It might be hung up for seven years - which would then probably inhibit legislation in the meanwhile.

2. Should the ACLU favor legislation which would set a sixth grade education as the basis for judging literacy in states which have literacy tests?

A number of bills have been introduced (the major ones being S. 480 and S 2750), which would prohibit the application of unreasonable literacy requirements with respect to the right to vote by providing that no person shall be denied the right to vote on account of his performance in any examination whether for literacy or otherwise if such person has not been adjudged incompetent and has completed the sixth primary grade of any public school or accredited private school in any state or territory. The major issue here is whether the ACLU's previously declared support for a constitutional amendment which would establish only age, residence and non-confinement as criteria for voting eligibility means that we should oppose these bills which would permit a literacy standard.

The problem is compounded because the purpose of these bills is to advance the right to vote and the ACLU objection could be used as an effective practical argument by anti-civil rights forces in the Congress. It has been suggested that we support this legislation as an important civil rights gain but at the same time note our continuing support for the idea of a constitutional amendment on universal suffrage.

When this matter was submitted to the Executive Committee, however, Mr. Huebsch felt,

> "Any literacy standard plays into the hands of the opponents of universal suffrage, the administrators of such a law would find ways of flouting it, for example, they might want a record or written proof of eligibility that was not easily obtainable and they could raise other obstacles. Once a literacy test gets on the books it would be difficult to appeal and it would stand in the way of the amendment we favor.
>
> "Support of S. 2750 means a compromise with our principles. We strengthen our position by opposing this proposal that would perpetuate the existing injustice."

On the other hand, Ralph Brown felt that our support of such an act as opposed to a constitutional amendment for universal suffrage is at the very borderline of constitutionality. This has to do, not with our supporting literacy tests, but supporting legislation as opposed to constitutional amendment in setting voting qualifications.

STATEMENT ON POLL TAX LEGISLATION

(By American Jewish Congress, American Veterans Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, Anti-Defamation League, International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, International Union, United Automobile, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America)

The above organizations unequivocally oppose any constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax. We urge defeat of any such proposal and immediate abolition of the tax through Federal legislation.

It is a travesty to call a constitutional amendment a civil rights measure when Congress has the constitutional power to abolish the poll tax by legislation as the Attorney General has testified. To approve a constitutional amendment under these conditions would be a blatant slap at civil rights for it would provide an immutable precedent for shunting all further civil rights legislation to the amendment procedure. There is no more reason for proceeding in the civil rights field by way of constitutional amendment when there is ample legislative authority than there is to proceed by way of constitutional amendment in any other field. Yet that is exactly what is being done here. To proceed by way of constitutional amendment under these circumstances is to inaugurate a new form of discrimination against the entire civil rights movement.

The cynicism of this approach becomes all the more apparent when it is realized that such an amendment would have little chance of ratification: the 11 southern States which have refused to ratify the 23d amendment (presumably because they believed that Negroes should not be allowed to vote even in the District of Columbia) would likely be joined by at least two others, and the defeat of the amendment would be assured even without the action of the many other States which might oppose the amendment to protect the functioning of their own voting laws. We state flatly that a vote for a constitutional amendment here is a vote against civil rights.

Any constitutional amendment against the poll tax would be an anti-civil-rights measure. But the particular amendment now before the Senate would not only harm civil rights for the general reasons given above; it would also give unprecedented endorsement in our Constitution, the basic document of American Government, to the principle of disenfranchisement for poverty. Section 2 of Senate Joint Resolution 58 states: "Nothing in this article shall be construed to invalidate any provisions of law denying the right to vote to paupers or persons supported at public expense or by charitable institutions." To place such a provision in our Constitution would give the antidemocratic concept a respectability which it has never had before, and which we regard with the greatest abhorrence.

Furthermore, the enactment of this provision would open a Pandora's box of legislative pettifogging, and the litigation which would be required to block attempts to disenfranchise the poor by legislative redefinitions of the words "paupers or persons supported at public expense" would jam court calendars for years. How could the amendment accomplish its purpose if a State redefines a "pauper" as a man who is unable to prove his solvency by the payment of $5 to a named State official? It is all well and good to say that the Supreme Court would not allow a State to accomplish by the back door what is forbidden by the front. But with an endorsement in the Constitution of the principle of suffrage for all but the poor, would not the Supreme Court's hands be tied when faced with subtle attempts to enforce this kind

of discrimination? There is no justification in a democracy for denying a citizen the right to vote because he is poor; citizens in a democracy vote their interest in liberty, freedom and human dignity, and the preservation of their right to do so is absolutely essential to the future health of our Nation. (Office note: This provision was dropped from the final version by the Senate poll tax amendment.)

Section 2 of the amendment is dangerous because it introduces into the Constitution a principle fundamentally alien to the American way of thought. Section 1, however, which allegedly seeks to abolish the poll tax as a qualification to vote may prove worthless, for a small change in State law could result in a complete circumvention of its provisions. The section prohibits poll taxes "in any primary or other election for electors," but it does not prohibit poll taxes in a direct election. A State need merely abolish the electoral system of voting in favor of direct election in order to completely evade the amendment. Nor would legislative history demonstrate that Congress intended otherwise, for Senate Joint Resolution 58 is one of the few bills before Congress on this subject which is framed in this narrow and restrictive language.

For the reasons stated, which are only the most immediate anti-civil-rights aspects of the constitutional amendment theory of abolishing the poll tax, we oppose this procedure and urge immediate action to abolish the poll tax through Federal legislation.

3/22/62

A G E N D A

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

MONDAY - APRIL 2, 1962 - 1:00 P. M.

ACLU OFFICE

1) Approval of Minutes - of March 19 Meeting.

ACTION

Policy

2) Continuation of Censorship Committee Report. (Working papers enclosed.)

Operations

3) Washington Office Request for Advise re Proposals on Voting Test Qualifications. (Material enclosed.)

4) Report on Ultra-Right Organizations. (Material enclosed.)

5) Resolution on Death of Marshman Wattson, Executive Director of Minnesota Civil Liberties Union.

FEATURE PRESS SERVICE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, 156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

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Executive Director

ORegon 5-5990

Alan Reitman, *Associate Director*
in Charge of Public Relations

WEEKLY BULLETIN #2135

April 16, 1962

CRIMINAL ANARCHY CHARGE AGAINST INTEGRATIONISTS TO BE TESTED

For the first time in the history of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the charge of criminal anarchy for participation in anti-segregation activities will come before its courts. Four young civil rights leaders, three Negro and one white, and all members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, will be tried on this charge. Of the four, Robert Zellner, who is white, and Charles McDew, both of Atlanta, will be defended by the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People jointly. Ronnie Moore and Weldon Rougeau, former students at Southern University in Baton Rouge, and officers of the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, will be defended by that organization.

The case is viewed as significant both by anti-and pro-segregationists since its issue is far broader than the mere guilt or innocence of the four defendants. It opens the question of a state's right to employ extraordinary legal means to enforce segregation by charging with criminal anarchy those who espouse racial views differing from its own. Should the verdict go for the state of Louisiana, it will have an effective weapon against active integrationists.

The charge against the four anti-segregationists is that they advocated opposition to the state of Louisiana privately and publicly, and that they were members of the SNCC, an organization which they knew "to advocate, teach and practice opposition to the government of Louisiana by unlawful means." The same charge was leveled at CORE in the Moore and Rougeau cases.

Moore and Rougeau were arrested in January on the Southern University campus where they were demonstrating against the closing of the University because of alleged disruption of its affairs created by wide student participation in anti-segregation activities. McDew and Zellner, officers of the SNCC, were arrested in February when they brought fruit and books to Dion Diamond, a fellow officer of SNCC, in the Baton Rouge jail. The books, "Scottsboro Boys" by Haywood Patterson, "The Ugly American" by Eugene Burdick and William Lederer, and "Eight Men" by Richard Wright, were declared "contrary to Louisiana's policy of segregation of the races".

Zellner, McDew, Moore and Rougeau were recently released from jail on bail. Diamond, who was arrested early in February when he attempted to address students on the Southern University campus, is still in prison.

Protest against the use of the criminal anarchy charge to curb integration efforts was voiced by four national Negro leaders, James Farmer of CORE, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Whitney Young of the National Urban League, A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as well as the noted theologian Reinhold Niebuhr. The five men signed their names to telegrams addressed to labor leaders, legislators, church and student groups, and anti-segregationists, urging them to attend the hearing of Zellner and McDew which had been scheduled for March 13, or to send letters and telegrams of protest to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and Louisiana Governor Jimmie H. Davis. Senator Jacob Javits of New York, in a telegram to Attorney General Kennedy, asked for an investigation of the arrests.

On the day of the Zellner and McDew hearing, twelve members of the SNCC held a sit-in demonstration for several hours in the Attorney General's office, protesting the Administration's civil rights policies and asking for faster action. Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General, listened to the views of the youths and informed them that the Justice Department could not intervene in a state prosecution.

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution reported that in a telephone review, Marshall stated that usually the federal government must wait until a legal procedure is carried through the state courts, but that there was one way in which the procedure might be circumvented. "It is a federal misdemeanor," the newspaper quoted Marshall as saying, "for anyone acting under color of law to deprive someone of his constitutional rights. I'm not saying that is the situation in the criminal anarchy cases, but that is a law which we have to go on."

MARYLAND LEGISLATURE REJECTS PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION LAW

Support for a bill that would end discrimination in places of public accommodation was urged without success by the American Civil Liberties Union of Maryland in the recently concluded legislative session. The bill, House Bill 37, was one of eleven proposals affecting civil liberties under consideration in the session on which the ACLU affiliate commented.

Dr. Irving R. Murray, Maryland ACLU chairman, referred to H.B. 37 as "the best means to achieve the elementary human decency of freedom and equality in public accommodations on our highways, in our cities and towns." The bill originally called for a fine of $25 to $500 for violators but was amended to state that violators would be held in contempt.

The Maryland affiliate has now joined other local groups in urging public accommodations ordinances on Baltimore City and Baltimore County (of which the City is not a part), but lawmakers have already indicated they will not act until after the May primary election. Apparently Baltimore City may then be expected to pass an ordinance by a bare majority of the Council; whether the County will act remains problematical.

The ACLU opposed in the state legislature H.B. 48 which called for Constitutional amendment to grant the General Assembly the right to act in the above area, noting that the Assembly already has the proposed powers and that the bill is intended to stall legislation.

Two other bills, which the ACLU considered discriminatory in intent, were opposed. H.B. 57 would have denied teen-agers the right to picket places of business thought to discriminate against persons on account of race, creed or color. H.B. 32 would have increased the maximum penalty for trespassing from $100 to $1,000 and/or a year in jail. The ACLU termed the former unconstitutional and the latter "unduly punitive," pointing out that the trespassing bill "is clearly intended to harass" those protesting discrimination in public places. Both bills died in committee.

The ACLU also approved Bill 18 which would have permitted businesses to close on a day other than Sunday. While it is opposed in principle to all "blue laws," the ACLU noted, it considers this bill an improvement over existing laws.

Two bills, H.B. 53 and Senate Bill 22, drew the ACLU's fire. These bills would have labelled certain films "For Adults Only." The ACLU, reiterating its opposition to all forms of prior censorship, felt that laws already on the books are adequate to deal with the showing of obscene films and that the bills jeopardize freedom of expression on the basis of an unsupported theory that indecent films corrupt youth.

House Bills 23 and 24, which call for reapportionment of representatives on the basis of relative population and a constitutional convention in June, 1963, respectively, were endorsed by the ACLU. The group gave qualified approval to S.B. 11 which would increase the number of petitioners needed for a referendum from 10,000 to 3, 5 or 10% percent (never decided) of the qualified voters who cast ballots for Governor in the previous gubernatorial election.

All this legislation died in committee, during this year's short session.

ACLU INTERVENES IN MARYLAND "TROPIC OF CANCER" CASE

In protesting the criminal prosecution of a Maryland bookseller for selling Henry Miller's Tropic of Cancer the American Civil Liberties Union argued recently that "where the material challenged has even the slightest artistic or instructive importance, as may be shown by its critical reception in the community at large, the material is entitled to the full protection of the Constitutional guarantees of free expression."

On behalf of the bookseller, Samuel Yudkin, Maryland CLU and ACLU attorneys objected in their friend of the court brief in the Maryland Court of Appeals

that the trial court violated the First and Fourteenth Amendments when it refused to allow the jury to hear and consider expert testimony on whether the novel "expresses ideas having even the slightest redeeming social importance." Such testimony was allegedly necessary to help distinguish between Tropic of Cancer as a novel that had earned extensive critical praise for its style and content, and those works "utterly without redeeming social importance" that might be banned by the "prurient interest" test defined in the Supreme Court's Roth decision of 1957.

Elsewhere, in Illinois' Cook County's Superior Court, Judge Samuel B. Epstein, relying almost solely on the Supreme Court's Roth opinion, found Tropic of Cancer not obscene as a matter of law and within the protections of the First and Fourteenth Amendments, and he enjoined interference with its sales in Chicago. Quoting Justice Brennan's definition of obscene materials in Roth --"material which deals with sex in a manner appealing to prurient interest. The portrayal of sex... is not itself sufficient reason to deny material the constitutional protection of freedom of speech and press" -- Judge Epstein noted how narrowly the Supreme Court has since restricted this definition. In subsequent decisions the high court rejected Courts of Appeals' findings of obscenity in the One, Inc., Sunshine Book, and Times Film cases that dealt respectively with a homosexuals magazine, a nudist magazine, and a movie depicting an illicit sexual relationship.

He then considered the book itself, and for characterizations of its dominant theme he cites extensive testimony of literary critics and concludes that the book is "a literary work of substantial merit and, consequently, of social importance." Judge Epstein observes that "taste in literature is a matter of education. Those who object to the book are free to condemn and even to urge others to reject it." But "voluntary discrimination is a far cry from censorship established by law whereby all readers are geared to the taste of the relatively few. ... Let the parents control the reading matter of their children; let the tastes of the readers determine what they may or may not read; let each reader be his own censor; but let not the government or the courts dictate the reading matter of a free people. The constitutional right to freedom of speech and press should be jealously guarded by the courts."

The Illinois Division of the ACLU was instrumental in bringing the case to the courts. The complaint charged that a group of citizens had been denied their right to read when the police, on their own initiative, undertook to remove the book from the stores. Judge Epstein's decision struck hard at this extra-legal pressure. He said: "The police departments of the various municipalities exceeded their lawful authority in causing copies of Tropic of Cancer to be removed from book stores ... prior to a determination by the Court of the character of the book."

An estimated sixty actions, mostly criminal, have been brought so far to contest bans on the sale of Tropic of Cancer, with varying results: a Marin County (Calif.) jury found the book was not obscene, after hearing expert testimony that it was a work of art; but a Los Angeles bookseller was found guilty of violating the state obscenity laws for selling the book. A New Hampshire court found a Dartmouth College bookseller not guilty of violating that state's obscenity laws because of special circumstances although it did find the book's dominant theme "appeals to prurient interest and is therefore obscene." Most recently three staff members of a Syracuse, N. Y., bookstore were arrested and charged with selling obscene literature upon instructions from an assistant district attorney who had decided that the book was obscene.

Grove Press, publisher of the American edition of Tropic of Cancer, has argued that the book has literary merit and thus is not legally obscene. This distinction, crucial to the entire censorship question, was accepted by the Department of Justice when it advised the Post Office Department not to bar the book from the mails. However, numerous state and local authorities have attempted to devise obstacles to the sale of the book. The ACLU and its local affiliates have been active in such cases, especially where extra-legal means have been employed by public officials to bar the book.

CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS

The principal of General Douglas MacArthur High School in Levittown, New York has ordered the return of four pages of verse on the colonial custom of "bundling" to a book on American history which is on Senior students required reading list. The head of the Social Studies Department had clipped them out because he felt the verses were "in bad taste and perhaps immoral."

American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

MINUTES

BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

MONDAY, APRIL 16, 1962 - 1:00 P. M.

ACLU OFFICE

PRESENT: Mr. Angell, presiding; Messrs. Brown, Ennis, Fraenkel, Frank, Galantiere, Gellhorn, Hacker, Huebsch, Lacy, Meserve, Millis, Rice, Vladeck, Waring, Westin, Whiteside; Mrs. Jacobs, Mrs. Pilpel.

Office: Messrs. Pemberton, Reitman; Mrs. Bromley, Miss Carmody, Mrs. Floyd, Miss Golden, Mrs. Runyon.

1. Minutes. The minutes of the previous meeting were approved as circulated.

2. Nomination of Dr. Erich Fromm to National Committee. Mr. Pemberton reported that Dr. Erich Fromm has accepted the invitation of the Nominating Committee to become a member of the National Committee, and the Board unanimously elected him to fill a vacancy therein.

3. Financial Report. Mrs. Runyon reported that the unaudited figures for the fiscal year 1961-62 show a 10% increase in membership income over the previous fiscal year. However, expenditures exceeded income by $33,000. At the direction of the Joint Finance Committee, new methods of raising money are being explored.

4. Journalists Passports to Cuba. Mr. Reitman reported upon the cases of three journalists who had been refused passports to visit Cuba. Following protests made by the ACLU, the State Department reversed its decision and issued passports to the three.

5. Letter From Professor Knowlton. Mr. Pemberton read a letter received from Professor Robert Knowlton, thanking Mr. Reitman and the Board for their letter wishing him a quick recovery from his illness.

6. Continuation of Consideration of Censorship Committee Report. The Board passed Mr. Jones' motion (made April 2nd and tabled until this meeting) to reconsider the rejection of point (b) of Mr. Fraenkel's memorandum of July 14, 1961. Mr. Fraenkel than moved that the Board adopt point (b) of his memorandum. The Board defeated this motion. The Board then considered a memorandum by Mrs. Pilpel (previously circulated) dealing with the censorship problem as it has been discussed by the Board. Following discussion, the Board voted to accept Mrs. Pilpel's proposed Formulation. The Board then adopted paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Censorship Committee report, as they are numbered in Mr. Reitman's memorandum of March 29, 1962, directing the office to make such changes in the language of the in rem proceedings provisions of paragraph 1 as are necessary to take account of the variables introduced by the Pilpel Formulation. (A composite statement of ACLU policy positions on censorship, including the foregoing, is attached.)

7. Report on Ultra-Right Organizations. Because of the lateness of the hour, the Board did not have time to hear Mr. Reitman's report. Therefore, he undertook to circulate a summary to the members to facilitate Board consideration of the issues it raises.

Composite Statement of ACLU Policy Positions with Respect to Censorship.

"1. The ACLU believes that the constitutional guarantees of free speech and press apply to all expression and that all limitations of expression on the ground of obscenity are unconstitutional. If, notwithstanding the ACLU's opinion, such statutes are held to be constitutional, then we submit that they must comply with the following conditions: any governmental restriction or punishment of any form of expression on the ground of obscenity must require proof beyond a reasonable doubt that such an expression would directly and substantially cause in a normal adult behavior which has validly been made criminal by statute, subject only to the following exception: when there is proof beyond a reasonable doubt that the target group of the particular distribution charged to be obscene is composed of other than average adults (e.g., children or savants) then the test is the foregoing effect established beyond a reasonable doubt on that group."

"This standard should apply at the Federal, State and local levels; to laws, regulations and injunctions; to censoring, licensing, in rem proceedings, prosecutions and any other means of governmental restriction or punishment."

"2. The ACLU opposes any governmental restriction or punishment, prior to publication or exhibition, of any form of expression on the ground of obscenity, even with the proof prescribed above."

"3. The ACLU believes that any governmental restriction or punishment, after publication or exhibition, of any form of expression on the ground of obscenity, even with the proof prescribed above, must also meet all other applicable constitutional requirements, including a clear statutory definition of the offense, the right to counsel, the right to a prompt and fair public trial by jury, and the right to appeal; and that no action should be directed against persons who are without knowing and substantial responsibility for the creation or distribution of the material in question. Indeed we prefer the use of in rem proceedings against material alleged to be obscene -- with a right to defend the material being afforded the publisher, distributor, retailer, etc. -- as a prerequisite to any criminal prosecution of any person for publishing, distributing, or selling such material thereafter. If an adverse determination is made in such a proceeding, based on the exception in Paragraph 1, the judgment should be limited to that "target group," so as not to affect other groups in subsequent proceedings. Also, a) in any criminal prosecution, knowledge of any prior in rem finding of obscenity should be required; b) in any criminal prosecution following an in rem finding of obscenity a trial de novo on the question of obscenity should be required; c) any party in interest should be permitted to reopen an in rem finding of obscenity after the passage of a reasonable period of time. The statute should define such a period as within five years, but should not bar subsequent action."

[Adopted April 16, 1962]

"4. The Union defends, as being within both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, any simple expression by any individual or group of disapproval of the contents of any book, etc., or any attempt simply to dissuade others from buying it. It recognizes as far as legal right is concerned, the use of such orderly and lawful means as peaceful and unobstructive picketing and the organization of a specific and primary boycott, even when they imply some degree of coercion. However, in view of

the fact that the field of communication differs significantly from the general field of industry and commerce, the Union actively opposes, as being especially contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, the use of such means in the following ways: (1) as pressure, or explicit threat thereof, at any time prior to the actual offering of a motion picture, etc. to the public; and (2) even after the actual offering to the public, in the form of a general or secondary boycott - designed, for example, to close a theatre entirely or to close other theatres whose proprietors ally themselves with the proprietor of the first theature."

[Adopted November, 1951]

"5. Freedom in the trade of ideas may be limited by law, as through censors, by pressure group action, as through boycotts or intimidation, and as well by industry agreements or practice. The latter, generally called codes, are agreements undertaken by industry members of a media of communication, which are intended to set standards of propriety. Ostensibly, codes have been instituted in the motion picture and radio-television media to ward off threatened governmental censorship.

"Insofar as codes set forth limitations on what may be said or done, they are restraints upon freedom of expression. Where as in the motion picture industry the major producers have combined to prohibit the use of certain subject matter in motion picture scripts, there is an effective restraint of trade in ideas. The ACLU's interest is involved because this code, in effect, covers practically the entire industry and has made practically impossible the distribution or exhibition of any U. S. made motion picture not produced in compliance with code standards or requirements.

"In the radio and television field, a code is even more vulnerable from a civil liberties standpoint because the subscribers to a code are operating their business on a franchise obtained from the public domain. We support the statement of the chairman of the Radio Committee and the director of the ACLU to Mr. Paul A. Walker, chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, of June 2, 1952.

"The ACLU, therefore, opposes the Motion Picture Production Code and the Radio-TV Code insofar as they restrict freedom of expression."

[Adopted January 28, 1952]

FEATURE PRESS SERVICE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, 156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

ERNEST ANGELL
Chairman
Board of Directors

EDWARD J. ENNIS
OSMOND K. FRAENKEL
General Counsel

JOHN de J. PEMBERTON, JR.
Executive Director

ORegon 5-5990

Alan Reitman, *Associate Director*
in Charge of Public Relations

WEEKLY BULLETIN #2136

April 23, 1962

FREEDOM RIDERS CONCERT HELD IN NEW YORK HIGH SCHOOL DESPITE AMERICAN LEGION OPPOSITION

A "Freedom Riders" concert played to a full house in Scarsdale, New York recently despite the presence of 400 pickets outside and the pre-concert legal efforts of the American Legion and two local women to call it off. The performance was sponsored by the Westchester Committee for the Freedom Riders. Its $3,758 proceeds were turned over to the Congress of Racial Equality.

Controversy over the concert began several weeks before the performance when the Scarsdale Board of Education gave the Committee permission to use the school building. Opposition to the Board's action led to a public hearing at which the local Legion post charged that the Committee's secretary, Mrs. Samuel Gelfan, and several performers on the program--Pete Seegar, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee and Harold Aks,--director of the Interracial Fellowship Chorus--were pro-Communist. The Legion also contended that because the proceeds were scheduled to go to CORE the concert could not qualify as being either "educational" or "charitable."

When the school board refused to rescind the permit, Mrs. Otto E. Dohrenwald and Mrs. Edward Wetzel, represented by William A. Egan, Jr.--vice-commander of the County Legion--took the matter to court. Egan contended that the Freedom Riders were part of CORE which, he said, had not obtained tax exemption as a charitable organization. The School Board's attorney, Benjamin Burstein, denied Egan's contention. He said the Freedom Riders had as much right to challenge the law as did the patriots in the Boston Tea Party and the American Revolution.

Supreme Court Justice John J. Dillon in ruling that the School Board acted within its authority in issuing the permit declared "the test is whether the funds will be disbursed for an education or charitable purpose. It seems reasonably plain that the purpose is charitable when the proceeds are to be used in the defense of persons facing criminal charges." He also said "In our concept of government, the freedom of the individual is so jealously guarded that the donation of money toward his defense against criminal prosecution may be as important an act of charity as one that provides him with the necessities of life." Mrs. Gelfan submitted an affidavit to Judge Dillon in which she denied the Legion's charges of pro-communism. She declared "I uphold the Constitution of the United States and always have, and I am against all totalitarian forms of government."

At the concert itself, the pickets who carried placards reading "Is This A Little Red School House?" and "Russia-Cuba-now Scarsdale" refused to identify themselves. Unsigned mimeographed sheets repeating all the Legion's charges were also passed out.

LOYALTY OATH FIGHT CONTINUES IN FLORIDA

The Supreme Court of Florida has stricken certain phrases from a loyalty oath for teachers but has ruled that the remainder of the oath is still valid and constitutional.

In December, 1961 the U.S. Supreme Court had unanimously ruled that the oath was unconstitutionally vague since its wording did not include any "terms susceptible of objective measurement." The court had condemned "the extraordinary ambiguity of the statutory language" as inconsistent with the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Florida Civil Liberties Union had supported the refusal by David W. Cramp, Jr., an Orange County teacher, to swear that he had not "and will not lend my aid, support, advice, counsel or influence to the Communist party." The U.S. Court noted that to sign such an oath would mean "a risk of subsequent prosecution

for perjury," depending on how these terms are interpreted, and failure to sign it would mean dismissal.

The Florida Supreme Court noted that "the rule is well established that the unconstitutionality of a portion of a statute will not necessarily condemn the entire act." The court expressed the opinion that the loyalty oath law is still valid since the good and bad features are not inseparable and "the legislative purpose expressed in the valid provisions can be accomplished independently of those which are void." In accordance with the U.S. Supreme Court decision, the Florida court ordered the phrase dealing with future activities to be stricken and amended the oath to read as follows:

> "I, ... a citizen of the State of Florida and of the United States of America, and being employed by or an officer of ..... and a recipient of public funds as such employee or officer, do hereby solemnly swear or affirm that I will support the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Florida; that I am not a member of the Communist party; that I do not believe in the overthrow of the Government of the United States or of the State of Florida by force or violence; that I am not a member of any organization or party which believes in or teaches directly or indirectly, the overthrow of the Government of the United States or of Florida by force or violence."

Mr. Cramp had been teaching in Florida for four years when the loyalty oath law was passed; and not until five years afterward was he asked to sign such an oath. He refused to do so, claiming that the statute deprived him of due process of law, violated his rights of free speech and association, and was a bill of attainder and an ex post facto law.

His battles through the state courts were unsuccessful, and his contract was not renewed. Mr. Cramp, in seeking from the state Circuit Court an injunction forbidding the requirement of the oath, stated that "he has, does and will support the Constitution ..., that he is not a member of the Communist party, ..." and making the further denials required by the Florida statute.

This denial led the state Supreme Court to hold that Cramp would not be aggrieved by the required oath, and therefore that he had no standing to challenge it as a bill of attainder or an ex post facto law. But the U.S. Supreme Court, on appeal, held that he did have standing to attack the vagueness of the statute as a denial of due process because its enforcement "would inflict a direct and serious injury," i.e., the immediate termination of his employment.

Justice Stewart's opinion then considered the Florida statute on the merits, and noted the variety of interpretations which each word of the oath might be given by "some among us always ready to affix a Communist label on those whose ideas they violently oppose" and consequently "the possibility of prosecution for ... types of ...guiltless behavior." It further noted that "it is not unrealistic to suggest that the compulsion provision might weigh most heavily upon those whose conscientious scruples were the most sensitive."

The court based its reversal of the Florida Supreme Court's support for the statute primarily on the charge of vagueness, although it went beyond that to add, "as ... in Smith v. California, '... stricter standards of permissible statutory vagueness may be applied to a statute having a potentially inhibiting effect on speech ...'."

ACLU URGES MILITARY DISCHARGE POLICY BE REVISED TO PROVIDE CIVIL RIGHTS PROTECTION

In recent testimony before the Senate sub-committee on Constitutional Rights, the American Civil Liberties Union urged that military discharges be based solely on a man's actions while on active duty. The Committee has been holding hearings on the rights of the military in administrative discharges.

Speaking for the ACLU, Washington office director, Lawrence Speiser cited two cases decided by the U.S. Court of Appeals--Bland v. Connally and Davis v. Stahr --which held that "the military services are wrong in (their) assumption of statutory power to hold ... hearings, particularly in the security field, without procedural safeguards." The ACLU representative said the safeguards involved "the right to know who his accusers were, and the right to cross examine the individuals upon whose information the discharges are based."

The ACLU statement discussed three conclusions which it said can be made about the entire security discharge program based on these two cases and a third - Harmon v. Brucker.

1. "Consideration of pre-induction activities may not be utilized in determining the nature of a discharge."

2. "Failure to disclose allegedly subversive pre-induction activities may not be utilized in determining the nature of a discharge." In support of this, Speiser cited the Davis decision which declared "With the substantive pre-induction conduct removed from the case, the Board would hardly be entitled to consider, as an independent ground, the failure to disclose such conduct."

3. A man's political activities during inactive status should not have any bearing on the nature of his discharge. Speiser declared "the price we would pay by quarantining a sizable portion of our male population while on inactive reserve status from full utilization of their political freedom is just too much on any basis to pay."

The ACLU said further that the Navy Department should either give confrontation hearings to all the men whose discharges--on the basis of Bland-- were illegally given or it should change the discharges.

Speiser also pointed out some several disadvantages of discharges which though not "Honorable" are granted under "other than dishonorable" conditions which are not too generally appreciated. One is "the punitive effect of the time element in cases where benefits are denied" until the Veterans Administration is satisfied that a discharge is not dishonorable. A second is that "when a general discharge is awarded, the services sometimes recoup a servicemen's enlistment bonus from the accrued leave time and pay that the particular man has on the books at the time of his discharge ... (this...is extremely onerous because it comes at a time when a man has been discharged from his job and must look for a new job. The services generally concede that a general discharge creates problems finding suitable employment.)"

The ACLU testimony concluded by re-iterating earlier recommendations made by Rowland Watts, legal director of the ACLU. Watts declared

1) "The Army is responsible for persons subject to the selective service law only during the period of their active duty in the Army; 2) the Army will not permit itself to be used as an instrument for the punishment of those who try to evade their duties under the law; 3) the Army will not accept into service anyone who is not in a position to be permitted to serve fully in accordance with his capabilities; 4) the Army will accord to each man within its ranks, in security cases, the same full hearing rights that are guaranteed him by the Uniform Code of Military Justice, in defending himself against any other charge;"5) when the Army decides not to keep a man on active or reserve duty, it "will accord him a discharge based solely on the character of the service he has rendered."

CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS

The St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee has requested changes in the state penitentiary rule about printed matter for inmates, charging that the rule interferes with religious freedom. Prisoners have been denied the right to buy anti-religious books and magazines from the Friendship Liberal League of Philadelphia, although one man was allowed to receive the New Testament from the League. The CLC action followed correspondence with the prison and the Committee initiated by the ACLU. ... A committee of newspapermen which found some New England papers guilty of incompetence in their handling of two significant stories in the 1960 presidential campaign has recommended that the New England Society of Newspaper Editors make an effort to raise professional standards. The two stories were the move by the Roman Catholic bishops in Puerto Rico to influence the election there and the $205,000 loan to Richard Nixon's brother by Howard Hughes and the Hughes Tool Company. The report declared that it found "no proof of bias on the part of the New England press" and added that it believes a similar study of newspapers in other parts of the country probably would have produced similar results. ... The Kentucky Civil Liberties Union has urged the 1962 General Assembly to enact a state law against discrimination in privately owned places of public accommodation. The KCLU also made four other legislative recommendations: 1) to strengthen the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights "by a grant of authority to obtain subpoenas ... in the same way as other investigatory agencies do now," 2) to revise the criminal code to make all criminal cases appealable and to end present abuses of the civil rights of arrested persons, 3) to give juvenile suspects the same constitutional safeguards as adults, 4) to accomplish legislative redistricting. ...The West Virginia state constitution in a section which abjures "political tests" declares "No religious or political test shall be required as a pre-requisite of qualification to vote, serve as a juror, sue, plead, appeal or pursue any profession or employment. Nor shall any person be deprived by law of any right, or privilege, because of any act done prior to the passage of such a law."

American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-1990

April 26, 1962

To: The Board

From: The Office

Re: Bus Transportation, Textbooks, and Auxiliary Services, to be considered at April 30th meeting

BUS TRANSPORTATION FOR PUPILS OF CHURCH SCHOOLS

Working papers enclosed:

1. Fact sheet on the states, dated October 20, 1961
2. George Soll statement of November 20, 1961
3. Harry W. Jones statement of December 8, 1961
4. Kenneth Greenawalt statement of February 19, 1962
5. Church-State Committee minutes of January 31, 1962, pp. 2-3

As you will note, on January 31 the Church-State Committee adopted by a 6-5 vote, for Board consideration, the first two paragraphs, comprising Section I, of Harry Jones' December 8th statement.

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PROVSION AT PUBLIC EXPENSE OF TEXTBOOKS TO CHURCH SCHOOLS

Working papers:

1. Excerpts from court decisions, dated February 15, 1962
2. Minutes of Church-State Committee of March 28, 1962
   - see pp. 1-2

See Harry Jones' paper of December 8, 1961, under 2 - Other Benefits

See George Soll's paper of November 20, 1961, in particular, page 2, penultimate paragraph which would rule out textbooks.

Note that on March 28th the Church-State Committee adopted, by a 5-4 vote, for Board consideration, J.P. Jones' resolution which reads as follows:

> We recommend to the Board that we do not hold the furnishing of free textbooks used by public schools to pupils in private schools including church-related parochial schools to be a constitutional violation of the separation of church and state.

****

MEDICAL AND DENTAL SERVICES

Working papers:

1. Copy of letter of January 9, 1962 from Greater Philadelphia CLU to Mayor Dilworth urging provision of such services. (Law was subsequently passed)

2. Last paragraph, pg. 2, Harry Jones' statement of December 8th
   Last paragraph, pg. 3, Soll's statement of November 20th

3. Church-State Committee minutes of March 28, pg. 2

Note that on March 28 the Church-State Committee adopted by 6-1, with 2 abstentions, for Board consideration, the following motion:

> The making available of public health services on an administratively feasible basis to all children regardless of the school attended does not violate the principle of separation of church and state.

****

HOT LUNCHES

Working papers:

1. Last paragraph, pg. 2 of Harry Jones' statement of December 8th

2. Last paragraph, pg. 3 of Soll's statement of November 20th

3. Minutes of Church-State Committee, March 28th, pp.2-3

Note that the Church-State Committee on March 28th adopted by a 5-1 vote, with three abstentions, for Board consideration, the same resolution as it had on Medical and Dental Care, to read as follows:

> Federal contribution to hot lunch programs on an administratively feasible basis to all children regardless of the school attended does not violate the principle of separation of church and state.

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American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

April 26, 1962

To: The Board

From: The Office

Re: Religious Holiday Observances

Sitting as a committee of the whole, on March 5th, the Board recommended that the office submit to it an amended version of the October 9, 1961 statement incorporating the following thoughts:

1. Delete paragraph 4 and substitute point 2 of Mr. Malin's December 18th proposed statement, which reads as follows:

> "Thus, public schools may explain the meaning of a religious holiday, as viewed by adherents of the religion of which it is a part; but may not seek to foster any view, in the classroom or otherwise."

2. Delete first sentence of paragraph 5 and revise the remainder to read:

> "Whether any practice in question is part of an attempt to indoctrinate pupils with a program of religious teaching should be given consideration. If so, it should be opposed; if not, it may be considered an expression of the cultural heritage of the community."

3. Delete paragraph 6 and substitute paragraph 6 of Mr. Soll's December 14th statement, which reads as follows:

> "In cases where even non-religious attributes of a religious holiday (there are always borderline cases) may offend individual students, their privilege not to participate in such non-religious celebrations should be respected."

4. In paragraph 7, end of line 2, change "discouraged" to "opposed."

The statement prepared by the office follows:

RELIGIOUS HOLIDAY OBSERVANCES

The American Civil Liberties Union believes that any program of religious indoctrination -- direct or indirect -- in the public schools or with public resources is a violation of the constitutional principle of separation of church and state and should be opposed.

We believe the observance in public schools and on public property of such occasions as Christmas, Channukah, and Easter as religious holidays to be contrary to the separation principle.

Whether each and every observance that is believed to be in violation merits ACLU intervention depends upon the factors governing our participation in all

classes of civil liberties matters. These include: (1) other civil liberties pressures commanding our attention -- including other church-state matters, (2) our judgment of the general significance of the particular instance, and (3) the limit of our resources which are available at the particular time and place.

Whenever the ACLU, through its national organization or an affiliate, does undertake to intervene in a religious holiday observance case, a clear-cut separation-of-church-and-state position should be taken, guided by the following considerations:

1. The teaching of religion in the public schools is barred by the Constitution.

2. The practice of regular Bible reading and organized prayers represents a form of indoctrination which should also be barred.

3. The teaching of religon should be distinguished from teaching factually about religion as, for example, an element of world history or of sodial sciences. Even in teaching about religion, the younger the child, the more wary the teacher must be of indoctrination. Certainly, public schools may explain the meaning of a religious holiday, as viewed by adherents of the religion of which it is a part, but may not seek to foster a religious view in the classroom or otherwise.

4. Religious holiday observances can be a form of indoctrination in public schools and in such cases violate the separation principle. Non-sectarian practices, however, may be a reflection of the cultural heritage of the community and not indoctrinating. Where clearly non-sectarian, such observances need not be opposed.

5. Despite the distinction between indoctrinating and cultural observances, there may be permissible observances in which individual students appear to be offended. The right of the student not to participate in such observances must be defended.

6. The use of public funds or public property for the display of sectarian religion symbolism should be opposed as a governmental endorsement of religion.

May 8, 1962

TO: Board, National Committee, Affiliates

FROM: Marie M. Runyon

RE: 1962 Biennial Conference
Bulletin #3; Estimate of Costs

1. The total cost of the Biennial Conference is estimated at $8275. As noted in Bulletin #2, affiliates will pay $3500, the national ACLU the remainder. The $8275 includes transportation, food and housing for affiliate delegates and members of the Board and National Committee who attend.

As since 1954, each affiliate with a full-time director may send two delegates whose expenses will be paid as described below; the others may send one.

2. Half of the expenses of Board and National Committee members who attend will be paid by the Union.

3. Each affiliate's share of the $3500 will be 1.17% of its income for the 1961-62 fiscal year. The enclosed table gives a breakdown of this for each affiliate. Column No. 5 (based on my 4-26-62 financial summary for the year) will not agree exactly in most cases with the affiliate's own record of its income for the fiscal year, because in March, 1962, the last month of the fiscal year, income received here in that month is included in fiscal year totals, but the affiliate did not receive its portion of that income until the following month. Likewise, April, 1961, the first month of the fiscal year, a similar situation affected the income totals.

4. Expense allowances, as usual, are modest (we can't yet afford the Waldorf and its Cert Room). They are:

Travel: Figures given in Column 2 of the attached are for the least expensive air transportation to and from New York; in a few cases this is first class, because no coach flights are to be had. Check Column 2 and advise me at once if your information and ours do not agree.

Hotel: $12 per night is the cost of the single rooms for which we have contracted (at the Park Sheraton Hotel, 55th Street at Seventh Avenue). Total for Thursday through Saturday nights, $36 per delegate.

Meals: The average at the Park Sheraton is $6 a day. Including the Saturday luncheon, for which there will be a $5 charge, the total for Friday breakfast through Sunday lunch comes to $20 per delegate.

Miscellaneous: An additional flat sum of $10 per delegate is included, for tips, taxis, etc.

Total: Excluding travel, the total allowed per delegate is $66.

Reimbursement: Each delegate should be prepared to pay his full expenses. After the Conference, each affiliate will be reimbursed or billed, according to Columns 7 and 8.

5. Delegates may wish to make their own housing or travel arrangements. Such arrangements, whether they involve greater or less expenditure than outlined above, will not affect the debit or credit amounts. We hope that all delegates will stay at the Park Sheraton, however, in the interest of facilitating Conference sessions.

American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

May 8, 1962

1962 BIENNIAL CONFERENCE AFFILIATE COSTS.

AFFILIATES	1 Delegates	2 Travel	3 Hotel, Meals	4 Total	5 '61-62 Memb. Income	6 1.17% of Inc.	7 Credit	8 Debit
Arizona	1	$235	$ 66	$301	$ 1,700	$ 20	$281	--
No. California	2	474	132	606	50,000*	585	21	--
So. California	2	474	132	606	75,000	878	--	$272
Colorado	1	178	66	244	4,100	48	196	--
Connecticut	1	21	66	87	2,900	34	53	--
Florida	1	111	66	177	3,800	44	133	--
Illinois	2	164	132	296	25,200	295	1	--
Indiana	1	84	66	150	5,400	63	87	--
Iowa	1	160	66	226	1,900	22	204	--
Kentucky	1	74	66	140	1,600	19	121	--
Louisiana	1	128	66	194	900	11	183	--
Maryland	1	27	66	93	4,800	56	37	--
Massachusetts	2	52	132	184	18,500	216	--	32
Michigan	2	122	132	254	7,900	92	162	--
Minnesota	1	122	66	188	6,400	75	113	--
Mo.-Kansas City	1	127	66	193	600	7	186	--
Mo.-St. Louis	1	99	66	165	1,600	19	146	--
New Jersey	1	--	30	30	3,500	41	--	11
New Mexico	1	217	66	283	700	8	275	--
New York-NYCLU	2	--	60	60	35,000	410	--	350
New York-Niagara	1	44	66	110	900	11	99	--
Ohio	2	110	132	242	11,300	132	110	--
Oregon	1	247	66	313	1,800	21	292	--
Pennsylvania	2	38	132	170	20,000	234	--	64
Rhode Island	1	25	66	91	900	11	80	--
Texas-Austin	1	176	66	242	200	2	240	--
Texas-Houston	1	157	66	223	500	6	217	--
Utah	1	234	66	300	500	6	294	--
Washington (state)	1	247	66	313	6,800	80	233	--
Washington D. C.	1	30	66	96	1,200	14	82	--
Wisconsin	1	98	66	164	2,300	27	137	--
	39	$4,275	$2,466	$6,741	$297,900	$3,487	$3,983	$729

* Estimate

FEATURE PRESS SERVICE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, 156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

ERNEST ANGELL
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WEEKLY BULLETIN #2139
ORegon 5-5990

May 14, 1962

Alan Reitman, Associate Director
in Charge of Public Relations

INDIANAPOLIS FREE SPEECH VICTORY WON AFTER EIGHT YEARS

An anti-civil liberties ghost of the McCarthy period will be laid to rest finally on May 24 when the Indiana Civil Liberties Union holds a public meeting in the World War Memorial Building in Indianapolis. In 1953 and again in 1954 the governing commission of the Memorial refused to allow the ACLU affiliate to conduct a meeting there, allegedly on grounds that the Union did not measure up to loyalty standards set by the Commission.

Under pressure exerted by Indiana Governor Matthew E. Welsh, the eight-year ban has been lifted, but not before another major controversy was kicked off by the Commission's refusal to reverse its stand. Finally, because Governor Welsh requested it, the commission announced that the Indiana CLU could hold its meeting. However, Governor Welsh, dissatisfied with the qualified nature of the permission, disclosed that he would attend the Commission's meeting on May 18 to urge the adoption of a broader rule that would allow various organizations, even "controversial" groups, to make use of the public facilities. Erected with public funds, the building is administered by eleven war veteran commissioners, closely associated with the American Legion.

Governor Welsh, a Legionnaire, armed himself for the case of the ICLU versus the War Memorial Commission by asking Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy if the ACLU, its state affiliate, or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has ever been on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. Kennedy replied promptly they had not.

The current phase of the old dispute arose when the commission announced in April that a fee schedule would be charged for groups using the Memorial. When a newspaper reporter asked if this would apply to the ACLU and the NAACP, the Commission secretary, Jack Trowbridge, replied that the two groups were "specifically barred" from using the building. At this point Governor Welsh issued a statement declaring that the Memorial "is available for use by any reputable public or private organization" and that the Union is entitled to hold its meeting in the Indianapolis landmark. "The fact that we may or may not agree with the objectives or purposes is immaterial," he added. "The constitutional right of freedom of speech was especially designed to guarantee the discussion of controversial points of view. If we are to make mistakes, let's make them on the side of expanding freedom of discussion, rather than restricting it."

In the latest controversy over use of the building by the ICLU, the commission initially instructed its secretary to reject an application by the Union for a meeting. Subsequently two members threatened to resign in protest if permission were granted. In contrast the Indiana American Legion's judge advocate, John M. Ryan, said he believed the civil liberties group should be allowed to use the hall, but stressed that he was expressing his personal opinion. In addition to his telegram to Attorney General Kennedy, Governor Welsh strengthened the position of the ICLU by agreeing to address the meeting. At this point the commission board chairman, Clarence R. McNabb, announced that the Commission would certainly cooperate with the governor and bow to his wishes. An ICLU application was filed for the meeting and accepted. The commission also announced that its secretary was mistaken about the NAACP; it said it has never opposed that organization.

The original rejection of the ACLU request to use the Memorial in 1953 was the subject of a major Edward R. Murrow television program which was credited as one of the first educational counter-efforts against McCarthyism. The meeting was held instead in the hall provided by a Catholic priest, Father Victor Goosens. In 1954 Paul G. Hoffman, then president of the Studebaker Corporation, was scheduled as the ICLU speaker, but the group was again denied the facilities. Hoffman has been invited to address the May 24 "victory" meeting, but he is out of the country on United Nations business. In addition to Governor Welsh, Father Goosens and John de J. Pemberton, Jr., ACLU executive director of the ACLU, will address the meeting.

HALF OF U.S. PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS HOLD RELIGIOUS SERVICES

Half of the public school systems in the United States today hold homeroom devotional services in at least some of their schools. This was reported recently by R. B. Dierenfeld, associate professor of education at Macalester College in St. Paul, in a survey published in Religious Education on "The Extent of Religious Influence in American Public Schools."

This practice was true of eighty percent of the school systems in the East, only seven percent in the West, and twenty-six percent in the Midwest. But the inclusion of religious material in the public school environment is in general far more widespread in the South than elsewhere, particularly in the smaller communities.

Almost ninety-five percent of the southern systems report teaching "spiritual values," as distinct from "moral values," and almost two-thirds provide materials to teachers for this purpose. Regular chapel exercises are held in the schools in seventy percent of the southern systems, and Bible readings in three-fourths of them.

Two practices which the U.S. Supreme Court has already found permissible, those of released time and bus transportation for parochial school students, are especially common in the East. Only one-eighth of the schools have regular chapel exercises, but almost half have released time programs and over one-third provide transportation. However, in one-eighth of the nation's systems that provide released time programs, these classes are held in the school buildings.

As for actual religious observances, only fifteen percent of the school superintendents felt that they were not proper in the schools, and almost ninety percent reported activities to celebrate Christmas. Thanksgiving activities were reported in barely three-fourths. A few systems even reported holding classes in church buildings and allowing members of religious orders to teach in the public schools, but these practices were comparatively rare.

These findings were all based on a mailing of 4,000 questionnaires to a proportional sampling of the four geographical divisions of the country and five population categories. But only half of these were returned, and only one-third of those sent to the South were returned, while the Midwest returned almost three-fourths and the East and West almost fifty-five percent.

DUE PROCESS POINT PRESSED IN 18-YEAR-OLD MURDER CASE

There is mounting hope for the release from prison of a young man whose 1943 murder case when he was a 13-year-old prompted the passage of New York state legislation ending the classification of any child under 15 as a criminal.

After suffering setbacks in lower courts, Edwin Codarre last year won from the state's highest court, New York State Court of Appeals, the right to a new hearing on his charge that he was denied due process of law at his trial more than 18 years ago. The hearing was held recently in the County Court of Dutchess, where the case originated. No decision has been announced.

Codarre was attending a Kiwanis-sponsored summer camp in Dutchess County when he became acquainted with a farm youth and his sister. One night the two boys broke into a gasoline service station and took some candy and cigarettes. Not long afterward, while walking outdoors with Codarre, the farm girl threatened to notify authorities. To silence her, he placed his hands around her throat. She died of a crushed larynx.

At his trial in the fall of 1943, two doctors for the state testified that young Codarre was legally sane when the homicide took place. A physician representing the defense agreed. The charge was reduced from first to second degree murder and he was permitted to plead guilty.

Subsequently it was established that the doctors had not examined the boy, but had merely questioned him briefly. In contrast, a fourth doctor had studied Codarre's history thoroughly and had established that Codarre exhibited symptoms of epilepsy for some time prior to the killing. It was his belief that Codarre was suffering an epileptic seizure when he choked the farm girl. An electroencephalogram report tending to confirm an epileptic condition, made to and for the district attorney, was suppressed at a conference in chambers at which the judge agreed to the lesser charge and a guilty plea.

In a recent memorandum to the Dutchess County Court, the American Civil Liverties Union, through its cooperating attorney, O. John Rogge of New York,

reviewed the evidence proving that Codarre was an epileptic in 1943. Once that was established, he recalled, the state changed its position. It "contended that the petitioner (Codarre) in order to prevail had to prove that he was in the throes of an epileptic furor attack at the time of the homicide. Although the petitioner submits that he proved this too, the truth of the matter is that such was not his burden. Rather it will be the burden of the People to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that the petitioner was not in the throes of an epileptic furor attack at the time of the homicide.

"A state procedure which permits an epileptic 13-year-old to plead guilty to murder in any degree violates the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution," Rogge reiterated in his petition, as he had first stated after taking the case nearly four years ago. Suppression of the medical report indicating epilepsy was another instance of lack of due process, he added. "There can be no question but that the petitioner is entitled to withdraw his plea of guilty," Rogge's memorandum declared. "Once he has done that...he will be entitled to his immediate release."

Codarre, who has suffered an estimated 200 epileptic seizures since his imprisonment, now takes drugs to control the ailment. "Ironically enough," Rogge concluded, "Edwin Codarre, the petitioner, whose case helped to bring about the remedial legislation of 1948, /barring classification of children as criminals/ legislation which helps to separate our institutions from those of barbarim is still No. 34294, Clinton Prison, Dannemora, New York. The mills of God should at long last grind a little faster. The petitioner should now have his immediate release."

ACLU AFFILIATE AIDS THREE CALIFORNIA TEACHERS IN POLITICAL BELIEF CASES

The ACLU of Northern California has been seeking re-instatement of three California teachers deprived of their positions for reasons related to their political beliefs. The Union has acted on behalf of John Mass, a former English instructor at San Francisco State College, and in a separate action, on behalf of William and Rita Mack, who were school teachers in Redding.

The Macks had signed a required Levering Act oath denying membership in an organization that advocated the violent overthrow of the government although within the period covered by the oath they had admittedly been members of the Communist Party. They asserted that they did not believe that this oath applied to the Communist Party as they knew it, and that they had never heard such overthrow advocated. The State Board of Education condemned their signing of the oath and revoked their teaching credentials for unprofessional conduct.

A San Francisco Superior Court judge upheld the revocation after refusing to hear testimony as to the credibility of the witnesses relied on by the Board. One, whose statement that all members knew the Party advocated the violent overthrow of the government had been the basis for the Board's rejection of the Macks' argument, included in his testimony numerous other charges, including the presence of a Communist member of the state legislature.

The same judge, Byron Arnold, also had before him a petition for a writ of mandate on behalf of Mr. Mass, who had been relieved of his position after he claimed the Fifth Amendment in 1953 and refused to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In January Superior Court Judge Edward O'Day, obeying a District Court of Appeal ruling, dismissed the San Francisco School Board's suit to dismiss Mass. The Board, which never gave Mass the full hearing to which the state Supreme Court said he was entitled, has so far refused to order either such a hearing or the re-instatement.

The present petition by the ACLU of Northern California asks that Mass be reinstated to his former position at the same salary, with full credit for retirement benefits, and that he receive an estimated $65,000 for back pay during the interim with interest, as well as $50,000 in general damages for economic hardship and mental suffering, and legal costs.

Dr. Louis G. Conlan, president of San Francisco State College, has said he would "have no objection whatever to Mass' return ... He is an excellent teacher and his record here was absolutely clear." Since his dismissal Mass has been doing private tutoring in Los Angeles while seeking re-instatement.

CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS

A Federal District Court has issued an injunction--based on the 14th Amendment to the federal constitution and the Kansas Act against Discrimination--forbidding the Kansas State Employment Service from accepting and servicing discriminatory job orders. The decree also enjoins the KSES from refusing to refer or place Negroes.

American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

May 16, 1962

To: Board, National Committee, Affiliates

From: Alan Reitman and Leanne Golden

Re: 1962 Biennial Conference: Bulletin #4 - Probable Sunday afternoon session, June 24

The National Planning Committee originally decided that the forthcoming Conference should close after the morning session on June 24 (knowing that many persons attending might have private business or wish to begin traveling home on Sunday afternoon). The Committee has now agreed, however, on the likelihood that a Sunday afternoon session -- 2:00 to 5:00 p.m. -- will be necessary and important for any unfinished business from the other sessions.

Accordingly, we ask you to note this change in the original agenda contained in Bulletin #1.

FEATURE PRESS SERVICE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, 156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

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Alan Reitman, *Associate Director*
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WEEKLY BULLETIN #2140

May 21, 1962

ACLU SCORES CENSORSHIP THREAT BY DEFENSE DEPARTMENT

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara was urged on May 3 to halt the threat of censorship against publications distributed on military newsstands.

Disturbed by a recent military investigation of The Overseas Weekly, a privately operated newspaper for servicemen in Europe, the American Civil Liberties Union proposed that McNamara issue "a clear-cut directive reaffirming one of the basic principles of the First Amendment -- the right of all men to select what they wish to read."

At the same time, the ACLU called on the Defense Secretary to revise existing regulations in order to assure that procedural due process is observed in any future investigations similar to that of The Overseas Weekly by an ad hoc committee appointed by General Lauris Norstad, commander-in-chief of the European Command. The committee was appointed to study the contents of the publication at the request of the Senate Armed Services Committee. The newspaper had been accused of criticising military commanders unduly and of over-stressing sex and soldier crimes in its news columns. Major General Edwin A. Walker had twice recommended that an agreement by which The Overseas Weekly was distributed through Stars and Stripes facilities be terminated.

The ACLU's position was explained in a letter to McNamara from its executive director, John de J. Pemberton Jr. "We believe that the entire investigation into the content of The Overseas Weekly smacks of official censorship that has no place in an open and free society," Pemberton wrote. "Although we recognize that persons serving in the armed forces are in a different status from civilians, we do not believe that this difference justifies the dictation to soldiers of the material they may or may not read. These young men represent a democracy founded on the concept of free discussion, which means the right to select reading matter of one's own choice from the wide variety of material available in a democracy. For the Defense Department or the Army to inquire into the content of a particular publication with a view to deciding whether or not it is 'suitable' for members of the armed services is to disregard a cornerstone of our democratic faith."

The Defense Department's report to the Armed Services Committee, said the ACLU, "provides dramatic evidence of the worst features of censorship. It discloses that first an unnamed committee and then General Norstad concerned themselves with whether the newspaper content was 'acceptable', whether it encouraged 'lack of respect for military authority', whether or not there was 'a general improvement' during the past few months."

While the committee recommended that the distribution facilities of Stars and Stripes be denied The Overseas Weekly, it was overruled by General Norstad. The report indicated, however, that General Norstad might take action against the weekly newspaper later if its "standards . . . again fall to objectionable levels." The ACLU commented: "This plainly subjects the newspaper to all the inhibitions that the threat of censorship presents. We urge you to disclaim any intention by the Department of Defense to act against The Overseas Weekly for any reason connected with its content and to make it clear that such action taken in the field will not be approved."

The civil liberties organization was equally concerned because the Army conducted an investigation and held hearings on a matter of importance to The Over-Seas Weekly -- its distribution facilities -- "without granting it the most elementary forms of procedural due process such as notice of the hearing and the right to submit evidence. The publication was not given the right to be represented by counsel, and was not provided the opportunity to present evidence to refute the

charges or to attempt to discredit whatever evidence was introduced against it," Pemberton's letter reminded. "Moreover, it was given no chance to question the qualifications and impartiality of the members of the ad hoc committee convened by the Army military commander in Europe to investigate and judge the newspaper. Likewise, The Overseas Weekly was denied all procedural rights after the committee completed its report and recommended that distribution through Stars and Stripes be terminated. It was not granted the opportunity to submit objections to the committee's factual conclusions or to present its case to General Norstad. According to its publisher, it was never even informed that an official investigation was under way."

POLICE CONFERENCE SETS GUIDELINES FOR DESEGREGATION POLICY

Representatives from 24 major cities recently issued an 8-point guideline for police conduct in meeting the "challenge of desegregation." The recommended police policy was adopted after a New York University Graduate School of Public Administration Conference on "The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive."

The statement was based on the assumption that the police are required "to lawfully protect life and property, peace and order," while extending to all "a consistent interpretation of the law and equal treatment and protection under the law."

The major point in the program centers around recognition by police authorities that desegregation protests may differ from other forms of mass demonstrations. If, therefore, police regulation is rejected in demonstrations relating to desegregation, the rejection is probably legal even though similar rejections in mass demonstrations of other kinds would not be legally permissible.

Communication between demonstrators for desegregation and those in opposition with the police officials is important to maintaining peace, the statement said. Enforcement officials have the right to expect contacts from non-violent demonstrators for the purpose of learning pertinent laws and regulations and revealing their anticipated course of action. The police, in return, should "freely a accept" and "fully investigate" complaints of improper police conduct from any group.

The statement was unequivocal in its condemnation of violence. "Unlawful force or violence by any person or group," it said, "is seriously prejudicial to the welfare of the community and the professional reputation of its law enforcement agency. It should be clearly and unequivocally forbidden, and if it does arise, met with all proper force."

Other "guidelines" suggested include the necessity of "personnel of high quality, well trained and adequately directed," the advisability of clarifying police policy and action in local mass media, and the requirement of "a consistent and proper policy and its execution."

The cities represented at the Conference were: Albany and Atlanta, Georgia; Baltimore; Birmingham, Ala.; Charlotte, N.C.; Chicago; Cincinnati; Dallas; Detroit; Houston; Kansas City and St. Louis, Missouri; Louisville and Lexington, Ky.; Little Rock, Ark.; Memphis and Knoxville, Tenn.; Miami, Fla.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Newark, N.J.; New York City; Philadelphia; Washington, D.C.; and Wilmington, Del.

TALKS BY COMMUNIST LEADER SPARK FREEDOM-OF-SPEECH CONTROVERSY IN PACIFIC NORTHWEST

The right of Gus Hall, fifty-year-old general secretary of the American Communist Party, to speak in public set off a free speech battle during his recent tour of the Pacific coast. Five state-supported colleges in Washington refused him permission to talk on their campuses. His reception in Oregon was more cordial. Most state newspapers and college presidents backed student invitations to Hall to talk in their auditorium. However, Governor Mark Hatfield, the American Legion and various city officials expressed their opposition to his speaking in public.

The most publicized incident took place in Portland where the City Council cancelled an agreement it had made with the Reed College Focus Club to rent the Public Auditorium for a meeting to be addressed by Hall. The Council's action was based on a city ordinance which prohibits rental of the Auditorium to anyone "who is likely to or does advocate to any audience...the overthrow of the U.S. government."

Reaction to this move was sharp. The American Civil Liberties Union of Oregon declared that it violated "state and federal constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly...If Hall's speech is given in such circumstances and is of such a nature as to constitute incitement to illegal acts, he may then be arrested. Cancellation of the permit constitutes a prior restraint of speech prohibited by our constitution." The ACLU affiliate continued: "The unabridged freedom of public discussion of public policy is the rock on which our government stands. The people of this community are able to face squarely and fearlessly everything that can be said in favor of or against our institutions."

Despite the Portland officials' action, Hall spoke before the Focus Club on the Reed College campus. Authorities there allowed the student group to use the auditorium after the club's attorney, Ruben Lenske, unsuccessfully attempted to get an injunction to keep the City Council from breaking its contract with the club. Seven hundred people attended the meeting. (A few days later, Lenske filed a suit seeking $1,000 damages from the Council.)

Hall also talked before student audiences on several other Oregon campuses. A crowd of 10,000 was present at a meeting which he addressed at the University of Oregon. President Arthur S. Fleming reportedly gained unanimous faculty approval for his stand in favor of Hall's appearance. "A University by its very nature cannot pay lip service to the concept of freedom of expression and then deny persons with whom it is in sharp disagreement the opportunity of giving expression to their views," he said. Hall was asked to speak at Portland State College, with the consent of President Branford P. Millar, but could not fit their schedule. His appearance at Lewis and Clark College was the result of a student invitation backed by President John R. Howard and the faculty, but opposed by the Trustees.

Newspaper comment within the state, while strongly opposed to Hall's political philosophy, supported his right to speak in public. The Eugene Register-Guard stated "The principle of free speech, set forth in the very first amendment to our Constitution, was threatened by those who opposed Hall's appearance. True, he did not have a constitutional guarantee of a university platform, nor should anyone... Once Americans hysterically begin to deny the right of free speech to anyone of themselves, they will be started towards the loss of free speech for all."

Governor Hatfield disagreed with this position. He declared, "I do not feel it is a question of free speech to deny a tax-supported program to one who advocates the overthrow of our government." The Oregon American Legion also came out against Hall. Its Americanism Chairman, Earl R. Norgard, said: "We have the utmost respect for the students' ability to differentiate clearly between the advantages of our way of life and the Godless ideology of communism--when they are given the facts. They will not get the facts from Communist Gus, and we...see no reason to roll out the carpet for first-line propagandists so they may confuse issues with the masterful strategy and cunning they have used in the past to enslave millions."

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AFFIRMS ATTORNEY-CLIENT PRIVILEGE AFTER ACLU PROTEST

A charge by the American Civil Liberties Union that the confidential nature of the client-attorney relationship had been violated in a federal prison has brought swift relief from the U.S. Department of Justice.

The situation was brought to light when volunteer ACLU attorneys who had been handling parole violator cases discovered that the hearing officer of the U.S. Parole Board had a copy of a letter sent to an inmate in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. The letter had advised the inmate what position he should take in a new parole violator hearing which was scheduled after it was determined that his original hearing was invalid.

Complaints of violation of the attorney-client relationship were filed by the Union's Washington office with the Department of Justice, which acts as attorney for the U.S. Bureau of Prisons. It resulted in a memorandum sent to all institutions over the signature of Fred T. Wilkinson, Acting Director of the Bureau, which said: "It has recently come to our attention that several institutions have reproduced and disseminated letters written to inmates by their attorneys of record. While it is essential to inspect correspondence going from or coming into an institution for the purposes of discovering and preventing the transmission of anything which is contrary to law, regulations or policy, the confidential relationship between an attorney and his client should be respected. Therefore, the contents of any such letter which are not precluded by law, regulations, or policy and is therefore properly within the purview of the attorney-client relationship, should not be revealed to anyone by the inspecting officer."

FEATURE PRESS SERVICE

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WEEKLY BULLETIN #2141 May 28, 1962

FTC'S ABUSE OF FAIR PROCEDURES IN MILK HEARING SCORED BY ACLU

The procedures of the Federal Trade Commission's investigatory hearings came in for sharp criticism on May 7 from the American Civil Liberties Union.

The civil liberties organization said that the FTC policy of conducting an investigatory hearing in public and not permitting counsel for companies under investigation to participate fully in the hearing infringed on due process of law.

The ACLU's executive director, John de J. Pemberton, Jr., made public a letter sent to FTC chairman Paul Rand Dixon which called on the federal regulatory agency to revise its rules and regulations to provide greater due process safeguards. "In the absence of such action," the ACLU said, it "will offer support to any individual or company that declines to produce documentary evidence at a public investigatory hearing of the Commission."

The Union's review of the FTC procedures was prompted by a March 14 hearing in Indianapolis into the pricing and sale of milk at which the Kroger Company and other food chains were called to testify. The Kroger Company refused to present books and records and won a temporary restraining order from a Federal District Court at Chicago.

"There are two civil liberties aspects of this controversy which gravely disturbs the Union," Pemberton wrote. "One is the holding of an investigatory hearing, analagous to a grand jury investigation, in public. The second concerns the failure to allow counsel for companies under investigation adequate participation in the hearing in behalf of their clients. Both combine to create a breach of the safeguards embodied in the idea of due process of law, the touchstone of our democratic system which should be especially respected in the relationship between the government and the citizen."

Emphasizing the parallel between an administrative investigative proceeding and a grand jury investigation, the ACLU said that the "standards and protections governing the latter should apply equally to the former. High on the list of these guarantees is the non-public character of investigatory proceedings. This right to privacy is one of the integral elements of due process because it assures the individual -- or the company -- that they are not considered to have engaged in a wrongful act until sufficient evidence has been accumulated to warrant a specific indictment -- until they know the charges and can prepare to defend themselves at a subsequent trial."

A public fact-finding investigation, "by its very nature," the ACLU said, "can't offer this protection; indeed it places the individual -- or company -- in a position where the search for information about them is secondary and primarily they are regarded as having been charged with committing an offense. The experience of congressional investigating committees probing Communist influence in the last 15 years amply illustrates this. These inquiries made crystal-clear that in an hostile, accusatory atmosphere created by such hearings, persons brought publicly into the investigation are stigmatized and regarded as having been involved in some kind of wrongdoing."

Asserting that because the FTC serves as investigator, grand jury and judge it should take special pains to afford all the due process protections of a judicial proceeding, the ACLU noted that at the March 14 hearing, counsel for the Kroger Company was not allowed to object to questions on grounds of relevance, competence, or materiality, to introduce evidence or cross examine, or to make any statement for the record. This, the Union continued, "is a severe restriction of legal representation which deprives a party of his due process rights to full

representation. If any public investigatory hearings are to be permitted, the person or party under investigation must have the opportunity to be confronted by his accusers, if any, and an opportunity to cross examine them. He must also have the opportunity and right to object to the introduction of material that is irrelevant or otherwise improper. In addition he must have the right to introduce such material and testimony as he and his counsel deem fit in his own defense."

The Indiana Civil Liberties Union joined in the ACLU protest, stating that it opposed the government's growing practice of interrogating persons in public without giving them a full opportunity to be heard and to present their side of the issue.

QUESTION OF POLICE IDENTIFICATION ARISES IN OREGON CASE

The related questions of how quickly a police officer should identify himself and what the rights of a private citizen are until that identification is made are currently under scrutiny in a Portland, Oregon, case. The case involves a Portland teen-ager, George Nathan Murphy, 19, who was arrested for assault with a deadly weapon.

Murphy and his girl friend were sitting in a car, parked on a dark street, when two men, later identified as police officers, rushed toward them. The policemen, who were in plain clothes and drove an unmarked car, were in the area looking for parking meter thieves and wished to question the occupants of what they deemed a suspicious-looking automobile.

As Murphy later explained, his first thought when he saw the two men was that they might be hoodlums and even after they had displayed their badges, he was still frightened. Accordingly, he locked the car doors and started to drive off, allegedly almost hitting one of the policemen as he did so. The car was stopped by a bullet in a tire.

The two teen-agers were taken into custody and were mugged and fingerprinted. The girl was released at 1 A.M. Murphy, who was charged with driving without lights in addition to assault was held overnight.

The American Civil Liberties Union of Oregon has requested that the Research Committee of The City Club of Portland investigate the situation, asking, "Can we safely assume that this was an exceptional case? Or, may we be concerned that it is exceptional only in its reaching the press?"

TEST CASE CHALLENGES LOSS OF CITIZENSHIP TO NATIVE-BORN AMERICAN

The American Civil Liberties Union announced on May 14 that an appeal has been filed with the United States Court of Appeals in New York contesting a Federal District Court decision which held that American-born Herman Marks was denationalized because of his service in the Cuban Rebel Army.

The civil liberties group disclosed that the appeal has been filed by Murray A. Gordon, an ACLU cooperating attorney serving as Marks' counsel, from Federal Judge John M. Cashin's decision on March 29 upholding the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service's contention that Marks had lost his citizenship because of his service with the Castro forces after January, 1959.

The organization also stated that no appeal would be taken from that portion of Judge Cashin's decision which held that Marks was not deportable and was entitled to a writ of habeas corpus discharging him from the custody of the Service as a deportable alien. The Service had sought to deport Marks because of a 1950 moral turpitude conviction and because he had re-entered the United States after escaping from Cuba without the entry documents required by aliens but not citizens. According to Judge Cashin, Marks' conviction came at a time when he was an American citizen and could not, therefore, serve as a basis for deportation. Furthermore, at the time Marks entered the United States from Cuba there had been no prior determination of his denationalization so there was no requirement that he possess the entry documents required of aliens but not of citizens.

An amendment to the Immigration Act in 1952 provides that an American citizen who enters or serves in the armed forces of a foreign country shall automatically lose his citizenship, unless "such entry or service is specifically authorized in writing by the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense." The Immigration Service contends that Marks, born in 1923 in Milwaukee, lost his American citizenship through serving with Castro's army during the revolutionary period,

and later, under the Castro regime. The United States Supreme Court has never ruled on the constitutionality of expatriation because of service in a foreign army, which makes the Marks case one of unusual importance.

The ACLU's executive director, John de J. Pemberton Jr., said the Union was supporting Marks' appeal as a test of the constitutionality of the government's effort to strip a native-born American of his citizenship because of service in a foreign army. The case assumes greater significance, Pemberton said, because it is the first involving denationalization and deportation of a native-born American who has acquired no other citizenship and always intended to retain his American citizenship. In the earlier legal proceedings before the Immigration Service and the District Court, Marks said that while an American may willingly and voluntarily relinquish his native-born American citizenship, no American can be stripped of such citizenship contrary to his will or intention.

According to Pemberton, this case will decide whether the Fourteenth Amendment, which provides that all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside, and the Fifth Amendment, which provides that "No person shall ... be deprived of ... liberty ... without due process of law," prohibit the government from imposing involuntary expatriation upon American-born citizens. The ACLU has previously stated its position that the "constitutional limitation upon Congress to enact expatriation legislation should be circumscribed by the following standards: the performance of a voluntary act which imports renunciation of allegiance to the United States. The test is objective and applies both to native-born and naturalized citizens".

CHARGE SEGREGATED SCHOOLING OF NEGRO SERVICEMEN'S CHILDREN

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has charged that Negro children living on an Arkansas Air Force base are being sent to a segregated school several miles away from the installation.

Between 12 and 15 students, children of Negro airmen stationed at Blytheville Air Force Base in northeastern Arkansas, travel eight miles each way to school every day while children of white personnel attend a school just outside the base, according to L.C. Bates, NAACP field secretary for Arkansas.

Bates noted that the NAACP has registered protests with the Justice and Defense Departments but that no action has been taken to date despite a Defense Department investigation. The NAACP plans to take its complaint to the Air Force and Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, he added.

J.W. Rea, school superintendent of the Gosnell District, in which the base is situated, confirmed Bates' allegations although he put the Negro school's distance from the base at four miles. There are two schools in his district, Rea said, the Gosnell School for whites, which borders on the base and has 1,200 pupils, and the Calumet School, which has "a small enrollment" and is several miles away. The Gosnell school recently added 20 new classrooms, mostly with federal money. The Calumet School has only one teacher and, presumably, only one room.

The Negro children were given a choice between Calumet School and Negro schools in Blytheville, a city of about 20,000, and chose the latter, Rea said. The Gosnell District, which pays their tuition and transportation, is presently trying to claim federal aid for the Negro students but is unable to since parents refuse to sign necessary forms. About $2,000 is involved.

In Washington, where the NAACP complaints were filed, it was understood that the Air Force had not yet received an official protest. It was believed in some quarters, however, that the Air Force would not act on the case, because of the existing policy that government jurisdiction ended at the base's border and that it is best for the Air Force to comply with local school customs.

In a recent, somewhat similar case at the Little Rock Air Base, the Pulaski County (Rural) School District built the Little Rock Air Force Base Elementary School, entirely with federal funds, and opened it on a segregated basis. The school was attended only by children from the base. When the Defense Department threatened to condemn the property and take over the school, a compromise was reached whereby the government leased the school and hired the county district to run it on a desegregated basis. Segregation has not been mandatory under Arkansas law since a federal court decision early in 1956.

CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS

Prisoners in the Baltimore County (Maryland) Jail must attend two religious services on Sunday--Catholic in the morning and Protestant in the afternoon. Anyone who refuses to go is placed in solitary confinement.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION FOUNDED 1920

NUMBER 198

MONTHLY PUBLICATION OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION MAY 1962

BEYOND THE REACH

Certainly the affirmative pursuit of one's convictions about the ultimate mystery of the universe and man's relation to it is placed beyond the reach of law. Government may not interfere with organized or individual expressions of belief or disbelief. Propagation of belief—or even of disbelief—in the supernatural is protected, whether in church or chapel, mosque or synagogue, tabernacle or meeting-house.

—Justice Felix Frankfurter

Anarchy Act Invoked In Baton Rouge Case

For the first time the charge of criminal anarchy for participation in anti-segregation activities will come before the courts of Baton Rouge, La.

Four young civil rights leaders, three Negro and one white, will be tried on this charge. Of the four, Robert Zellner and Charles McDew, affiliated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, both of Atlanta, will be defended by the ACLU and the N.A.A.C.P. jointly. Ronnie Moore and Weldon Rougeau, former students at Southern University in Baton Rouge, and officers of the local chapter of C.O.R.E., will be defended by that organization.

The case is viewed as significant both by anti- and pro-segregationists, since the issue at stake is far broader than the mere guilt or innocence of the four defendants. It opens the question of a state's right to employ extraordinary legal means to enforce segregation by charging with criminal anarchy, which carries a ten-year prison sentence, those who espouse racial views differing from its own. Should the verdict go for the state of Louisiana, it will have an effective weapon against active integrationists.

The charge against two of the youths is that they advocated opposition to the state of Louisiana privately and publicly, and that they were members of S.N.C.C., an organization which they knew "to advocate, teach, and practice opposition to the state of Louisiana by unlawful means." The same charge was leveled at C.O.R.E. in the Moore and Rougeau cases.

ACLU Fights Administration's Federal Wiretapping Measure

In line with its historic position that wiretapping violates the Fourth Amendment's protection against unreasonable searches and seizures, the American Civil Liberties Union is opposing the bill recently introduced by Attorney General Kennedy.

Mauldin, St. Louis Post Dispatch

THE NATURE OF THE BEAST

In testimony by Lawrence Speiser, Director of the Union's Washington Office, at the Senate Judiciary Committee's April 4 hearing, two major points were emphasized: (1) no necessity has been demonstrated that could possibly outweigh the damage to individual liberties that even the most limited permit to wiretap would create; and (2) the Fourth Amendment's specification that "no Warrants shall issue, but on probably cause . . . and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized" would prohibit the general search reflected by a permit to tap all calls on a given phone for a given period of time.

The ACLU's chief objections to any permissive bill are that wiretapping as a general search invades the privacy of both the person whose phone is being tapped, and any person with whom he might communicate; that all calls are overheard, whether or not they have any relation to the object of the tapping; and that wiretapping, unless both interception and disclosure are categorically banned, is impossible to restrain, as demonstrated by the fact that even now wiretapping is illegal in terms of Section 605 of the Federal Communications Act, and yet it is conceded to be widely used and its fruits are admissible in most state courts as evidence. Beyond this, there has been no proof that wiretapping is essential to effective law enforcement.

Under the Administration-backed bill, S.2813, in national security cases—espionage, sabotage, treason, sedition, subversive activities, and unauthorized disclosure of atomic energy information—the Attorney General would have the power to wiretap, either by applying to a federal judge for such authority, or tapping without court permission in certain situations. The bill also provides for court-authorized tapping by federal agents in investigation of murder, kidnapping, gambling, narcotics, and similar federal offenses.

The Union opposes each of these provisions separately. Wiretapping without court order has been proposed to avoid security leaks, but the ACLU argues that the entire Bill of Rights is premised on faith in the courts and fear of

(Continued on page 2, column 3)

Condon-Wadlin Law Hit In N.Y.C. Teacher Strike

Shortly before last month's one-day teachers' strike in New York, the NYCLU reiterated publicly its long-standing opposition to the Condon-Wadlin Act, which prohibits strikes by public employees.

In opposing its application in the teachers' walk-out, the Union's New York affiliate again called for amendment of the law or, if this is not possible, enactment of a new statute.

"We believe that strikes by public employees should be barred only in cases where interruption of vital public services, and consequently the safety of the community, are involved," explained NYCLU Chairman Victor S. Gettner. "The services of teachers are not essential to the safety of the community. New Yorkers are aware of the fact that when the schools were closed on very short notice as a result of a snow storm, and also on the traditional closing for the holidays, no emergency was created," he said.

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Jeffrey E. Fuller, *Editor*

California Petition Endangers Liberty

A dark era of suppression of civil liberties was forecast last month by the Southern California ACLU if a statewide petition outlawing "subversive" activities qualifies for the ballot and is approved by the voters next fall. The local ACLU strongly condemned the omnibus measure and urged citizens not to sign the petition.

The proposal, which would affect teachers, public employees, taxpayers, political parties, office holders, and users of public property, was termed a "wholesale attack" on freedom of speech and association.

Signatures of 450,000 registered voters must be collected and certified to the Secretary of State by June 28 to qualify the measure for the November 6 general election.

Circulators of the petition, sponsored by a group known as Californians' Committee to Combat Communism, claimed in March that nearly half the necessary signatures had been obtained. The proposed amendment contains detailed "findings" concerning the "threat of the world-Communist movement," and concludes that "Communist-action," "Communist front," and "subversive" organizations present a clear and present danger to the state and nation.

The *Los Angeles Times* has urged its readers not to sign the petition and says that one section of the proposed amendment contains "a flaw that would be fatal to the American concept of justice." That provision permits any grand jury, the attorney general, any court, officer, board, or other agency of government to declare any organization subversive. "The odious feature," says the *Times,* "lies in the privileged irresponsibility of the whole array of denouncers. The accused has no recourse against them, even though an accusation of communism can be a deadly charge."

Md. Anti-Bias Bill Dies; Baltimore Ordinance Up

Support for a bill to end discrimination in places of public accommodation was urged without success by the Maryland ACLU in the recently concluded state legislative session.

The Maryland affiliate has now joined other local groups in urging such anti-discrimination ordinances on Baltimore and Baltimore County (of which the city is not a part). But lawmakers have already indicated they will not act until after the May primary election. Apparently Baltimore City may then be expected to pass such an ordinance by a bare majority of the City Council; whether the County will act remains problematical.

Two other bills, which the Maryland affiliate opposed, died in committee. One would have denied teen-agers the right to picket places of business thought to discriminate against persons on account of race, creed, or color; the ACLU termed it unconstitutional. The other would have increased the maximum penalty for trespassing from $100 to $1,000 and/or a year in jail; the ACLU said it was "clearly intended to harass" those protesting discrimination.

THREE ELECTED

Dr. Erich Fromm, the psychiatrist and author; Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers (AFL-CIO); and playwright Thornton Wilder were elected recently by the Union's Board of Directors to fill vacancies on the ACLU's National Committee.

PUERTO RICAN AID

At a recent meeting of the New Jersey ACLU's Board it was reported that the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico had agreed to pay half the cost of printing in Spanish a New Jersey edition of the Union's widely reproduced pamphlet IF YOU ARE ARRESTED. The NJCLU Board unanimously agreed to finance the other half.

Federal Wiretapping Bill

(Continued from page 1, column 3)

the arbitrary acts of law enforcement officers. Wiretapping even under judicial surveillance is condemned on general grounds and because, as advocated by the present legislation, it would be permissible in a broad range of circumstances not totally within the control of the courts.

The Union is also giving wide distribution to its new pamphlet, THE WIRETAPPING PROBLEM TODAY, announced in the April CIVIL LIBERTIES.

Members' Action Urged

All ACLU members are asked to write their Senators, and particularly those on the Senate Judiciary Committee listed below, urging them to oppose S. 2813.

James O. Eastland (Miss.), Chairman

John A. Carroll (Colo.)	Olin D. Johnston (S.C.)
Everett Dirksen (Ill.)	Kenneth Keating (N.Y.)
Thomas J. Dodd (Conn.)	Estes Kefauver (Tenn.)
Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (N.C.)	Edward V. Long (Mo.)
Hiram L. Fong (Hawaii)	John L. McClellan (Ark.)
Philip A.Hart (Mich.)	Hugh Scott (N.H.)
Roman L. Hruska (Neb.)	Alexander Wiley (Wisc.)

High Court's Reapportionment Decision Hailed as Help in Civil Rights Struggle

In commenting on the U.S. Supreme Court's March 26 decision holding that legislative malapportionment may violate the 14th Amendment, the ACLU last month said the ruling is certain to have broad ramifications.

As malapportionment is reduced, the long-existing rural domination of state legislatures will decline in favor of urban and suburban populations. This, in turn, is expected to improve chances for civil rights legislation as blockades by rural legislators are diminished.

Baker v. *Carr* was the title of the suit responsible for the high court's historic ruling. It was brought by several urban residents of Tennessee, who charged that for the last 60 years their state legislature had refused to reapportion its representation on the basis of the decennial federal census, as required by the Tennessee constitution. As a result, they noted, the constituents for whom individual legislators acted varied in number from 2,300 to 78,000, thus denying many persons equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the 14th Amendment.

The Supreme Court, in a 6-2 decision, broke new ground by deciding that federal courts could intervene in such a case, overturning a long-held principle that the question was "political." It returned the suit to a three-man federal district court in Tennessee (which earlier had refused to intervene) to determine whether the current districting violates the constitution, leaving to the lower court to decide the kind of judicial remedy that might be made.

For technical reasons the ACLU did not file a brief in the *Baker* v. *Carr* case, but publicly supported the test suit as implementing the Union's 1961 position that "the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment is infringed by the dilution, as well as the denial, of the right to vote."

In its 1961 statement the Union backed a change in the apportionment of state legislative districts to give all voters approximately equal representation.

Noting that the Supreme Court's March 26 decision did not take this advanced position, the ACLU declared that it hoped future court tests would establish the broader "equal protection of the laws" principle. "The important thing is that the Supreme Court has paved the way for federal courts to consider the question of unequal representation," said the Union, noting at the same time that its affiliates in Michigan, Indiana, Maryland, and Ohio were either now backing test suits or considering new challenges.

NAMES NEEDED

The Union's Nominating Committee is now seeking suggestions as to candidates for the Board of Directors and the National Committee. ACLU members are asked to send names (with biographical data, where necessary) of men and women who have publicly demonstrated support of the Union's principles. Candidates for the Board must be able to attend bi-weekly meetings in New York; National Committee candidates may live anywhere in the U.S. and its possessions. Send suggestions to ACLU Nominating Committee, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

Federal Action Urged In Tenn. Rights Case

The ACLU appealed last month to Attorney General Robert Kennedy to investigate the multiple arrests and alleged beatings of Eric Weinberger, of Norwich, Connecticut, while he was retraining Negro sharecroppers who had been evicted from their Tennessee homes after trying to register to vote.

"It is our understanding that the federal courts have jurisdiction over such activity by law enforcement officers who deprive citizens of any rights, privileges, or immunities 'under color of law,' and that your office, through the Civil Rights Division has the power and duty to investigate such charges," ACLU Executive Director John de J. Pemberton, Jr., told Kennedy.

For the past few months Weinberger has tried to help make families of "Freedom Village," tent communities in Haywood and Fayette Counties, Tennessee, economically self-sustaining by teaching them how to manufacture women's leather handbags. The tent communities were set up by Negro sharecroppers who were driven from their homes in 1960 "by tenant farmers for having registered or attempted to register to vote," the ACLU reminded the Attorney General.

"According to the information supplied us," the Union stated, "Mr. Weinberger was first arrested on March 2, 1962 . . . and held for three days without arraignment or notification of charges. Although we have made no independent investigation, we are informed that he was severely beaten by law enforcement officers while in jail, and following this incident was arrested for violating the traffic laws, for disorderly conduct, and for resisting arrest, within a period of ten days. Each time Mr. Weinberger was arrested he was apparently thrown in jail and beaten again."

A pacifist, Weinberger has expressed a wish not to press charges against the officers. "Hate and fear led them to attack me," he said. The ACLU explained that it was bringing the issue to the Department of Justice on its own.

JFK Ryukyus Policy Commended, in Part

The ACLU commended on April 22 the steps taken by President Kennedy in March to extend civil rights and local autonomy in Okinawa and the Ryukyu Islands, the last U.S.-occupied military area in the Pacific.

However, the Union said, the executive order does not "contribute to solving the conflict of security with freedom" which has marked American occupation of the islands since the end of World War II.

The ACLU's views were submitted in a letter to Secretary of Defense McNamara by Executive Director John de J. Pemberton, Jr., and Roger Baldwin, the Union's International Work Adviser.

The Union welcomed changes which would (1) make a civilian rather than a military man the Islands' Civil Administrator; and (2) allow nomination of the chief executive of the Islands by the legislature—"although we think genuine autonomy cannot be assured unless he is either popularly elected or designated, not nominated, by the Legislature, thus assuring an Executive representing the people or the legislative majority."

Discussing the inadequacies of the President's order, the ACLU said that it does nothing to deal with the ways in which the concept of security both in practice and under the penal code has affected "utterances, publications, and associations. This concept requires the licensing of publications and organizations; it restricts travel to Japan on the grounds of political opinion; and it gives the local American courts wide authority to penalize offenses of expression and association which should have no place in an American jurisdiction."

National Capital CLU Demands Home Rule for Washington, D.C.

Dr. Robert E. Martin, professor of government at Howard University, appeared before the Senate District of Columbia Committee on April 5 to present the newly-founded National Capital Area ACLU's arguments in favor of home rule for Washington.

Endorsing both Senator Bible's bill (S.2324) and Senator Morse's bill (S.287), he reminded the Committee of the *Washington Post's* comment calling attention to the "absurd position of Washington, D.C., as the undemocratic capital of the world's largest democracy."

He concluded by expressing the hope that the Committee would approve "a measure which will restore to 750,000 citizens their right to direct their local destinies through a government of their own choosing."

RESISTANCE

It behooves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself to resist invasions of it in the case of others.

—THOMAS JEFFERSON

PEACE CORPS NEWS

Peace Corps headquarters in Washington reports that a recent survey to determine labor union membership of Peace Corps personnel produced the information that "one of the unions that a great number of Volunteers belong to is the American Civil Liberties Union."

American Library Association's Censorship Statement Okayed

The ACLU has endorsed the recently-issued statement by the Intellectual Freedom Committee of the American Library Association on "How Libraries and Schools Can Resist Censorship." The two-page statement sets forth principles and procedures to be followed so as to prevent demands for censorship and then lists six specific actions to be taken if an attack does come. Copies are available from the A.L.A., 50 East Huron Street, Chicago 11, Illinois.

Spring Membership Campaign a Success

With the help of affiliates across the country, the Union's spring membership drive is picking up speed.

Initial returns from an experimental March-April appeal have been such that an additional 100,000 letters are now being prepared for mailing late this month.

In the meantime, *you* can play your part in this nationwide campaign by getting a friend to make use of the coupon below.

ACLU members of these categories receive CIVIL LIBERTIES each month (except July, August, and December) and the Union's 80-page Annual Report; they may have single copies of some 25 other pamphlets on request:

PARTICIPATING MEMBER	$100
COOPERATING MEMBER	$50
SUSTAINING MEMBER	$25
SUPPORTING MEMBER	$10
CONTRIBUTING MEMBER	$5

Associate Members, at $2, receive CIVIL LIBERTIES and the Annual Report. A weekly bulletin is available, on request, to members paying dues of $10 or more. By joining the national ACLU you automatically become a member of any existing active local ACLU organization in your area,* which will share in your dues. The more you give, the more your local receives.

* *Except in Northern California where the affiliate maintains its own separate membership. But the national ACLU also welcomes support from members in this area.*

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

The ACLU needs and welcomes the support of all those — and only those — whose devotion to civil liberties is not qualified by adherence to Communist, Fascist, KKK, or other totalitarian doctrine.

Please enroll me as a NEW MEMBER of the ACLU. Here is my $..... membership contribution, 50¢ of which is for one year of CIVIL LIBERTIES.

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CIVIL LIBERTIES *around the nation*

California: Five thousand cheering Californians attended a Town Meeting for Democracy in support of free speech and the United Nations in Los Angeles April 12; speakers included two ministers—the Rev. John Simmons and the Rev. Brooks Walker—whose homes had been bombed after they had criticized right-wing extremists, Republican Senator Clifford Case of New Jersey, and Democratic Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota; President Kennedy sent a telegram of praise; but the affair was deemed too "controversial" by all but a handful of Hollywood stars; the few participating included Robert Ryan, Don Murray, Gene Kelly, Steve Allen, Angela Lansbury, James Whitmore, Rod Serling, and Marsha Hunt.

Mississippi: The Rev. Robert L. T. Smith, the first Negro to run for Congress since 1875, was until late last month denied the right to buy TV time, but the Lamar Broadcasting Company abruptly reversed itself after critical inquiry by the F.C.C.

Texas: Major hotels in Houston last month integrated their room and restaurant facilities; newspapers and radio stations were asked to give the action no publicity.

New York: 400 students at Hunter College in the Bronx on April 11 listened with what their dean called "perfect decorum" to a speech by an American Nazi Party leader.

Alabama: The Alabama Legislature, which has not been reapportioned since 1901, was told by a federal court last month to reapportion itself promptly—or the court would do the job.

Kansas: Pleading the Fifth Amendment provision that no one shall be compelled to be a witness against himself, a Wichita businessman last month filed a blank income tax return to test the government's right to information about his income.

Louisiana: U.S. District Judge J. Skelly Wright last month threw out Louisiana's pupil placement law and opened the first six grades in all New Orleans public schools to Negroes.

Equal Pay for Women Legislation Endorsed

On April 27 the ACLU called for the adoption of federal legislation which would guarantee women equal pay for equal work.

"This is a simple question of fair play," explained the Union, "based on the constitutional principle of equal treatment and due process of law. Whatever the reasons for paying women less than men for doing the same work, none of them make sense today. . . . People should be paid on an equal basis for the work they do. Whether black or white, men or women, no difference is tolerable. . . . Women have suffered from this evil long enough. They are in industry to stay. They deserve to be treated like all other human beings in a land of freedom and equality."

The ACLU stand was presented by Miss Dorothy Kenyon, a former justice of the Municipal Court of New York City, the first U.S. delegate to the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women, and a member of the Union's Board for over thirty years.

Judge Kenyon testified at a hearing of the House Committee on Education and Labor on bills that would guarantee equal pay for equal work for women in all private business engaged in interstate commerce or having contracts with the federal government.

CORRECTION

A report on recent activities of the Arizona Civil Liberties Union which appeared in the April CIVIL LIBERTIES contained two important errors. The headline should have read "Arizona CLU Helps *Repeal* Anti-Miscegenation Law." The story itself should have made clear that the bill supported by the Arizona affiliate, passed by the Legislature, and signed by the Governor, *repealed* the existing anti-miscegenation statute. The new law eliminates Arizona's long-time ban on interracial marriages.

WINS $1,000 AWARD

For his manuscript entitled "The American Civil Liberties Union and the First World War," Dr. Donald Johnson last month received the Mississippi Valley Historical Association's annual award of $1,000. The manuscript will be published by the University of Kentucky Press. Dr. Johnson teaches history at Idaho State College.

Ill. ACLU Wins Memorable Decision in "Tropic" Case

In his February 21 decision lifting Chicago's ban on Henry Miller's book, "The Tropic of Cancer," Chief Justice Samuel Epstein of the Superior Court of Cook County had some memorable words to say on freedom of expression:

"Let the parents control the reading matter of their children; let the tastes of the readers determine what they may or may not read; let each reader be his own censor; but let not the government or the courts dictate the reading matter of a free people.

"The constitutional right to freedom of speech and press should be jealously guarded by the courts. As a corollary to the freedom of speech and press, the courts should also guard the freedom to read. The right to free utterances becomes a useless privilege when the freedom to read is restricted or denied."

The ACLU's Illinois Division, which played a major role in winning this victory, is continuing to support the case on appeal.

BOOK NOTES

PLEASE ORDER THESE WORKS FROM BOOK STORES OR PUBLISHERS, *not* FROM ACLU.

GREAT DISSENTERS, by Norman Thomas. 220 pp. W. W. Norton & Company. $4.00

One of the founders of the ACLU pays tribute to five men—Socrates, Galileo, Thomas Paine, Wendell Phillips, and Gandhi—whose dissents have influenced world history.

"SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS . . .", by Benjamin R. Epstein and Arnold Forster. 288 pp. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $4.50

Two officials of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith present the facts on anti-semitism in mid-20th century America.

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MAY 1962 — NUMBER 198

American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

TO: Board, National Committee

FROM: Jack Pemberton

RE: 1962 Biennial Conference

The Conference, to be held in New York City On June 22-24, is only a month away, and I hope you are making plans to attend. There are a number of pressing substantive and organizational problems to be discussed at the Conference and we need maximum participation, especially from our Board and National Committee members. As in past years, half of your travel and local expenses (as discussed in Bulletin #4) will be reimbursed from the Union budget. Enclosed are two memoranda concerning attendance and housing arrangements. Would you return the attendance questionnaire promptly. I look forward to seeing you at the Conference.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION ON THE DEATH OF WILLIAM L. MOORE

The Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union notes with the deepest regret the death of William L. Moore, an ACLU member, shot and killed in Alabama while exercising his right of free expression. It extends sincere sympathy to his family.

Mr. Moore had an intense belief that all men are created equal. Using his right to free speech in a pure form, he was walking, alone, from Tennessee to Mississippi with pro-integration signs; there he intended to deliver a personal letter, embodying his beliefs, to the Governor of Mississippi, a man who symbolizes racism.

Mr. Moore undertook his journey through a region where some counties have been marked by a tradition of lawlessness, repression of free expression, and disrespect for human rights. He did so deliberately, in the hope both of moving all citizens to respect for equality and, in his words, "to illustrate that the most basic of freedoms of peaceful protest is not altogether extinguished" in the South. Mr. Moore was in communication with the ACLU before beginning his walk about his legal rights and possible need for legal aid. He asserted that he did not want to be a test case, nor, it was clear, did he intend to become a martyr. Yet he died for his belief in civil liberties.

The Board notes with alarm that the moral climate in one of the United States can permit one of its roads to be mortally dangerous for an American citizen peacefully exercising his rights.

ADOPTED April 29, 1963

FEATURE PRESS SERVICE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, 156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

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in Charge of Public Relations

WEEKLY BULLETIN #2168 April 29, 1963

ACLU, JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, SEE DIFFERENT ROADS TO RACIAL EQUALITY

The Department of Justice and the American Civil Liberties Union continue in disagreement about how to secure rights for persons trying to get Negroes registered to vote in the Deep South. The federal government and the ACLU agreed in an exchange of letters on racial equality as a common goal, but disagreed on the means to be used to achieve it.

Cause for initiation of the correspondence was a suit filed by eight Mississippians last January 2 against Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. Known as Moses, et al., v. Kennedy and Hoover, the action requested a court order compelling the federal government to provide protection for civil rights demonstrations, and to arrest and prosecute Mississippi law enforcement officers and private citizens who have been interfering with Negro voter-registration campaigns.

In a February 25 letter to Mr. Kennedy, the ACLU, while not joining in the suit, supported the complaint of the Mississippi plaintiffs. The ACLU remarked that the Administration has been eager to file law suits, but hesitant to employ direct action where needed. "The responsibility of the government doesn't end there," the ACLU said. "It extends as well to affirmative assistance and protection of private citizens who are exercising their First Amendment rights for the purpose of securing their Fifteenth Amendment rights. That the State of Mississippi denies a vast number of its citizens their right to vote is a scandal; that it physically interferes with persons actively engaged in seeking the franchise and other civil rights is equally outrageous." The letter also found fault with the Department of Justice's court actions, and suggested the commencement of civil rights prosecutions by information instead of by indictment.

On March 13, Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division answered the ACLU letter. Replying to the Union's charge that federal marshals and FBI protection should be provided for civil rights workers and demonstrators before the situation gets out of hand, Marshall wrote, "It is appropriate to observe that the responsibility for preservation of law and order, and the protection of citizens against unlawful conduct on the part of others, is the responsibility of local authorities... This Department," he continued, "has utilized necessary force to suppress disorders so general in nature as to render ineffectual the efforts of local authorities to protect citizens exercising federal rights. Where such circumstances exist, the Department will continue to utilize the resources at its command."

While noting that the Department of Justice has at times commenced prosecutions by information and will continue to do so on occasion, the Assistant Attorney General rejected the procedure as a general method. Marshall said the importance of indictment "by a grand jury composed of local citizens should not be minimized." He also called the grand jury "a useful if not, indeed, indispensable forum for testing" the credibility of potential trial witnesses, thus avoiding trial acquittals.

But the ACLU remained unconvinced by Marshall's arguments, and made public its earlier letter to the Justice Department while preparing a rejoinder. On March 28, ACLU Executive Director John de J. Pemberton, Jr., outlined the Union's argument for prosecution by information this way: "The dilemma then is whether constitutional rights are best served by proceeding on the assumption that prosecutions will be instituted only where the quantity of proof is extraordinarily high...in the hope that the jury's conscience will somehow be touched, or contrariwise, by filing prosecutions in a larger number of cases with the expectation that few if any will result in conviction. Frankly, we would not expect at the present time that convictions

would result regardless of whi ch standard was used, but we believe that there is more to be hoped for by visible good faith efforts to enforce federal criminal law, even if acquittals are anticipated, than by the highly selective and equally unsuccessful process which is now in effect."... We want to make it perfectly clear that we are not suggesting by any means that prosecutions be filed by information capriciously. It is just that we are confident that a reasonable amount of FBI investigation will produce enough evidence to justify prosecution. It is our impression that prosecution by information for other federal misdemeanors is the rule rather than the exception. We see no reason why the civil rights area should be exceptional in this regard."

Concerning federal intervention to insure the safety of persons seeking to help Negroes to register, the ACLU letter declared: "We do not recommend the establishment of a second Reconstruction by any means. It may be, however, that a display of federal protection, either through the use of agents of the FBI or federal marshals, would be quite successful in the outlying rural areas where these offenses most generally occur." The ACLU commended the Justice Department on its handling of the crisis at the University of Mississippi last fall, but said the whole tragic incident might have been averted, if preliminary action had been taken.

ACLU ELECTS SEVEN NEW BOARD AND NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

The election of seven new members to the Board of Directors and the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union was announced on March 31 by the Union's executive director, John de J. Pemberton, Jr.

Elected to the Board were Algernon D. Black, a leader of the Ethical Culture Society and chairman of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination in Housing; Luther B. Evans, former librarian of Congress and director-general of UNESCO; and James Farmer, executive director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

Elected to the National Committee are Giovanni Costigan of Seattle, professor of history at the University of Washington; Milton Konvitz of Ithaca, N.Y., professor of law and industrial relations at Cornell University; Louis Lusky of Louisville, Ky., an attorney; and Frank C. Newman of Berkeley, Calif., professor and dean of the School of Law, University of California at Berkeley.

ARIZONA HIGH COURT UPHOLDS GIVING OUT BIRTH CONTROL INFORMATION

The Planned Parenthood Committee of Phoenix, Arizona, won a partial victory in the Arizona Supreme Court recently. While refusing to declare unconstitutional a state statute which bars advertising of contraceptive devices, the high court unanimously ruled that dissemination of birth control information by the Committee was not in violation of the statute as had been charged. The Committee's means of disseminating such information -- pamphlets, articles, press releases and personal consultations with doctors -- do not fall under the heading of advertising which is proscribed by the statute, and are therefore permissible, the high court held.

Chief Justice Charles C. Bernstein wrote the opinion of the court, which upheld a lower court ruling. The Planned Parenthood Committee had attacked the state law as an impairment of freedom of speech and of due process rights guaranteed by the First and Fourteenth Amendments respectively. The court found to the contrary, noting that "the limited restriction of First Amendment freedoms" imposed by the statute in prohibiting the advertisement of contraceptives served the public interest, "inasmuch as stimulation of sales of contraceptives might lead to greater sexual activity among unmarried persons", and was therefore justified.

The case was brought by the Planned Parenthood Committee against Maricopa County of Arizona, against the state of Arizona, and against certain County officials, among them Dr. S. F. Farnsworth, its medical director. In June of 1959, Dr. Farnsworth had issued a directive prohibiting the giving out of birth control information, or the display of literature on the subject, at any of the Maricopa County clinics. The result was virtually to halt the operations of the Planned Parenthood group. Maricopa's contention in support of its action was that the dissemination of birth control information was in contravention of the state law, which states that anyone who "writes, composes or publishes a notice or advertisement of any medicine or means ... for prevention of conception..." is in violation of its provisions.

Referring to the leaflets displayed by the Planned Parenthood Committee in clinics and hospitals, Judge Bernstein noted that some give information about the Committee, others describe the dangers of over-population, uncontrolled procreation and abortion, while others tell that safe methods are available for contraception. "Such literature," he said, "is obviously not advertising of any medicine or means to prevent conception..."

Judge Bernstein also stated the opinion of the court that "the dissemination of birth control information by a doctor to his patient," or by the Committee to those who seek information from it, was not barred by the statute "since person to person consultation is not 'advertising'."

ACLU ASKS PROBE OF ALLEGED WIRETAPS IN BRIBERY TRIAL

Joseph McK. Mitchell, city manager of Newburgh, New York, was found not guilty in a bribery trial in New York City last week, but the case has not ended there. The American Civil Liberties Union has prodded federal authorities to investigate the investigators in the trial. In a letter dated March 18, John de J. Pemberton, Jr. and George E. Rundquist, executive directors respectively of the ACLU and the New York Civil Liberties Union, called on U.S. Attorney Robert M. Morgenthau to look into defense charges that recordings submitted as evidence by the prosecution were obtained by illegal wiretaps.

Lawrence J. DeMasi, Jr., a real estate operator from Hillsdale, N.J., and co-defendant with Mitchell, was also acquitted. DeMasi claims Assistant District Attorney Karl Grebow told him New York City P olice had tapped his phone and recorded his conversations with Mitchell and other persons. He claims Grebow played back the tape of one such conversation he had with Mitchell. These counter-charges are contained in a letter from DeMasi's counsel, William Power Maloney, to U.S. Attorney Morganthau, last February 27. Wiretapping of interstate calls is a federal offense, under an FCC regulation deriving from Congress' constitutional right to regulate interstate commerce (Article I, Section 8, Paragraph 3).

For his part, Grebow denies the truth of DeMasi's charges. The Assistant D.A. has submitted an affidavit declaring "we have not used any evidence obtained by wire taps, do not intend to use any evidence obtained by wire taps and do not have any evidence obtained by wire taps."

In his affidavit, Grebow asserts the recording in question is one of several made of conversations between DeMasi and Stephen and Joseph Wahrhaftig. The Wahrhaftig brothers, also real estate operators, say they were referred to DeMasi by Mitchell when they inquired about rezoning for their property in Newburgh. They say the tapes were made with a $425 machine bought for just that purpose. Grebow claims these recordings were made by placing the recorder's microphone next to the Wahrhaftigs' telephone. He declares no taps were involved, and he makes no mention of any other recordings.

But in view of the conflicting nature of the testimony, and the consequent uncertainty of the situation, the ACLU reminded Mr. Morganthau that DeMasi's "charges, if true, warrant investigation and prosecution by your office as violations of Section 605 of the Federal Communications Act."

CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS

Investigation by the Central Texas Affiliate of the ACLU of police methods of interrogating juveniles has met with cooperation from Austin Police Chief Miles, who has instructed his officers "that department procedures must be adhered to completely if the liberties of both the children and adults are not to be violated in the name of expedience"..."Prompt disciplinary action" against Connecticut real estate brokers or salesmen who engage in "block busting" (solicitation of the sale of property on the basis that racial change is on its way in a neighborhood) has been promised by State Insurance Commissioner Alfred N. Premo, who called the practice a violation of the real estate licensing law. In Detroit the ACLU affiliate at a public hearing on a proposed ordinance to prohibit block busting, expressed approval of the purpose of the ordinance, but suggested clarification of its language in order to keep it constitutionally sound... The Kalamazoo Gazette recently published a five-column story by staff writer Donald A. Williams answering readers' questions about the ACLU which aroused p ublic interest when it opposed the outlay of city funds for the display of a nativity scene in downtown Kalamazoo for Christmas. Williams described the ACLU as a non-profit, non-partisan national organization "deeply concerned" with preserving constitutional freedoms... Declaring that its allegations were "assinine", the ACLU of Southern California nevertheless defended in a Los Angeles court the issuance of a booklet during the Nixon-Brown campaign which described Governor Brown and the Union as "soft on Communism" ... Due to intervention by the Minnesota branch of the ACLU, the 10 to 80 year prison sentence of Norman E. Hudson for armed robbery, which had been wrongfully set as a double sentence because of a prior conviction, has been halved...In a case brought by God's Little Candles,a religious group which was denied a license to solicit contributions, the Superior Court in Seattle declared unconstitutional the city ordinance governing charitable, religious and political solicitations. Though unsympathetic to its anti-Semitic and political views, the ACLU of Washington supported God's Little Candles because of the issue of religious freedom involved.

FEATURE PRESS SERVICE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, 156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

ERNEST ANGELL
Chairman
Board of Directors

EDWARD J. ENNIS
OSMOND K. FRAENKEL
General Counsel

JOHN de J. PEMBERTON, JR.
Executive Director

ORegon 5-5990

Alan Reitman, *Associate Director*
in Charge of Public Relations

WEEKLY BULLETIN #2169 May 13, 1963

ACLU URGES ACTION IN SLAYING OF DESEGREGATION WALKER IN ALABAMA

The tragic slaying of William E. Moore while on a desegregation protest march moved the American Civil Liberties Union on April 24 to urge the Justice Department to intervene in the case to make certain that his murder was "not swept under the carpet."

The ACLU telegraphed Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy immediately after the 35-year-old Baltimore mailman had been slain near the small northern Alabama town of Keener and before a suspect had been arrested.

"We deplore this terrible crime and urge that swift and vigorous efforts be taken by the Department of Justice to see that Mr. Moore's attackers are apprehended," the Union's executive director, John de J. Pemberton Jr., wired the Attorney General. "In view of the repeated failure of local and state officials to investigate and prosecute assaults on advocates of civil rights in the South, we believe the Federal Government has a special responsibility to see that such terrible crimes as the killing of William L. Moore are not swept under the carpet. This is especially so because the attack was really a reprisal against Mr. Moore's expression of opinion, a federally guaranteed right."

Moore, a white man and former Marine, was slain while walking from Chattanooga, Tenn., toward Jackson, Miss., wearing sandwich boards protesting segregation and carrying a letter he had written to Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett urging that executive to accept integration. An ACLU member, he had consulted with the Union prior to beginning his one-man walking campaign. He had been assured by ACLU that the walk "was an active demonstration of the freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment, as upheld by decisions of the United States Supreme Court".

Along with President Kennedy, Alabama's Governor George Wallace, and numerous newspaper editorial writers, the ACLU Board of Directors expressed deep regret over Moore's death.

"Mr. Moore had an intense belief that all men are created equal," the Board noted in a resolution. "Mr. Moore undertook his journey through a region where some counties have been marked by a tradition of lawlessness, repression of free expression, and disrespect for human rights. He did so deliberately, in the hope both of moving all citizens to respect for equality and, in his words, 'to illustrate that the most basic of freedoms of peaceful protest is not altogether extinguished' in the South....He asserted that he did not want to be a test case, nor, it was clear, did he intend to become a martyr. Yet he died for his belief in civil liberties. The Board notes with alarm that the moral climate in one of the United States can permit one of its roads to be mortally dangerous for an American citizen peacefully exercising his rights."

Among the newspaper editorials protesting Moore's murder was one in The Sun-Bulletin of Binghamton, N.Y., where Moore had been a postman until he transferred to Baltimore last November and where his family still lives. It asked readers to "Remember Bill Moore" by contributing either to the ACLU or to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Thanking the Sun-Bulletin's president and editor, David Bernstein, Pemberton observed that "in the spirit of your editorial we must find renewed courage and determination to carry on the battle in which Mr. Moore was so deeply involved". He assured Bernstein that any funds contributed as a result of the newspaper's editorial would be "used to further advance the cause of human rights to which Mr. Moore gave his life."

TROPIC OF CANCER CASE REACHES U. S. SUPREME COURT LEVEL

Henry Miller's Tropic of Cancer, the novel that blazed a trail of controversy through the nation's courts last year, has now reached the United States Supreme Court level.

The Supreme Court has agreed to review the 1962 conviction of bookseller Bradley Reed Smith, for possessing and distributing Tropic of Cancer which a Los Angeles jury found to be obscene. The Superior Court banned further sale of the book in Los Angeles. The case has become a cause celebre in the nation's literary community on the basis that this is the first time in 14 years that the U. S. Supreme Court has reviewed an obscenity prosecution concerning a book of recognized literary and artistic importance.

More than one hundred prominent authors, editors and publishers filed a brief in Smith's behalf as a friend of the court. Their argument rests on an earlier Supreme Court decision which declared that any attempt to suppress any work of the slightest social significance would constitute violation of freedom of the press, guaranteed in the First Amendment. "We believe," the brief asserted, "that a work which has literary or artistic importance cannot be deemed to be empty of social importance." But the amicus contention is not merely that Tropic of Cancer has this artistic value; the brief contended no judge or jury is competent to determine that any work is completely lacking in artistic importance. "While, on the one hand, it cannot be doubted that Tropic of Cancer has importance for many," the brief argued, "yet on the other hand, there are those persons, even experts, who would deny its importance and urge that the work be suppressed. But we fail to understand how literary or artistic expression can be required to abide by any consensus -- whether public, expert, or jural -- if it is to be free and protected by the Constitutional guaranty." The fact that a court might fail to appreciate the artistic or social value of a given work does not, in the opinion of these literary figures, mean that other individuals, who might be capable of understanding the work, should be deprived of their constitutional rights.

The position advanced in the brief is a rejection of all typical obscenity laws unless some less drastic formula for protecting freedom of expression can be worked out. The brief cited a 1962 policy statement by the American Civil Liberties Union declaring that "limitations of expression on the ground of obscenity are unconstitutional," unless clear proof exists that the material would cause "in a normal adult, behavior which had validly been made criminal by statute," or unless the material was aimed at children, and would lead to juvenile crime.

While the Supreme Court's decision next term will be eagerly awaited, the Miller novel is also sparking a new approach to obscenity prosecutions. This would base prosecutions against the book rather than the author, publisher or bookseller. This new development, known as in rem proceedings, was recognized last fall in a decision of the New York State Court of Appeals, in which the judges unanimously overturned a state Supreme Court ruling dismissing the suit of a Rochester bookseller against the district attorney, requesting a declaratory judgment on the status of Tropic of Cancer. The Court of Appeals, the state's highest court, sent the case back to the lower court for civil trial, stating that a "bookseller, faced with the threat of prosecution if he sells a book condemned by the authorities, may escape from the dilemma by procuring a judicial determination of the legality of the sale of the book without first selling the book and incurring the risk of prosecution. The entertaining of declaratory judgment actions in obscenity cases thus not only serves the interests of booksellers but also serves the public interest by preventing the creation of an extra-legal system of censorship by the local police or prosecuting authorities."

The ACLU has endorsed the in rem proceeding as a prerequisite to the criminal prosecution of any person for publishing, distributing or selling such material

A censorship bill incorporating the in rem principle was introduced into the Rhode Island legislature in February. The bill would not supplant existing criminal obscenity laws, but would permit the state attorney general to petition the Superior Court to review any printed matter and hold a hearing if "reasonable cause" existed.

While the issue of Tropic of Cancer has reached the U. S. Supreme Court level, several other challenges are pending at the state level. The California Supreme Court is considering a suit filed by a Los Angeles bookseller and an English teacher to enjoin the City Attorney from removing the book from the stores. The

ACLU of Southern California is backing this suit which was lost in the lower state courts. In Illinois the Supreme Court has granted a petition from the Illinois Division, ACLU to reconsider its decision upholding an appellate court ruling against the book. A Syracuse County (N. Y.) judge reversed the conviction of three bookstore employees for selling the book, and the district attorney's office indicated it would take the case to the New York Court of Appeals. Last summer, Massachusetts' Supreme Judicial Court overturned a state-wide ban of the book in a decision holding that Tropic of Cancer is a work of literature, not of pornography. In Maryland the highest court in the state has reversed a lower-court decision convicting a book dealer for selling the novel. The court ordered new proceedings to determine whether the book should be considered obscene by contemporary community standards.

ACLU CALLS FOR DUE PROCESS IN FOOTBALL SCANDAL

The Metropolitan Detroit Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan jumped into the muddied waters of an alleged scandal involving the Detroit Lions football team, claiming that civil liberties were denied. In a release dated January 14, the Union complained that Detroit Police Commissioner George Edwards and other members of his department, as well as some segments of the press, were permitting "guilt by association, inference and innuendo" to besmirch the names of players against whom there was "no present evidence of any criminal or illegal act."

The rumors that the ACLU affiliate protested concerned alleged associations of certain members of the Detroit Lions' National Football League team with recognized professional gamblers. According to Detroit newspaper reports, the Police Department added fuel to the fire when Commissioner Edwards announced his intention to publicize the names of persons under investigation, "even though the persons involved may not be prosecuted for lack of evidence." The ACLU affiliate charged that "immeasurable damage" had already been done to private individuals, including team members, as a result of the publicity. "Trial and subsequent punishment for those found guilty is a function of the Judiciary," the statement read, and "not that of the Executive or Legislative arms of government." "Moreover," the release declared, "in all judicial proceedings the presumption of innocence remains with the accused at all times until the ultimate decision of the court or jury is reached. Important due process safeguards, including the right to subpoena witnesses in one's behalf, the right to a jury trial and more, are inviolate -- even for those against whom the evidence is overwhelming and those who have previously been convicted."

CIVIL LIBERTIES BRIEFS

In San Antonio, Texas, a fight developed over speakers for a Junior Chamber of Commerce Americanism seminar, when a member of the local ACLU characterized those slated to address the seminar as the "Bircher-type".... The Oregon Board of Higher Education announced that after January 1, 1963 it will withdraw recognition from any fraternity or sorority in the six state-owned colleges under its supervision which practices racial or religious discrimination.... In the wake of the Supreme Court ruling outlawing "official" prayers in public schools, and the N.Y. State ban on use of a portion of the national anthem, various substitutes have been adopted by Long Island schools -- parts of the Pledge of Allegiance or the Declaration of Independence, or of "America". Though nine states, N. Y. among them, have banned religious exercises, eighteen others continue Bible reading and/or prayers in their schools, some stating that they will do so until the Supreme Court decides the issue of whether some or no religious observances are allowable in public schools.... The death sentence of Larry West Shipley, 21, for the murder of a 16-year-old girl last August has been appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court by the ACLU of Oregon on the ground that 25 hours elapsed after Shipley's arrest and before he was brought before a magistrate. The ACLU claims a confession made during that time should not have been allowed as evidence....Albert C. Barclay, attorney of Hightstown, New Jersey, has notified the Mayor and Council of Princeton of a complaint by the Princeton Free Speech Committee that they were denied the right of free speech by being refused a permit to pass out pamphlets. Barclay wrote the Mayor and Council that the right of free speech "includes the right to speak foolishly as well as wisely " and that the opinions circulated in pamphlets need not be sound or popular....Three leaders of the Congress of Racial Equality were found guilty of defamation by an all-white jury in Baton Rouge, La.-- Reverend B. Elton Cox of defaming a judge and district attorney at a meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Ronnie Moore and Patricia Ann Tate of defaming a grand jury by offering to testify in Cox's behalf.... The South Carolina Supreme Court unanimously reversed the conviction of 42 Morris College students for participation in CORE-sponsored sit-ins at Sumter lunch counters....James Farmer, national director of CORE, in a program of economic sanctions against ultra-segregationist states, has announced CORE's intention to start legal action to prevent those states from issuing tax-exempt municipal bonds, and to inform major buyers of bonds-- banks, insurance companies and pension funds -- of these legal actions.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

June 3, 1963

To: Radio-TV Committee
From: The Office
Re: ACLU policy on a) FCC handling of "fairness"complaints and b) ACLU action on complaints to the Union

This issue was discussed at the Committee's March 21 meeting in which Mr. Joel Rosenbloom, legal assistant to the Chairman of the FCC, participated. The minutes of that meeting state:

MINUTES

Mr. Rosenbloom summarized the categories which the FCC uses in acting upon complaints which are made to it:

1. "Fairness" - The question of whether issues presented are treated in a balanced fashion falls under this category. It includes fair presentation of opposing views on station editorials as well as other formats for presenting public issues. Until recently, complaints which fell into this category were investigated at the time the complaint was made, but no judgment was made until time for license renewal by the station involved. At that time the judgment was weighed in the context of the station's overall programming. The Commission is presently experimenting with a new procedure: investigation of and judgment on the complaint at the time it is made.

2. "Reasonableness" - The question of whether particular issues are presented at all fall under this category, and includes a complaint that a specific program has been kept from the air. When such a complaint is received, the FCC's criterion for judging whether the station has acted properly is the reason the station gives for turning down a particular program.'

The three particular programs before the Committee, the Sobell Committee complaint, sale of time for political parties to present discussion, and the erasure by "Open End" of a taped program on "The Sexual Revolution" (called to the Committee's attention by Mr. Goodman), all involve stations not carrying particular programs and thus fall within the FCC's "reasonableness" category. The issue presented by the Delaware Chapter, (now moot because the program in question is off the air) that of a right-wing radio interviewer on the air several hours each day, would probably fall under the "fairness" category because the relevant question is whether the station presents other points of view.

Mr. Reitman reviewed ACLU policy with respect to complaints of censorship or unfairness by stations or networks: that the FCC should weigh a station's overall programming at the time application is made for license renewal, and that a station's action on a single program should be viewed in this general context. The ACLU has not, itself and apart from the FCC, taken positions with respect to particular programs, but has limited itself to the above.

The Committee agreed that it should consider new policy recommendations concerning "fairness" and "reasonableness" at its next meeting and would consider also whether it would be useful to urge the FCC to make occasional affirmative announcements that discussion of particular issues would be in the public interest. The last proposal was a suggested aid to the problem of licensees imposing pressure on persons appearing on or creating a program by continually saying, "You must stay within the bounds of good taste or the FCC will be on us."

At the request of the Chairman, Mrs. Pilpel, Erick Barnouw prepared the following report which is divided into two sections: (1) a draft letter to the FCC concerning its experiment on immediate hearings on fairness complaints; and (2) a recommendation as to what action the ACLU should take when complaints are made to it about station practices.

1. Draft of ACLU statement on new FCC "fairness" procedure

The American Civil Liberties notes with interest that the Federal Communications Commission has adopted a new practice, still "experimental," as to fairness controversies. Previously the Commission practice was to obtain the facts of a controversy but to make no judgment until the license of the station involved came up for renewal at the end of the three-year license period. Under the new experimental practice, as we understand it, the Commission may make an immediate judgment.

There are obvious values in this new procedure. The old practice, under which the Commission might investigate and hold hearings, but would remain silent as to its views until renewal time, could result in a licensee unsuspectingly continuing for many months a practice jeopardizing its license. If one regards the matter in this light, an immediate Commission statement seems a matter of minimum fairness toward the licensee himself.

However, there are also dangers in the new procedure. We note that the Commission has referred to these fairness judgments as "rulings." Aware of its jeopardy, a station may in any case accept them as such, and act accordingly. When such "rulings" result in reversal of programming decisions, they are likely to encourage a rash of additional fairness complaints. Quite aside from the physical impossibility of serving in such a role for several thousand stations, the day-to-day involvement would seem to undermine the spirit of the licensing system, and the whole theory of licensee responsibility.

We note that the practice is "experimental." If it leads to a richer diversity of viewpoints on the American air, the experiment can make a contribution to the public interest. If on the other hand it leads to centralization of program control, it would have the opposite effect. Crucial to the outcome of the experiment will be policies adopted by the Commission in implementing it. How will the Commission decide which controversies require immediate judgment, and which do not? How will it avoid a snowballing of this advisory role? Will the judgments be offered as rulings, or be clearly presented as advisory opinions? We trust that the Commission, in pursuing its experiment, will bear in mind the importance of such related issues, and the dangers as well as advantages inherent in the experiment.

2. Recommended ACLU Position

The ACLU up to now has not written to stations and networks or the FCC about specific complaints made by individuals or organizations, relying on the position that a station and network should not be judged on the basis of a single program but rather on its total programming over the three-year license period. Because of the need to encourage more diversity on the air, the Union ought to urge on stations and networks, through letters, that they seriously consider such complaints in the context of their responsibility to present diversity and controversy. However, such letters would make clear that the station and network has the final responsibility to determine what it will present on the air. No special appeal will be made to the FCC, but the Commission will receive a copy of the letter sent the station or network by the ACLU.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK

June 5, 1963

TO: The Board of Directors

FROM: The Office

RE: Fingerprinting of Teachers in Montgomery County, Maryland

The National Education Association has asked the Union's views on an issue which has flared up again in Montgomery County, Maryland. Within the last few years, the Montgomery County School Board voted to require all school personnel to be fingerprinted because a school custodian was discovered to have a child molestation record prior to his being hired by the school district. Just last week, the Montgomery County School Board voted to turn the fingerprint records over to the Police Dept. and the FBI. The attached Washington Post clipping of May 28 gives further details.

Richard Morgan, Associate Legal Counsel of the NEA is collecting a variety of views preliminary to the NEA considering the problem and has requested the views of the ACLU. The National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union is watching the problem and will probably formulate a position on the problem, although they have not determined what if anything to do about it.

In 1960 the ACLU of Michigan requested advice when the fingerprinting of teachers was being considered in that state. Our Academic Freedom Committee considered the issue on November 1, 1960 and agreed that "such fingerprinting should be tolerated only when used for the detection of cheating in license examinations, and should not be endorsed by the ACLU if the prints subsequently became the property of the FBI, or the local police."

The New York Civil Liberties Union also considered this issue in 1961 when the Board of Education initiated a policy of fingerprinting future New York City teachers and decided that no civil liberties issue was present.

In 1963, when FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover urged that all teachers be fingerprinted, the NYCLU, in response to a request from the CBS network for local comment, said:

> "Fingerprinting is an invasion of an individual's privacy, and the New York Civil Liberties Union is concerned with every extension of government surveillance of the individual. However, it has become a widespread procedure to fingerprint government employees before they enter upon their duties, and all federal employees, as well as those of New York City and State, are now fingerprinted, including New York City teachers. For the very limited purpose advocated by Mr. Hoover -- that is, determining whether an applicant for a teaching job has a record of conviction for any crime related to the care of children -- we do not believe that fingerprinting of teachers is an oppressive measure."

Also relevant to the Board's discussion of this problem is the correspondence the Union has had with J. Edgar Hoover with respect to disposition of fingerprint records and our current interest in reviewing the over-all problem of arrest records. Our March 4, 1963 minutes report:

> "Mr. Pemberton reported that in January 1961 Mr. Malin had corresponded with Mr. J. Edgar Hoover urging the FBI to assume responsibility for ascertaining the ultimate disposition of the case for the purposes of entering such information on the arrest fingerprint cards which come in to the FBI from local law enforcement agencies. Mr. Hoover replied that this was physically impossible, stating, however, that the forms urged local police to report the disposition, and that, if they did so, the disposition was reported on the FBI's records.
>
> ...Mr. Speiser emphasized the distinction between arrests and convictions and suggested that no police department should be allowed to disseminate any information about an individual who was arrested, but never charged and arraigned; the FBI, however, should collect statistics on all arrests, for their value in recording the indicidence of illegal police practices. Mr. Pemberton suggested, and the Board approved, referring Mr. Speiser's proposal to the Due Process Committee."

THE WASHINGTON POST
Tuesday, May 28, 1968 B7

Police to Get Fingerprints Of Teachers

The Montgomery County School Board voted 4 to 3 last night to turn the fingerprint records of teachers and other school employes over to the County Police Department.

The Board majority overrode the vigorous objections of the three other members and School Superintendent C. Taylor Whittier to adopt the policy, whereby fingerprint cards of new and present employes will be sent to the police department for checking with the FBI.

The School Personnel Department presently conducts this check in an effort to detect persons with criminal records and the nature of their offenses.

Board President Charles W. Bell argued that the police were better equipped to perform such a check and to recognize potentially dangerous employes from records supplied by the FBI.

Minority members Lucille Maurer and Lucy Keker said that the fingerprints taken by the Personnel Department constitute personal information and should be kept in school hands.

Turning it over to police, they said, violates the teacher's professional status.

Under the new procedure, police will investigate FBI records and report their findings to the Personnel Department, which will take whatever action, if any, it deems necessary.

The executive committee of the Montgomery County Education Association yesterday went on record as unanimously opposed to the new plan.

Area Code 212
GRamercy 7-5970

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

July 15, 1963

Dear Friend:

I enclose what perhaps should be called a statement rather than a petition in the hope that you will see your way clear to signing it. It would be circulated among those who certainly are not Communists but who believe in civil liberties and regard the present campaign against the Communist Party and alleged Communist fronts as more of an emulation of Communist totalitarianism than as an expression of a vigorous democracy.

The signers of the document, to which we invite your signature, are men who have had an opportunity to go over the document itself. As you will see, they represent various political points of view but are agreed in support of civil liberties. If you sign the document, or have any comment on it, please send it to me at 112 E.19th Street, New York 3, N.Y.

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas

Norman Thomas

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

C
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September 9, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To: Gordon K. Haskell, Membership and Development Director
Aryeh Neier, Field Development Officer

From: Robert D. Barnes, of Bowen & Gurin, Inc. member of the Joint Finance Committee

Re: Statement of Need for Development Committee

Development is a bridge reaching from is-ness to ought-ness; a development program is a vehicle to carry an organization from where it is to where it ought to be; a development committee drives that vehicle across the bridge.

A development committee is not a finance committee nor a public relations committee nor a goals committee nor a fund-raising committee -- although it combines elements of all four.

It is, rather, concerned with the total growth and overall progress of the organization.

At this point in its history, ACLU's growth and progress both are hobbled by a chronic lack of funds. There can be no doubt that more money would add more bite to our role as the watchdog of liberty.

A development committee would, therefore, give top priority to improving the fiscal welfare of ACLU and preventing the recurrent financial crises that divert and dilute our effectiveness.

A development program, stripped to essentials, has only four elements:

1. Prospects -- present and potential members.
2. Workers -- staff and volunteers.
3. Case -- what we've done, are doing, and will do.
4. Leadership -- to be provided or obtained by a development committee.

Specifically, the development committee assumes responsibility for establishing methods of giving, makes certain that ACLU's interests are served by all such activities, and provides continuing direction and momentum to the development program.

Its members will identify new sources of support and re-evaluate old ones; they will plan approaches by volunteers to such sources; they will provide judgment, administrative experience, and new and creative ideas in the field of fund-raising.

The development committee should comprise individuals who are actively interested i our cause and willing to work for it. It should be representative of all segments the organization. It should set an example to all other echelons of ACLU in its commitment of minds and means.

This is a particularly propitious time to establish such a committee. There is imm diate need for a group to work closely with the Union's field development officer, Aryeh Neier -- both in translating his plans into action and in generating new ideas for him to implement.

Perhaps the most important function of a development committee, in addition to coordination, is planning. We need not be doomed to a lifetime on the brink of financial disaster; it's well to remember that Noah didn't build the ark after it started raining.

Before we drown in some future deluge, we should recognize and respond to the need for a development committee.

New York Civil Liberties Union

Affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

GEORGE E. RUNDQUIST
Executive Director

September 9, 1963

To: ACLU National Committee members
ACLU State Correspondents
ACLU Board of Directors
NYCLU Board of Directors

From: George E. Rundquist

Re: Nominations for recipient of
1964 Florina Lasker Civil Liberties Award

Seven years ago the Trustees of the Estate of the late Florina Lasker entrusted to the New York Civil Liberties Union the sum of $25,000 for the establishment of the Florina Lasker Civil Liberties Award. (Miss Lasker was the first Chairman of the New York Civil Liberties Committee - predecessor of the NYCLU - from 1932 until her death in 1949.) The awards of $1,000 are to be administered by the NYCLU and presented at its Annual Luncheon or Dinner. The recipient will be invited to address the meeting.

The terms of the award provide that the recipient, chosen by a national selection committee, shall be an "individual, organization or group having displayed consistent and outstanding courage and integrity in the defense of civil liberties, whether in the performance of duty or above and beyond the requirements of duty, and by so doing has made a constructive and significant contribution to civil liberties." Recipients of the award, since its inception in 1957, have been: Roger Baldwin; Irving Dilliard, editorial writer of the ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH; the five remaining Negro students in Little Rock who were awaiting the re-opening of Central High School; Herbert Block (Herblock), editorial cartoonist and author; Margaret Long, columnist for THE ATLANTA JOURNAL; P. D. East, publisher of THE PETAL PAPER, Hattiesburg, Mississippi; and William L. Higgs, attorney of Jackson, Mississippi.

On behalf of the selection committee, I solicit your nomination for the recipient of the 1964 award. May we have the name of your candidate no later than October 31, 1963. (Your nominee may be from your area, but need not be limited to it.) A form for this purpose is enclosed.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Enclosure

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

October 3, 1963

To: The Board
From: The Office

Re: Loyalty-Security Matters

In connection with the Board's consideration of a report on Mr. Speiser and Prof. Brown's conference on loyalty-security matters with the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Security Policy, we are submitting as background the last comprehensive policy statement, adopted by the Board on July 14, 1958, following Biennial Conference discussion of this problem. The statement reads as follows:

"The commission on Government Security was authorized in 1955 when popular fears were high and civil liberties abuses in dealing with domestic Communism were at an alarming level. Its report, issued in June 1957, assumed a critical continuing internal danger, and sought procedural safeguards to protect the United States against this danger without depriving the individual of his Constitutional rights.

"That the recommendations of the Commission have not been implemented by either the Congress or the Executive reflects a widespread belief that the internal danger is not critical and that the problem of procedural safeguards has been satisfactorily resolved. The American Civil Liberties Union expresses no judgment on the former, but maintains that the existing procedural safeguards are inadequate to protect the civil liberties of persons who come within the purview of the Commission's report.

"Because of prior screening, very few present government employees are subject to further security review under the present program, confined as it is to sensitive positions by the U.S. Supreme Court in the Cole v. Young decision. All government employees, however, continue to be subject to the 'suitability' criterion of the civil service law. The American Civil Liberties Union believes that this criterion is adequate to comprehend the degree of loyalty necessary for government employment in non-sensitive positions, and that an overall loyalty program is neither desirable nor effective. What is urgently needed is not a general loyalty program but a basic revision of the civil service law to give full due process hearings, where questions of loyalty are raised, including the right of applicants for employment to hearing and review.

"The attention given to present and prospective government employees has obscured the other aspects of the security program. Industrial Security, Military Inductees and Reservists Security, and Coast Guard Security programs continue to demand our attention. In the absence of a revised program, we will continue to decide our participation on a case-to-case basis, looking to the administrative or judicial removal of civil liberties violations in the existing program and the eventual elimination of all programs which consider either loyalty or security out of the context of the particular job. To this end, we will oppose all efforts to establish a new central agency for clearance or review in this area."

In addition to this statement, the Board also said that its action incorporated this recommendation of its Special Committee on the Wright Commission Report:

"ACLU should continue to press, by representation to the Executive and participation in appropriate cases, for full due process rights in administrative actions, including abolition of the use of all confidential files in hearing proceedings and granting of the right to full confrontation of all witnesses in such proceedings."

We are also submitting an excerpt from the testimony delivered by Ernest Angell in 1955 before a Senate subcommittee considering the formation of a special governmental commission to study the loyalty-security problem. This excerpt deals with the Union's position concerning the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations which was adopted in the early 1950's. From time to time questions have arisen concerning this position. The statement reads as follows:

"The Use of the Attorney General's list. Under the old loyalty program, organizational membership could not be considered as derogatory information unless the particular organization in question had been listed on the Attorney General's so-called subversive list (though disloyal activities in connection with any organization could be considered). But there was no such restriction in the security programs under Public Law 733, and unfortunately, the present security program also fails to contain any such limitation. The result has been that security officers have arbitrarily decided for themselves that certain organizations are Communist or subversive. Indeed, at one point, one agency drew up for itself a list of subversive organizations which included all organizations on the Attorney General's list, and those listed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, any state committee investigating subversive activities, any private organization, and those which were ever mentioned as Communist or subversive in correspondence between government officials! Fortunately, this practice was immediately stopped when we called the attenion of the appropriate authorities in Washington to it. The result has also been that, on several occasions, thoroughly loyal patriotic organizations have been considered as communist by certain security authorities. We know of at least four organizations which have had their attention called to this problem several times. While in each case the matter has been satisfactorily settled by a representation to the head of the agency concerned in Washington, no one in these organizations knows how many times this has happened to other groups which are thoroughly loyal, nor do they know how many times it has happened to members of their own organization who have not reported it to the organization. The inevitable tendency of this failure to limit consideration of organizational membership to those listed by the Attorney

General is to discourage people from joining organizations. How does anyone know today which organizations will be considered Communist by some security officer who sets his judgment above that of the chief law enforcement officer of our country? And so, freedom of even non-Communist association is threatened. ...

"While recognizing that the existence of the list tends to inhibit free association, without this guide security officers would have no defined basis for judging an employee's organizational associations. But this does not mean that the list as constituted is good. (a) The whole list should be re-evaluated, and only those organizations kept on the list in which membership might be really relevant in determining whether an individual's employment constituted a security risk. For example, membership in the Ku Klux Klan may well be irrelevant to national security in most sensitive positions. Similarly, while membership in the Socialist Workers Party might be some indication of measurable disloyalty, membership in this Marxist but vehemently anti-Soviet organization, would indicate little or no threat to security at the present time. (b) Another problem of the Attorney General's list is one of administration. We believe that public notice should not be given of proposed designation; the organization should be given notice privately unless, of course, service by publication must be resorted to. The hearings should be public or private at the option of the organization. Anything else may result in severe hindrances to freedom of speech and association arising from public notice that an organization may become listed, even though the organization may after hearing clear itself of all charges. (c) We are also unhappy at the fact that, while the Attorney General has commendably instituted the practice of hearings, the regulations which he has set up for the hearings, while not necessarily resulting in unfairness, do permit unfair methods to be used with impunity. (d) In fact, no hearings have as yet been held. (e) An additional evil has resulted from these procedures by the listing of defense committees; this interferes with legitimate fund raising for proper defense purposes and thus constitutes a violation of a right to fair trial. Moreover, publicity about the official designation or intended designation of any such group on the eve of court argument in a case for which the fund is raising money, as occurred a few years ago in the Bridges case, may especially impair the rights to a fair trial because it cuts down on fund raising abilities at a time when the fund raisers may achieve the greatest publicity. Of course, these comments do not extend to any group which is not a bona fide defense committee."

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

January 2, 1964

To: The Board

From: Melvin L. Wulf

Subj: Capital Punishment

The Due Process Committee, having devoted several meetings to the question of capital punishment, has no concrete recommendation to offer the Board. It asks, however, that the Board itself consider Professor Dorsen's memorandum and the results of the Committee poll (set out below) to determine whether the Union should modify its present position in any way. The Dorsen memorandum is enclosed. The poll:

(1) Should the Union take a position against capital punishment?
Vote: 3 affirmative, 3 negative.

(2) Should the Union, based on its policy statement, attempt to secure legislative repeal of laws authorizing the death penalty?
Vote: 5 affirmative, 2 negative.

(3) Should the Union raise the question judicially whether capital punishment is unconstitutional, either under the cruel and unusual punishment clause or the due process clause?
Vote: 2 affirmative, 5 negative.

(4) Should the Union, through its national office and its affiliates, enter litigation to raise all possible constitutional questions (other than the invalidity of capital punishment):
a. On behalf of persons <u>sentenced to death after trial</u>?
Vote: 5 affirmative, 1 negative.

b. On behalf of persons <u>indicted</u> for a capital offense, at the discretion of affiliates and subject to manpower limitations?
Vote: 4 affirmative, 2 negative.

(5) Should the Union take the position that capital punishment is unconstitutional, either under the

cruel and unusual punishment clause, or the due process clause, where the death penalty is imposed for a crime where a life is neither taken nor threatened. [See Rudolph v. Alabama, 32 U.S.L. Week 3154.]
Vote: 4 affirmative, 1 negative, 1 don't know, 1 affirmative as to the affiliates (but negative as to the national).

CONCERN

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MAY 1, 1964

United States and the new nations

A SPECIAL ISSUE

CONCERN

Vol. 6, No. 9 May 1, 1964

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Managing Editor
Allan R. Brockway

Contributing Editors
Grover C. Bagby, Roger Burgess, J. Elliott Corbett, Richard Edgar, W. Astor Kirk, Haskell M. Miller, Robert Regan, Rodney Shaw, Carl Soule, A. Dudley Ward, Dale White, Herman Will

Circulation Manager
Sam Griffin

Assistant Circulation Manager
Elizabeth Nicholls

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The United States and The New Nations

Since 1943, fifty-one nations, which never before in modern history existed as independent states, have come into being. All but three of them have emerged since World War II. Most were formerly colonies of European nations who fought that war. Most are composed of people of color.

A glance at the map on pages 8-9 will reveal the concentration of new nations in Africa and Asia. Here are new states with a total area of more than 11 million square miles, some 22 per cent of the world's populated surface. They number inhabitants in excess of 1 billion persons, one-third of the world's population.

The United States as a government and as a people has a tremendous stake in the future of these new states and peoples. It has invested relatively large sums of money, both public and private, in these futures.

CONCERN *offers this special issue in the hope that American citizens, and American churchmen in particular, will take another hard look at their own and at their government's stance toward the new nations.* ***Herman Will, Jr.,*** *associate general secretary of the Methodist General Board of Christian Social Concerns, has primary responsibility for that board's Division of Peace and World Order. An attorney, Mr. Will has many years of experience with the new nations and their promise and problems, as well as the mood of the American people toward them. His introduction to this number of* CONCERN *suggests that "The present experience of the American people should help us to understand the kind of sweeping changes that are taking place or are urgently needed in many of the new nations."*

The majority of the new nations are located on the continent of Africa. ***Ralph E. Dodge,*** *resident bishop of The Methodist Church in Southern Rhodesia, provides a key for viewing African attitudes toward United States policy relative to them and their governments. The new nations of Africa, Bishop Dodge says, "can and do speak for themselves. I write as a compiler of the various expressions I have heard and attitudes I have observed."*

It is difficult to conceive any discussion of the new nations that did not notice the role of the United Nations in their development. ***Earl W. Foell,*** *UN correspondent for* The Christian Science Monitor, *leads us into that consideration, noting that "The United Nations has been a kind of godfather for these new nations' debut into History with a capital H."*

Equally important for conversation about the new independent states, certainly for Americans, is United States economic assistance to them and our attitude toward that aid. ***Leo C. Stine,*** *a political scientist who is assistant dean at the graduate school at Western Michigan University, calls attention to the fact that, while Congressmen have felt that American citizens were turning against foreign economic assistance, a growing majority of the American people actually support it. He then notes some of the major objections to such assistance and the facts and/or fears upon which they are based.*

Finally, ***Mrs. Margaret Bender,*** *executive secretary for the United Nations in the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Methodist Woman's Division of Christian Service, highlights some of the problems faced by the emerging nations (particularly their lack of trained leadership and the perplexing problem of education) and the ideologies they are developing to help meet them.*

Additional copies of this issue may be ordered from the Service Department, 100 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002. 1-9 copies for 35¢ each; 10-24 copies for 30¢ each; 25-99 copies for 25¢ each; and 100 or more copies for 20¢ each.

WHAT IS MY THE NEW NATIONS

HOW MANY TIMES HAVE I listened to a minister offer thanks to God for the material blessings the American people enjoy!

Such appreciation and gratitude is certainly in order. But I think it is well for us always to remember that wealth brings with it problems and responsibilities.

How can Americans whose political forefathers fought for independence nearly two centuries ago understand the sense of urgency with which Africans or Asians struggle for freedom from colonialism and foreign domination today? On the one hand, we may be irked by the disturbing impact of nationalist uprisings on our overseas military bases and by our relations with colonialist powers. On the other hand, we may regard the demands of independence advocates as unwise because of the lack of trained leadership and the growing interdependence of a shrinking world.

We have enjoyed the advantages of a powerful and privileged position in the affairs of nations. This position has depended, in part, on the strength of allies that have been rapidly losing their colonies. It also has rested on the ring of military bases and political alliances with which we have surrounded the communist world. But the steady growth of nationalism is forcing out our bases and diluting the effect of our alliances.

Time and again we are faced with a fundamental question that is not always clear or simple. Should we attempt to shore up the existing situation so as to preserve our present position of power and leadership? Or should we look to the future, accept or even encourage change, and attempt to find a new basis for American power and leadership?

The preceding question is one that constantly plagues US policymakers. However, they are not alone in their dilemma. Just as surely, the rulers of the Soviet Union, facing a fragmenting Communist movement in the midst of a nuclear stalemate, are confronted with the identical question. Consequently, we should not despair in the midst of complex and difficult decisions, but realize the potential for improved world relations that is at hand.

I

There is another question before the American people as a whole. Are we capable of really understanding the peoples of the new nations, their thoughts and aspirations as well as their problems and policies?

Can we, with our unique worries about parking and overweight, grasp in any meaningful sense the struggle for sheer survival that marks the lives of hundreds of millions in the new nations? Perhaps the recent realization that 20 per cent or more of our own people are living on poverty levels will help us to sympathize with the struggle for a decent life that absorbs so many of our fellows in other lands.

Our children are raised to think in the terms of an industralized and scientific age. How then can they, or we, comprehend the experiences of people who are moving almost overnight from the simple economy of tribal life into an era of modernization and urbanization? It may be that our own frustration in grappling with the problems of unemployment and economic adjustment resulting from automation will lead us to an understanding of what it must mean to be catapulted overnight into the middle of the twentieth century.

During the worst of the Congo's difficulties, many Americans deplored the internal divisions and lack of responsible leadership that led to frequent outbursts of violence and bloodshed. Our own national experience should have made us more tolerant. Eighty-five years after the United States gained its independence, the country was torn by a war between the states bloodier than any conflict mankind had known up to that time.

Tribal conflicts and the heritage of a caste system plague certain of the newly independent countries. Perhaps the civil rights struggle, which divides our own people, will bring us greater forbearance in criticizing others.

Our internal problems, troublesome as they are, may yet prove to be a blessing in disguise so far as international relations are concerned. These difficulties are forcing us, in a certain sense, to join the human race. Gone is the notion that we have achieved perfection and need only rest on our laurals. Like the rest of the world, we are engaged in the task of improving our society, of striving to do a better job at meeting the needs of our people.

II

Too often we in the industrialized West think of the needs of the new nations as almost entirely economic. This is a grave mistake, and it is to the credit of development agencies, both US and international, that they are giving increasing attention to social, educational, and political needs as well.

If the growth of great, sprawling metropolitan areas within our American society has brought us many problems, it should be clear that the growth of great cities in the less developed regions of the world will bring even more acute problems because of the greater disparity between rural and urban life in those nations. Transportation, communication, and mechanization have reached our rural areas and made them part of our total society. In the new countries, however, this is not always the case, and the gap between the rural farmer and the city worker is indeed great.

An apt illustration of the revolutionary changes taking place in the new nations is the rapid shift in the status of women. While the circum-

stances varied from country to country, in many instances women were accorded a definitely inferior social role, were denied legal equality, and even were looked upon as property at the disposition of men.

The emergence into nationhood, the coming of many social and economic changes, and participation in a world community concerned about human rights have combined to change the picture radically. Today, not only are women accorded equal legal status in most lands, but they are also attaining important places of responsibility in business, the professions, and political life. The expansion of educational systems is bringing an increasing degree of opportunity to girls and women in these lands.

Perhaps focusing our attention on rigid social structures and the problems they present will help us understand the situation in many of the newly independent nations. The expansion of agricultural production depends not only upon the provision of good seed, adequate amounts of fertilizer, and proper tools, but also on the system of land ownership and the organization of agricultural production.

Thus, in a number of instances, it is clear that no great advances will be made in the production of food and fibers until thoroughgoing programs of land reform have been adopted and implemented.

Here again, the experience of the new nations should be understandable to Americans. Our clue lies not in the field of agriculture, but in the difficulty we face in achieving full civil rights for all the citizens of the United States. Constitutions can be amended, laws adopted, and special assistance made available in the effort to end second-class citizenship and continuing underprivilege in American society. However, more and more people are realizing that these things alone will never solve the problems we now confront.

The integration of schools will not be achieved until integrated schools are made superior to the general level of education. Segregated housing will not be ended until Negro citizens have not only the right but also the economic means to purchase better homes in other areas and to maintain a standard of living comparable to their neighbors in those areas. Fair employment for Negroes will not be possible until the economy provides job opportunities for all employable persons.

What is needed is a drastic overhauling of the American economy so as to meet the needs of the people it is intended to serve. The present experience of the American people should help us to understand the kind of sweeping social changes that are taking place or are urgently needed in many of the new nations that have emerged on the world scene.

During the last twenty years some fifty nations, whose inhabitants constitute nearly one-third of the world's population, have gained their national independence. History will certainly record this as the great fact of the period through which we are passing, although the nuclear arms race and the cold war have dominated the thinking of most Western nations.

Frequently, the rebellions, the disturbances, and the adjustments accompanying this surge toward freedom have been regarded as an annoyance if not a source of real danger by many people in the United States. Some Americans have expressed more fear over the vulnerability of these newly independent people to Communist subversion than joy over the expansion of self-determination to more of the world's population.

Christians, whose gospel calls for the renewal of the life of man through the love of God in Jesus Christ, have a gift to share with the world. They know that God is at work in history seeking to lead men in the paths of righteousness and peace. Therefore, when what is old changes and gives place to new, all is not lost. In ways that often are beyond our comprehension, God works through the Holy Spirit among men, whether they bear the name of Christ or not. And he can bring new life and new hope to numberless millions who long for the coming of a day when truth and justice and peace shall be enthroned in the societies of men.

US Policy and

By

Ralph E. Dodge

TO UNDERSTAND THE NEW NATIONS today, one must review something of the history of the continent. Eight years before Columbus discovered America, the Portuguese explorer Diago Cao sailed up the Congo River and claimed the adjacent area for Portugal. By 1500 Vasco da Gama had been to India and back. For the first time the coast line of Africa was known.

To facilitate navigation to India, fueling stations and provision depots were established along the coast. It was soon discovered, however, that the most profitable negotiation was in human lives—and the slave trade began. By 1842, when the transportation of slaves was internationally outlawed, no less than 14 million Africans had been transported to the Americas alone. It is estimated that for each one to reach the new world at least two lost their lives in the inter-tribal conflicts that led to their capture, the long trek to the coast, and the perilous and trying voyage across the Atlantic. Thus, it should not be forgotten that the first major impact of the West upon Africa was the slave trade. After its independence, the United States continued to be actively involved.

In 1885, the nations of the world, including the United States, met in Berlin and divided Africa among the interested parties. Those getting the major portions of the jewelled cake were France, Portugal, Great Britain, Germany, and King Leopold of Belgium. The divisions were made with-

African Response

While The US Has Accomplished Much Good The New Nations Of Africa Are Suspicious About Possible Ultimate Consequences Of Present Policy Toward Them

out regard for natural barriers or tribal affiliation.

Following the division of the continent came domination, with the accompanying prolonged emotional reaction of the subjected people. Then to pay the costs of occupation, came exploitation, some fairly humane, some most brutal. Although the United States was not one of the colonizing powers, it was sometimes identified with them through commercial association, cultural affinity, and racial predominance. However, because of its former colonial status, more often the United States was considered sympathetic with those longing for independence. Also many African nationalists had received part of their education either in an "American" religious mission in Africa or in the States.

Thus, when the great push toward independence began after the Second World War, the United States was generally considered to be favorable to African political aspirations. Many African leaders are now not so certain of the United States position. The halo that once surrounded the United States when viewed from afar is fading upon closer inspection.

I

"Does the United States have a foreign policy?" many leaders of new nations ask. If there is a policy it is guarded with such secrecy and followed with such variation of interpretation and vacillation that it is indiscernible. On the one hand there are pronouncements of interest in the self-determination of all peoples, yet on the other hand there is the oft-expressed support given Portugal, a NATO ally, in its blind and determined policy to maintain its multi-century antiquated role of dictatorial harshness over millions in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, and the Islands of Saint Thomas and Principe. This dual policy, one side composed of words and the other of contrary action, neutralizes any verbal or material encouragement that the US may offer African nationalists in their struggle for independence.

A second criticism is that the United States seems to tackle any crisis that develops in Africa on a piece-meal basis, doing what seems expedient at the time rather than following any overall, clearly defined blueprint. Because of this piece-meal approach to Africa, the United States does not appear to have any overall policy, but rather a series of contradictory, hurriedly - thought - up, temporary decisions. At times, these decisions seem to be made on the basis of US financial involvement in the various parts of the continent, or more generally motivated by a negative fear of Communist advantage in the cold war.

The African people resent the apparent lack of confidence in the ability of their leaders to steer the new nations in creative paths. The United States concern lest the new nations get sucked into the orbit of Moscow or Peking is at times interpreted as power interference in the affairs of others and as such is deeply resented. Seeing everything through the colored glasses of the cold war, sometimes reveals a redness where there is no coloring except African sun!

In the final analysis the new nations are going to make their own decisions. The desire of mature nations to see a smooth take-over by the indigenous people of former colonial empires may be highly impractical and unrealistic. The emotional drive toward independence cannot be impeded or directed from the outside without causing angry cries of deep resentment. The effort to manipulate or control the nationalist movement in order to avoid political upheavals or even civil war (either before or after independence) will be and is misunderstood by the African nations.

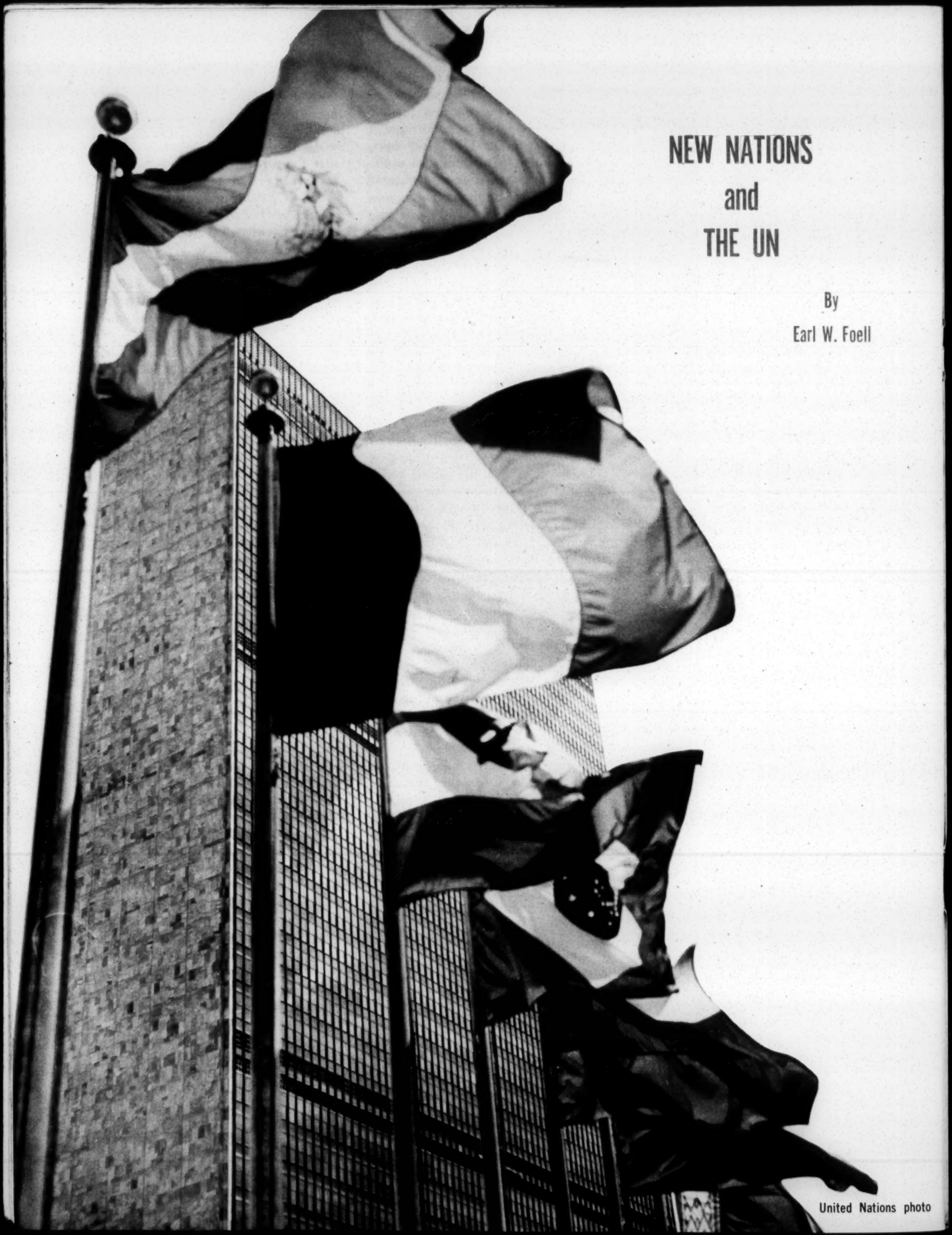
II

Another oft-expressed concern is that the United States aid program may easily lead to neo-colonialism. What is meant to be a benevolent gesture of friendship may become the strangler's noose because of the many conditions attached to US aid. The struggle to gain independence is yet too fresh in the minds of the leaders of the newly independent countries to permit them to accept blindly any proffered aid, be it from the East or West, without carefully studying the conditions. There is some fear that the United States intends to accomplish through foreign aid what it did *not* do nearly a century ago through direct conquest.

The African nations see the United States as it is today and judge it accordingly. They judge it by how it treats their representatives at the United Nations or in Washington, rather than by how far it has come in its program of social equality. Often they fail to consider the progress of the last ten years as they view patterns of life that have changed so little in some parts of the country during the past century.

Yet Africans still hold a great amount of respect for the United States. Some positive US measures may have been misinterpreted. Some mistakes may have been made—to err is human. To express criticism and withhold praise is a human characteristic especially in dealing with a nation that exudes as much self-confidence as the United States. Much good has been done. The seeds of disinterested helpfulness will bear much harvest in the years ahead, just as those of self-interest will continue sprouting to plague us. The Peace Corps program is often mentioned with appreciation, as are the various voluntary and official programs of educational assistance and cultural exchanges.

In summary: The expectancy created at the beginning of the Kennedy administration has not been fulfilled. What the new nations expect, but fail to find, is a clear cut, consistently followed, foreign policy based on high principles of human rights and justice for all.



NEW NATIONS and THE UN

By

Earl W. Foell

United Nations photo

"DANGER—KEEP OUT" signs ringed the usually hospitable UN General Assembly chamber this winter and spring.

They were there, paradoxically, because the new nations of the world have not kept out.

When the new UN buildings were erected eleven years ago, the organization's membership had edged upward from fifty-one charter members to sixty. Enthusiasts daringly saw it rising all the way to perhaps seventy-five. But by the end of 1960 there were ninety-nine.

Today enrollment is 113. Next fall it is expected to reach 116 with the entry of two more newborn African states—Malawi (née Nyasaland) and Zambia (now Northern Rhodesia)—plus Mediterranean island of Malta (which apparently is content with its maiden name).

This membership explosion flowed in a chartreuse and sky-blue tide of new chairs and desks across the dark green carpeting of the Assembly floor, and up into the lower tier of the press gallery, until some members felt more like audience than participants and voting became an unwieldly process.

The solution to this difficulty was to rip out all the seats and desks, condense them for smaller delegations on the floor, rewire the earphone translation system, and install a trial electric voting panel. Hence the "Danger—Keep Out" signs while the chamber was torn apart and the jack hammers worked in a cloud of cement dust.

The usual way for pundits to discuss this membership explosion is either to worry about the future of "one-nation-one-vote" in this club where the Gullivers of East and West are now so decidedly outnumbered by Lilliputians, or to uphold the realism of having all areas of the world present at this extraordinary permanent Congress of Vienna.

These two approaches are valid and important fields for discussion. But it is even more instructive, at the outset, to examine what UN membership has done for the new nations and to the UN.

Basically, it has done nothing less than to change the whole writing of history as we know it. Entry of the African and smaller Asian states into the UN has symbolized their entry into the mainstream of history.

It is true that the vast areas of the former European colonial empires in Asia and Africa had histories of their own. And certainly there is nothing inferior about these histories as cultural records. (A Nyasaland cabinet minister who complained that Africans, not Livingston, "discovered" Victoria Falls is correct in his rebuke.) But the main flow of world history has been Western-centered, and involved at most the East and West but not the "South" of the world. When the Afro-Asian areas did enter this record in the past few centuries as colonies of European powers they did so primarily as minor appendages. Their roles were mostly written in Paris, London, Brussels, and The Hague. (Even today many African states are still undoing the vestiges of a system in which it has been impossible to send a wire from the Ivory Coast to neighboring Ghana without going through Paris, and in which it is difficult to schedule through transportation from an English-speaking area to a French-speaking one.)

The United Nations has been a kind of godfather for these new nations' debut in History with a capital H. The process that brought them into the mainstream — the process now called "decolonization"—started after World War I in the Middle East. But it did not reach its full stride until after World War II, when the exhaustion of the great European powers, the spread of the ideal of self-government, the rise of faith in the instant benefits of industrialization, and a worldwide revolt against white supremacy all combined to give the Afro-Asian peoples momentum for their debut on the main world stage.

Without the UN, however, that debut spawned by northern wars and whetted by northern ideologies would not have been so smooth and so fast. The leaders of the southern, "have-not" world had in the UN a recognized political forum before which to state their claims. And, once they had entered the club (seventeen came in in 1960 alone) they began to use it to try to reshape history with their own needs in mind, not just those of East and West.

The new nations have not always been successful at this reshaping. They have quickly learned the limitations of voting power at the UN. They have imbibed the basic UN lesson that under present rules things get done in the world, mainly when the two superpowers, America and Russia, can be brought to some measure of tacit agreement.

Knowledge of this basic fact should help dispel the misconception that the 58-nation Afro-Asian voting bloc is likely to force Washington (or Moscow) into taking actions against its own fundamental interests. The majorities the southern bloc can muster (after calm off-scene negotiation with East and West) are simply expressions of a new historic force to be caluculated by northern diplomatic planners.

The American State Department, in one of its more electronic moments, made a computer test last summer of fifteen different vote-weighting systems under which the UN Assembly might conceivably reform its present one-nation-one-vote method. The test was made to answer frequent criticism that the present balloting procedure — which gives Luxembourg (population: 324,000) and Kuwait (population: 330,000) the same vote as the United States (191,000,000) or India (449,000,000) —leads to inequal results.

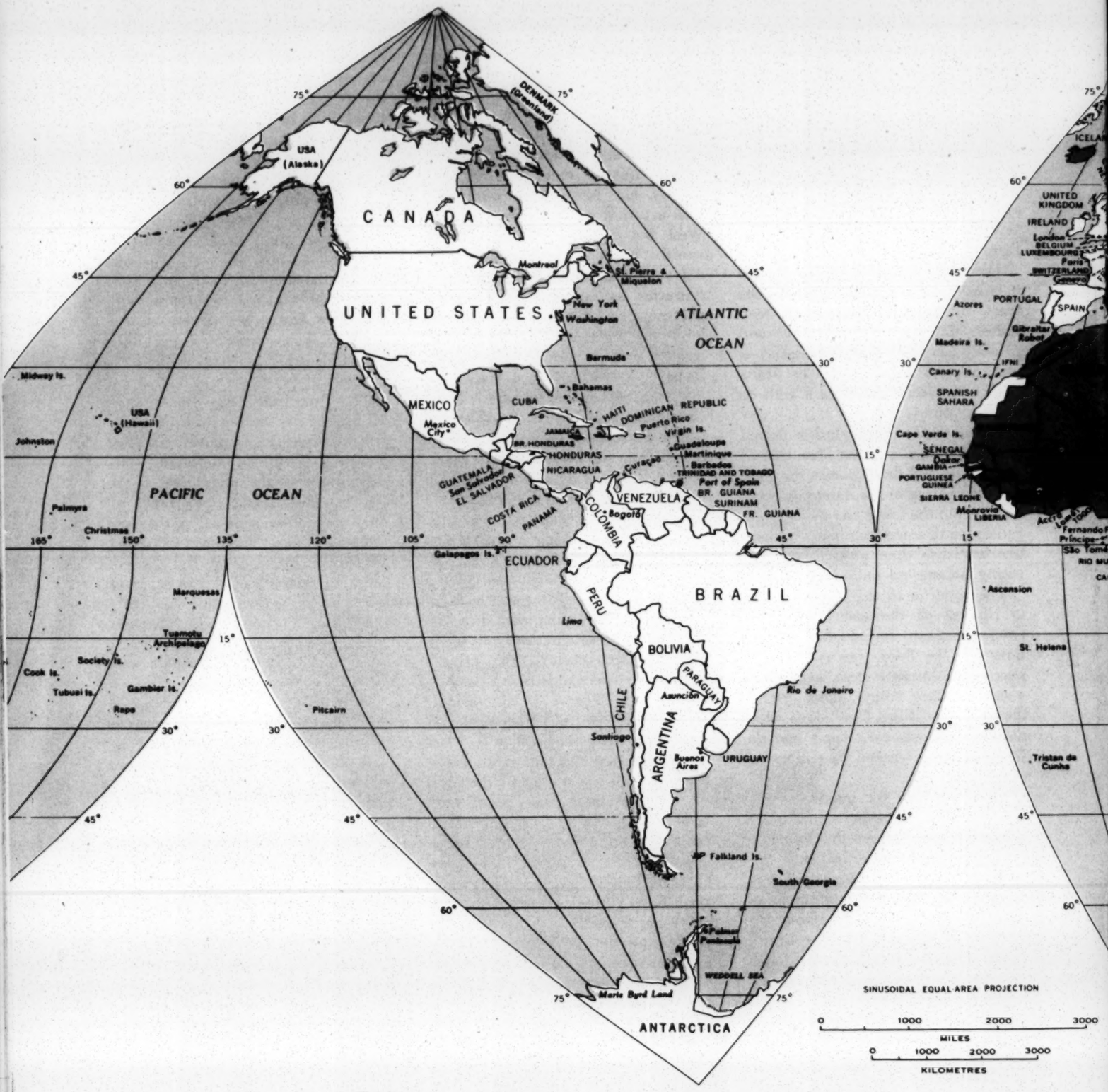
From the strictly American point of view this assertion was proved false by the computer tests. The fifteen voting formulas were used on 178 key General Assembly votes that took places between 1954 and 1961. In almost every case the State Department testers found that votes weighted to parallel national population or income or some other measure of national strength resulted in outcomes less favorable from Washington's point of view.

Another way of stating this conclusion would be to say that American policy in world affairs has generally, although not always, coincided with the aspirations of the new nations of the world—aspirations toward more dignity and independence as well as more material wealth.

It would be misleading, however, to accept this running check by the State Department as a guide to the feeling of the new nations toward the

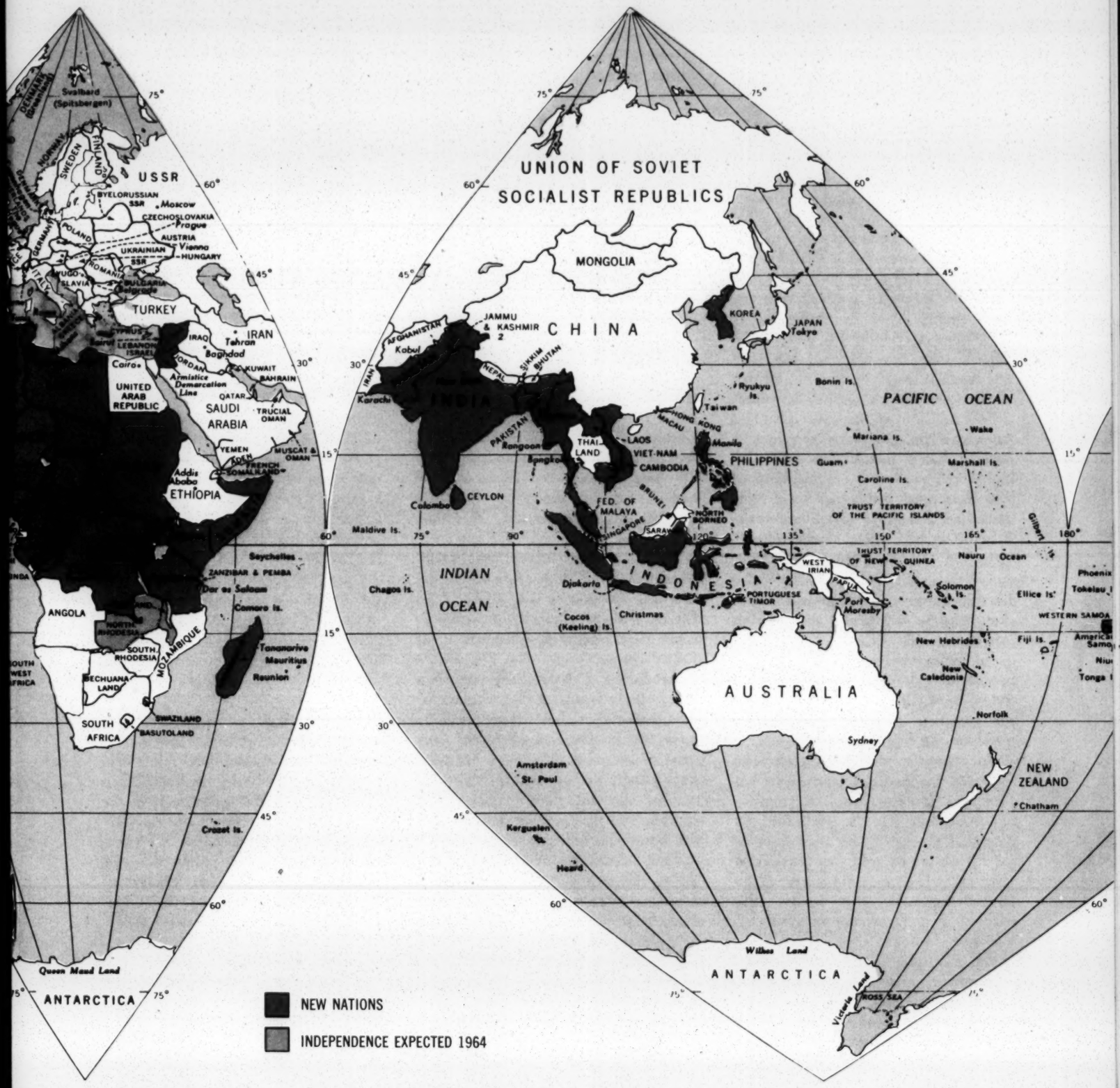
(concluded on page 10)

NATIONS REACHING IND



Algeria	1962	Congo (Leopoldville)	1960	Israel	1948
Burma	1948	Cyprus	1960	Ivory Coast	1960
Burundi	1962	Dahomey	1960	Jamaica	1962
Cambodia	1949	Gabon	1960	Jordan	1946
Cameroon	1960	Ghana	1957	Kenya	1963
Central African Republic	1960	Guinea	1958	Korea	1948
Ceylon	1948	Iceland	1944	Laos	1949
Chad	1960	India	1947	Lebanon	1943
Congo (Brazzaville)	1960	Indonesia	1949	Libya	1951

DEPENDENCE SINCE 1943



Madagascar	1960	Rwanda	1962	Tunisia	1956
Malaya, Federation of	1957	Senegal	1960	Uganda	1962
Mali	1960	Sierra Leone	1961	Upper Volta	1960
Mauritania	1960	Somalia	1960	Viet-Nam	1949
Morocco	1956	Sudan	1956	Western Samoa	1962
Niger	1960	Syria	1944	Zanzibar	1963
Nigeria	1960	Tanganyika	1961	(Malawi (Nyasaland)	1964)
Pakistan	1947	Togo	1960	(Malta	1964)
Philippines	1946	Trinidad and Tobago	1962	(Zambia (Northern Rhodesia)	1964)

Foreign aid

UN (continued from page 7)

United States or the West in general. Gratitudo and emulation are still mixed with suspicion. And the rules governing that ancient diplomatic seesaw, the balance-of-power, still persist. They are brought to focus at the United Nations.

During the first decade and a half of the post-war period the East-West cold war dominated UN diplomacy as it did most bilateral diplomacy. The newly entering members from Asia and Africa soon developed a two-pronged approach. This was designed both (1) to help thaw the cold war, thereby diverting some of the benefits of arms reduction to their own development plans, and (2) to take advantage of the cold war while it lasted by playing off one of the superpowers aaginst the other.

Examination of the early years of American independence provides a parallel that is inexact but enlightening. Even moderates in England of that time must sometimes have been disturbed at the new nation across the Atlantic practicing "nonalignment" (freedom from "entangling alliances"), dealing dangerously with Jacobin France (the militant revolutionary of its day), and still seeking investment aid.

An understanding of the dual approach of the Afro-Asian nations of today is essential if one is to grasp the meaning of current diplomatic trends at the UN and in the world.

For instance, the basic factor in UN behavior during the past year has been the Moscow test-ban treaty—not so much for the technical restraint it places on the arms race as for the easing of cold war tensions it mirrors. The nonaligned states pushed hard for that treaty. But without tacit agreement in Washington and Moscow they would have gotten nowhere.

However, once the thawing they had sought actually began, the Afro-Asian (and to some extent Latin American) states developed a predictable second reaction. They began to worry that the budding detente between East and West would lessen competition for their favor—hence lessen development aid. These worries were partly justified by events.

But the balance of power is a constantly shifting kind of near-equilibrium. No sooner had Moscow and Washington begun to shout more kindly at each other than the dissidents of each camp moved closer to breaking away. Both France and China stepped up their wooing in Africa, Asia and Latin America—and their relations with each other. And in doing so they provided the nonaligned nations with new worries but also with new opportunities to insure their own independence and bid up development offers from East and West.

Thus the East-West-South triangle that has characterized diplomacy of the last decade is developing into a five-sided triangle.

The selling trip that Chou En-Lai and Chen-yi of China recently made to Africa roughly parallels the selling trip that Bulganin and Khrushchev made to Asia in 1955. And de Gaulle's overtures to Southeast Asia, Africa, South America, and the Middle East duplicate in miniature the non-European aid offensive that Washington mounted after the Marshall Plan.

An apocryphal story told about President de Gaulle illustrates the new wooing process. Reporters at the Elysee Palace allegedly watched a coal-dust-covered delegation of French miners enter the President's office during a strike. The reporters shook their heads at the futility of the miners' position. Half an hour later, to the newsmen's great surprise, the coal-dark miners emerged triumphant, having won all their demands. An aide later came out to explain that the General had thought the miners were Africans.

Most of the major actions of the UN in the past six months reflect the new depolarization in the world. The Afro-Asian nations have been seeking to expand their votes and influence in the major UN councils, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, whose size and geographic balance were determined before the membership explosion.

At the end of the last General Assembly session China badly embarrased Moscow by ambiguously continuing to (1) demand Soviet support for Peking's admission before permitting expanded councils, and then (2) telling the Afro-Asians that it, Peking, supported their campaign for more seats though Moscow did not.

In a parallel action, the new nations are currently demanding changes in the world balance of trade at a UN conference in Geneva. They assert that the present rules of trade increasingly favor the northern industrial nations over the Southern raw materials producers—creating an ever-widening gap. They assert that only more liberal access to northern markets and insurance against plunges in raw materials prices can help them overcome the need for foreign aid, which they are no more eager to accept as gifts from rich uncles than the northern giants are to keep doling out.

All these changes in the organization of the world appear to evolve slowly. But the pace of history has been accelerated both by modern technology and by the communication of ideals to the remotest villages.

The UN has served both as an entry point to modern history and as a school for the leaders of the new nations whose lands have been catapulted through so many historic revolutions in such short order.

There is, inevitably, constant friction in this accelerated process. But if the UN serves any purpose it is precisely to open these frictions to the air instead of keeping them suppressed where they might build up greater heat.

Despite such collisions, the UN carries seeds of promise for the future of international and interracial relations on this fast-crowding planet. One can sometimes glimpse it in the North Delegates' lounge during General Assembly season. There, amongst the potted palms and the classic modern Danish chairs of Hans Wegner, some of the handsomest, best educated, most adroit, and yet most idealistic representatives of the human race stroll and chat. It is class reunion in a half dozen tongues and as many modes of dress. Nigerians in flowing agbadas, Indians in beautifully-draped iridescent saris, Guineans in white or lime robes, other Africans in Savile Row suits, ash-blond Scandinavians, honey-gold-skinned Burmans, trim-mustached Latin Americans.

Africans and Asians, as well as Europeans, are transacting the business of humanity.

United States

ECONOMIC AID

While the public hasn't changed its attitude on US foreign economic aid, Congressional criticism has mounted. An observer suggests a look at some facts might be in order

By Leo C. Stine

THE MOST APPROPRIATE WORD TO describe public opinion in the United States on economic assistance and foreign aid is "confusion."

It may be more accurate to point out that the confusion is not really as characteristic of public opinion itself as it seems to be of the Congressmen, editors, and legislative agents who try to assess and interpret the public views. Actually public opinion polls show relatively little change — and this in the opposite direction from the assumptions most often made in Congress and in the mass media.

While Congressmen were being told that American citizens had turned against economic assistance in 1963, the Gallup poll released in February of that year showed that 58 per cent of the American people supported foreign aid, only 30 per cent were against it, and 12 per cent had no opinion. When these opinions are compared with the poll taken by the same agency in 1958, they hardly support the charges made that Americans were turning against foreign aid. In 1958 Gallup found that 51 per cent supported foreign aid and 33 per cent opposed it. Samuel Lubell on March 7, 1963, wrote in his column that "the last six months have brought significant change in the public's thinking about foreign aid," and that "a sizeable majority favored giving President Kennedy 'what he wants in foreign aid.' "

Not only had the opinion of individuals remained remarkable stable, but group opinion had not changed materially either. The same groups spoke for and against economic assistance and foreign aid in 1963 that had appeared before Congressional committees in previous years, and their positions remained relatively constant. Churches and religious organizations, labor unions, the Chamber of Commerce, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, League of Women Voters, National Farmers Union, American Association of University Women, Americans for Democratic Action, and the American Veterans Committee all appeared before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs in favor of economic assistance and certain other more specific forms of foreign aid during the 1963 hearings. These were the same groups that have supported foreign assistance programs for the past decade.

As in the past, the opposition was led by a committee with the confusing title of "Citizens Foreign Aid Committee" under the leadership of Brigadier General Bonner Fellers, a retired military man; Dr. Elgin Grosedose, a retired missionary to Iran; Colonel Willard T. Rockwell, a businessman; and Mr. Walter Harmischfeger, a Wisconsin industralist. The total membership of this organization has been reported to be only forty-four.

Other businessmen appeared in the 1963 hearings in opposition to specific provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act. Such a position is illustrated by the testimony of the Rolled Zinc Manufacturers Association in opposition to the extension of most - favored - nation treatment to Yugoslavia, since this treatment reduced the tariff on zinc sheets imported from that country.

In 1963 the American Farm Bureau Federation argued again that foreign aid should be drastically reduced. Its position before the Foreign Affairs Committee supported two major considerations:

1) The need to reduce US government expenditures looking forward to a balanced budget, a tax cut, and a solution to our balance-of-payments problem;

2) Re-examination of each country's position with a view to determining its needs and ability to absorb aid under a long-time plan of economic development.

At the same time the American Legion re-affirmed its policy of opposition to aid or trade "to any Communist, Communist-supported, Com-

munist-dominated, or Communist-affiliated nation, or to any nation unfriendly to the United States."

While group support and opposition remained much the same as in the past and public opinion as measured by the polls showed little change, Congress took a more and more critical attitude toward foreign aid and in 1963 cut more than $1 billion from the President's request for funds. Furthermore, influential opponents in and out of Congress called this only a beginning. Why this turn of events?

I

A part of the answer was reasonably easy to find. Congressmen looked forward to a tax reduction and had little hope of bringing such a reduction about so long as spending continued to rise. Spending for foreign assistance was an item that could be cut without antagonizing influential voters. Since most voters are taxpayers, they would more than likely look upon a tax cut favorably and not lament the loss of an item in the budget that resulted in no tangible loss to them.

But a major factor in bringing about the critical attitude on the part of Congressmen was certainly the confusion that had been built up regarding foreign aid and its effectiveness. This same confused state still exists. A beginning may be made toward dispelling it by answering two questions: (1) Why does the confusion exist? and (2) What factors need to be analyzed in order to gain greater perspective?

In the first place, foreign assistance continues to be a rapidly changing concept. Rapid change generally results in confusion. In introducing the 1964 request, AID Chief David E. Bell called attention to some of these changes as follows:

> In 1949, 86 per cent of US aid went to West Europe and Japan. Today none of these countries is receiving American economic assistance. Instead, they are stepping up their help to underdeveloped countries.
>
> Ten years ago 60 per cent of US aid went for military equipment and training. Today 75 per cent of US aid is economic.
>
> Five years ago two-thirds of US economic aid was in the form of gifts. Now two-thirds is in loans repayable in dollars. Five years ago less than half of aid dollars were spent for US goods. Today more than 80 per cent is for American goods and services. In 1949 the aid program cost about 2 per cent of the federal budget. In 1964 it amounts to 0.6 per cent.
>
> The main focus of the program has shifted rapidly from arms and economic gifts to spending for development projects which speed up the economies of the aid-receiving countries.

In 1957 Congress appropriated the following sums for the Mutual Security Program:

Military assistance	$1.30 billion
Defense Support	.69
Development Loan Funds	.30
Technical Cooperation	.13
Other Programs	.30
Total	$2.72 billion

In that year, out of a total of $2.7 billion appropriated, almost $2 billion went for military aid and defense support. In 1963, the request of the President for $4.5 billion was broken down as follows:

Total	$2.72 billion
Developmental Loans	1,060
Alliance for Progress	850
Supporting Assistance	435
Developmental grants	257
Contingency Fund	300
All other	218
	$4,525 million

The change is obvious; military aid was reduced and economic assistance greatly expanded. These new programs are difficult to sell to an economy-minded Congress with a conservative press ready to take every advantage of the slow and sometimes almost indiscernible progress to be made by underdeveloped countries who are the recipients.

In 1947 our European Allies were the recipients; in 1964 assistance was going to the underdeveloped areas of the world. These people are not represented by numerous relatives who are influential in American public opinion. They have given us little support in the past and even choose to remain out of the East-West conflict when such neutrality is possible.

Foreign aid administrators seldom remain long enough to organize sound administrative machinery and introduce sound practices. Congressman Passman claims that there have been twelve directors of foreign aid in fourteen years. However, Congress must share the blame for such a high fatality. The critical attitude of Congressional committees, the sniping tactics of some Congressmen, and the difficulty of the administrative position of these men have all taken their toll.

II

The opponents of foreign aid both in and out of Congress have often been deliberately vague and quite irresponsible. Their charges have been designed to create an emotional fervor and not to encourage careful analysis. They have often described foreign aid in such terms as a "100 billion dollar giveaway," "aid to our enemies," "support for for socialism abroad," or "a program designed to wreck the American economy." Critical magazines have used such headlines as: "Aid Abroad: Nobody Knows What US is Trying To Do," "Day of Disillusion," "Aid to the Undeserving."

Congressman Passman of Louisiana, Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee and a long time critic of foreign aid, described the program on his return from a so-called study trip abroad as "uncontrolled and uncontrollable."

The charges made by Henry Hazlitt in June of 1961 are typical of some of the irresponsible cause and effect arguments leveled against foreign assistance. At that time he wrote:

> Since the end of World War II our foreign aid of all sorts has reached the fantastic total of $90 billion. A simple statistical comparison shows that it has been responsible for our whole net budget deficit since the program was launched, for the whole net increase in our national debt since then, and for an increased tax burden besides. It has been the chief fiscal cause of the inflation, of the unfavorable balance of payments, and of our loss of gold.

Would it not be just as logical to make the same charges against any two years of appropriations for national defense?

While certain of the criticisms contain some truth, too often they do not add much to our understanding of the problems involved nor do they provide citizens with much needed perspective.

III

The needs of the underdeveloped areas of the world are critical. The accompanying table, developed in 1950, remains all too accurate for today.

The underdeveloped world contains seventy-five countries and 1,150,000,000 people. Their per capita incomes vary from as low as $35 per year

(Libya) to as high as $569 per year (Israel). The vast majority live on less than $100 per year, according to estimates produced by the Committee for Economic Development, a responsible businessmen's organization. These people live in a world of "rising expectations." They want freedom — freedom from poverty, from colonial rule, from prejudice, ignorance and disease. They aspire for recognition as human beings possessed of inherent worth.

Assistance can be given without impoverishing the US or destroying its economy. The cost of foreign assistance has been somewhat distorted by the $100 billion figure that has been used in public statements. The appropriations that represent actual cost to the taxpayer from 1948 through 1962 amount to less than $64 billion. In recent years the total cost of foreign aid has seldom equalled 1 per cent of the gross national product of the United States.

	Per cent of World Population	Per cent of World Income	Relative Income Per capita - World 100
United States	**6.5**	**40.9**	**626**
Latin America	**6.6**	**4.4**	**66**
Asia	**52.4**	**10.5**	**20**
Africa	**8.6**	**2.0**	**24**

The total amount of US aid for any given year since 1960 could have been financed out of the increase in the GNP for that year and still have left the American people approximately ten times that amount of new products to enjoy and add to their already high standard of living.

Critics continue to make charges that we are supporting a vast bureaucracy to disperse our foreign aid. In 1963, the agency responsible for foreign assistance programs, including the military programs, had 42,563 employees.

In answer to the charge that our entire balance of payments problem may be attributed to foreign assistance, data for the calendar year 1962 indicate the following causes of gold loss:

	Billions
Imports	$16
Tourists Abroad	2
Defense Expenditures Abroad	2
Private Investments	2-3
Foreign Aid	1

Since only 10 to 15 per cent of the dollars appropriated for foreign aid are actually spent abroad, each dollar of reduction in foreign aid means that 80 to 85 cents less will be used to purchase goods and services in the US, to provide jobs for American workers and profits for American businessmen, and 10 to 15 cents less will be spent abroad.

The evidence on success and failure is difficult to put in perspective. The results are by no means all in. Some of it is difficult to put into statistical form; it involves changes in the lives of human beings. The failures—and there have been failures — have been dramatized. The successes too often have been buried from public view.

Mr. John Scott, in his report to the Publisher of *Time* after a serious study of the Alliance for Progress, summarizes some of the gains as follows:

> To cite some specifics; in the past two years, thanks in part to *Alianza* financing, Latin America has acquired: a steel industry producing six million tons of ingots and an auto industry of nearly forty manufacturing plants in five countries producing nearly a quarter of a million vehicles a year. Latin America has built 140,000 homes, 8,000 school classrooms with newly trained teachers to staff them and produced 4 million textbooks for them to use; also 1,500 municipal water systems, 900 hospitals and health centers, 160,000 farm credit loans.

He also points out that although taxes are still too low on land owners and rich businessmen, tax reform measures have been undertaken in a dozen countries and tax collections have been improved everywhere in Latin America. This has been accomplished while the Congress has labored unsuccessfully at tax reform in the United States.

Mr. William Truitt of the National Farmers Union presented some data regarding rural extension work supported by AID funds to the Foreign Affairs Committee in 1963 that is illustrative of a type of evidence not generally known by the public in the United States. He pointed out that AID-sponsored rural extension workers in 1962-63 reached 325,000 people in the Sudan, 180,000 farm families in Ghana, 170,000 farmers in Nigeria, 31,000 people in the Turkey, and 215,000 farmers in Chile. This is the kind of "grass roots" effort that foreign aid critics claim never takes place. And these figures indicate only a fraction of the evidence of success that could be cited.

The words from the 1960 Methodist General Conference quoted below, could be used today. Churchmen cannot claim they have fully considered the case of foreign aid unless they have given serious attention to such a position and the facts on which it is based.

The desperate unmet needs of people in this world are of grave concern to Christians. The economic gap between the rich nations and the poor nations is widening as time elapses. The population explosion further jeopardizes the stability and progress of many lands.

We believe that economic assistance, which seeks to make the benefits of scientific advance and industrial progress available for the improvement of underdeveloped areas, is an example of both Christian love and practical international brotherhood.

(Statement by the Methodist General Conference, 1960)

M. Bender

NEW IDEOLOGIES FOR NEW PROBLEMS

by MARGARET BENDER

"NATIONALISM," SENATOR HUbert Humphrey once said," is a horse that cannot be ridden successfully past the first Fourth of July." This statement sums up the uncertainties that plague the new nations and the grim realities that must be faced if these nations and our whole world are to make a successful trip through the next twenty years. It also explains the reasons for the developing ideologies that often puzzle us.

The story of the emergence of these new nations is one of surprise, jubilation — and problems. Anyone suggesting at the close of World War II that by 1965 colonial areas would have almost disappeared, would have seemed visionary. At that time there were only three African nations and an equal number in Asia that were independent in a complete sense. The immediate post-war period saw India, the Phillipines, and Pakistan emerge, but the movement did not begin to gain momentum until 1957, when an independent Ghana was created by the merging of a trust territory, British Togoland, and a British Colony, the Gold Coast.

Then suddenly the dam was broken and the courage to insist on immediate independence emerged among virtually all colonial peoples. For the most part, former colonial administrators found themselves acquiescing. An extreme example was the sudden, unprepared for independence of the former Belgian Congo in 1960. Most of the people responsible for the administration of the Congo as a territory are still debating just how and why the insistent demand for independence began to emerge there.

It is clear that the independence of Ghana was an event that stirred dependent territories everywhere, particularly on the African continent. The very name was stimulating to the imagination. By taking the name of an ancient and illustrious former kingdom, Ghana served notice that the European view of world history, beginning with the Greeks and Romans, was not the view of the peoples aspiring to freedom.

Something was astir in the world that brooked no more major delays to independence. Head over heels, the new nations began to tumble into independence. By 1964 more than fifty had achieved it.

For the most part it was an exciting and stimulating process. Brand new flags rose on poles hastily added at the United Nations; stirring speeches were made; and proud, earnest, and often very gifted young leaders walked up to the United Nations podium for the first time. Nationalism—pride in one's country and the determination to make it count—was a new and fresh horse, one that gave rise to great expectations.

Sometimes the difficulties of the ride ahead became apparent in a tragically short time. Congo (Leopoldville) had scarcely assumed its seat at the United Nations before it had to ask the organization for aid in keeping peace within its borders. Guinea bravely told France in 1959 that it would rather manage by itself than continue dependent on France as a member of French community and then, after the terms of independence proved to be much more severe than it anticipated, spent the next two years in desperate efforts to secure enough aid from various sources to keep itself afloat. Others, like Tanganyika, came to independence with excellent preparation, only to discover a few years later that even their calm could be shaken by unexpected military uprisings.

None of this is to say that independence has not been worth while for the countries gaining it, inspiring to those who still have to walk this road, and helpful in the move toward a society where human dignity will be universal. It must be recognized, however, that this new independence brings with it problems that must be solved speedily as well as very real assets. Out of these problems and assets, the new ideologies that may help to shape the world are coming and will continue to come.

I

The problems can be grouped into three large categories. The first is education and training. Very few new nations have had an extensive system of education, even on the primary level. Many of them were governed by countries that did not see the need for education among the people of the territories for which they were responsible. In countries where this was the case, education was left almost entirely to the missionaries.

Nearly all personnel of missions to the UN from the new nations owe at least some part of their education to mission schools. Unfortunately a map of the world showing all mission schools is a very spotty map and it becomes immediately apparent that a much broader enterprise has to be undertaken if there is to be general literacy. The United Nations is planning to launch, through UNESCO and other agencies, a world-wide attack on illiteracy. Such an attack will have to use a large portion of the new nations' resources and everything that can be secured through international channels.

If the children of the under-developed countries are to get into school during the next ten or fifteen years, millions of teachers must be trained, millions of schools must built and equipped. Even if this heroic step can be taken there still remains the problem of the gap between parents and children that is created when education suddenly begins where almost no formal education has existed before. In addition, countries with a small portion of functionally literate people face the problem of how they can grow and develop during the period before the children now being placed in schools become workers. In the United States, even with its great educational resources, there are many functional illiterates—that is, people whose basic skills in reading and mathematics are so poor as to make them almost unemployable in the

new day that is dawning everywhere in the world. If this is a serious problem in the US, how much more serious it is with the people who have had relatively little access to the tools of formal education.

There is still another aspect to this problem of training and education faced by the developing countries that must be grasped in order to understand the ideologies and philosophies of government and life that are developing there. It is the acute and sudden need for people with expertise in all sorts of fields. This situation is much more uneven from country to country among the developing nations than is the educational difficulty. It is, however, an acute problem. Among the seventeen government officials in this field whom I have interviewed in as many countries, none failed to underscore the problem, nor have I found any official government reports on the subject that fail to stress it.

It is important, in looking at individual countries, not to assume that the condition of one is the condition of all. Great Britain left behind in India, for example, an excellently trained indigenous civil service, capable of running each department of the government effectively without outside assistance. Former British territories in West Africa possess large numbers of well-trained doctors and lawyers. The former French territories have a legacy of well-trained community health workers.

These nations contrast sharply with the Congo, where independence came with only sixteen college-trained Congolese—among them only one lawyer and no doctors. However, many generalizations can be made. There are not enough teachers anywhere in the developing countries; health workers, from doctors to midwives, are in short supply all over the world. These needs, as well as the particular ones of each country, cannot wait.

II

The second great category of needs is in the area of economic development. The peoples whose flags already fly in front of the United Nations headquarters and those that are counting the moments until their day comes, all see what the more prosperous nations have — and believe their people are entitled to the same high standard of living, the same freedom from disease, and the same educational and cultural advantages.

To get these things they know they need capital, assistance in working out the technical processes of development and industrialization, and access to the markets of the world for their production, both for primary commodities and manufactured products. Therefore, they ask at the United Nations for long-term loan funds for capital expenditure in development, for assistance in surveying their resources and how to develop them, for assistance in interesting private capital in their development, for a specialized agency to deal with industrialization, and for wider access to world trade. Here, it should be noted, they also meet a block. The developed, highly industrialized countries that are able to exercise what the Latin American states like to call "financial veto" at the United Nations, are rather unenthusiastic about this type of development within the United Nations.

III

The third need of the new nations is for unifying factors. We began with Senator Humphrey's observation about the time of length the mere fact of being a new nation can be counted on to keep the country going in the face of problems. All over the world the separation into hostile factions of peoples that once seemed to be welded into a whole as they fought verbally or physically for independence, can be seen. It takes many forms. In Burma the conflict of group interests has become serious only after a relatively long—for this new world—period of independence. In Congo (Leopoldville) tribal differences became apparent almost as soon as independence was celebrated.

Different countries try different ways of dealing with internal friction, but to each it is an immediate or potential cause of trouble. It should be noted, in passing, that much of the reason for this phenomenon (to which we in the West react with so much disgust and so little understanding) can be laid at the door of colonial governments that carved-up the world so that each of them could have a share. In West Africa particularly, the boundaries developed, as the "pie" was cut to give each nation a piece, bear no resemblance to tribal boundaries or natural groupings. Consequently, the developing world will live with this problem of internal division for a long time.

Out of these conditions are coming the new ideologies that puzzle us so much. Ideologies will vary from nation to nation and from time to time, a fact that should be kept constantly in mind in judging them and the way US policies should react to them. I believe, however, that certain general observations could give us the basis for analyzing them more realistically.

First of all, I think we should accept the fact that these countries will be both tempted and repelled by communism. The great argument of communism for developing nations is: "See how much we have accomplished in less than fifty years. We were as badly off as you are now at the time of our revolution and look at our factories and schools and our power today! Communism is the only system that has ever done this for a people, and it can do it for you!" This is strong talk. The other argument concerns *immediate* aid. Communist aid doesn't need to wait for Congressional approval or the action of private investors. It is available wherever it is considered expedient.

The example of Guinea illustrates the point. When France's reaction to Guinea's independence was so violent and implacable that she not only withdrew aid, but took back to France certain essentials of technological progress already made (such as all the telephone instruments), Guinea sought aid from the United States and the United Nations. Because neither had the uncommitted funds with which to help promptly, Guinea accepted assistance from the Soviet Union. It took two years for other alternatives to open up, and so some people in the United States still regard Guinea as within the Communist orbit.

In opposition to these appealing aspects of communism there is the overriding argument of independence. Many new nation leaders, like Nehru, have said: "Do you think we've fought all this time for independence only to lose it?" Most of

them feel as great a distaste for totalitarianism as do people in the United States. They are, however, more confident of their ability to work with it without becoming subservient to it.

IV

The first thing that I think we might say, therefore, about the ideologies of developing nations is that they are not in great danger, for the most part, of becoming Communist. The second is that they are going to be different from ours—their needs are different from ours. They must solve in a very short time the problems we have had hundreds of years to work on. Such things as a two-party system may be luxuries for them for a long time to come, for example. Irrational things done in the name of nationalism may seem necessary from time to time. Burma's anti-Western policy—a desperate attempt to unify its people by giving them a common enemy—is a good example.

A factor in the situation of the new nations that must not be overlooked is their drive for regional unity. The value of this drive for a world at peace has not been sufficiently understood. It is most advanced on the continent of Africa but there are also forces moving toward it in Asia. From 1955, when the Bandung Conference brought the African and Asian nations together for the first time, it has been obvious that this drive toward unity is a very real thing.

Unfortunately, the West first saw it as a threat and was surprised when the Conference began with a quotation from a poet of the American revolution. Although there has not been as much overt fear manifested toward the five important meetings that have taken place on the African continent since then, some attitudes of indifference and contempt have appeared. At the moment it looks as if the Addis Ababa Charter, signed in 1963 by thirty African nations, holds good hope for stabilization on that continent. It should be better understood by thoughtful citizens in the United States.*

The other factor for developing unity now apparent is the UN regional organization for Africa and the one for Asia and the Far East. The possibilities of these are developing fast, but probably have not yet touched more than the bare possibilities. Everything that helps divided nations to have more unity will help in developing ideologies consistent with world peace and progress.

Another feature of government in the new nations is the almost universal need for a strong-man symbol. There must be something around which to center the loyalties of peoples who have as yet very little in common. Whether it is Nkrumah or Ben Bella, the phenomenon is one that may be the only immediate hope of a country. At the time of the recent military revolt in Tanganyika, many leaders of new nations were heard to say, "Julius Nyere is too rational, too much of a thinker and too little of a demi-god."

Thus it appears we shall see a variety of ideologies in these new countries, but they will usually have some things in common. First, they will share a policy of non-alignment. Because of their needs and because they believe that they can work with both sides of the East-West struggle, they will insist on their hard-won independence of action.

Second, their form of government will be determined by their needs. By and large, this will result in centralization of government in the beginning, because there are few private sources to supply these needs. Further, the government will often be centralized in the hands of one man to a degree not easily understandable to us.

However, if we can look behind these most obvious characteristics to the ones that do not readily appear in newspaper stories, we will see that the real ideology of the newly independent peoples is based on the fulfillment of the needs for which the United States began a revolution in 1776—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—and on the need to enjoy the dignity and worth of the human being—one of the essential messages of Christianity. Whether we in the West, and particularly we in the United States, can find imaginative ways to work with the best in these ideologies toward common goals, is one of the most important questions of the day.

* See the Addis Ababa Charter. International Conciliation Series, No. 546. Carnegie Endowment, 345 E. 46th Street, New York, New York 10017, 50¢.

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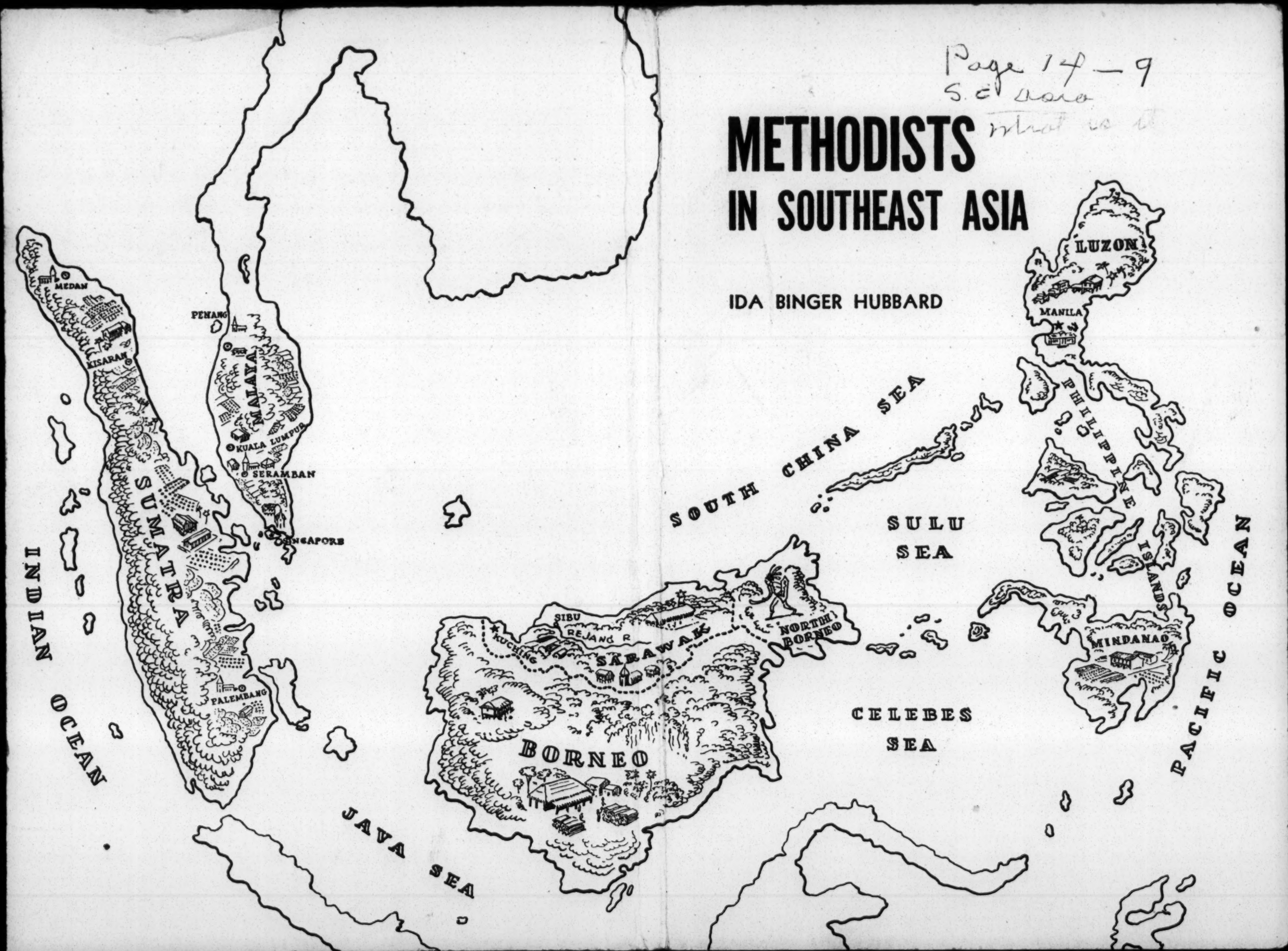

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The offerings in additional sessions, whether held once a week throughout the year or for several successive weeks or once a month are known as The Children's Service Fund. This fund provides a channel for children to contribute to the total missionary program of The Methodist Church through the Woman's Division of Christian Service and World Service and Conference Benevolences. Only offerings taken in additional sessions are considered The Children's Service Fund.

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Fifty per cent to World Service and Conference Benevolences.

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You and I are living in historic times. Our grandchildren will look back on 1963 as the year in which Negro Americans rose up and claimed for themselves the rights promised to all by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

The victories in this struggle are being won by brave men, women, and children exercising their rights under the First Amendment to the Constitution -- often against almost totalitarian odds.

> The First Amendment says there shall be "no law... abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

In recent months you and I have seen that First Amendment rights are not self-enforcing. We have seen them flouted -- with dogs, fire hoses, electric prod sticks, arrests, jailings, and beatings. Yet the law-breakers go free, while voices of so-called "moderation" urge the Negro movement to abandon its most effective weapon: the right of peaceable assembly.

Today, as every day since 1920, the ACLU battles in the courts, in the legislatures, in the crucial arena of public opinion to defend the right of everyone -- conformist and heretic, black and white -- to exercise the privileges of citizenship guaranteed by the Constitution.

The ACLU has defended your rights to free speech, press and assembly -- and now we call on you for support. We need every voice whose devotion to civil liberties is not qualified by adherence to Communist, Fascist, KKK, or other totalitarian doctrine.

I hope you will become at least a $10 member, but join with whatever you can give. The envelope above will help you write history in 1963.

John de J. Pemberton Jr.

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Executive Director

All new members receive: a membership card-receipt, *Civil Liberties* ten times a year, and the ACLU's 96-page annual report "Freedom Through Dissent."

See over for complete list of ACLU Board and National Committee

If you are already a member you will understand that list duplication is sometimes inevitable. You could help the Union most by using this letter and enclosure to persuade a friend to join.

The New York Times

"The A.C.L.U. . . . has been indispensable in investigating violations of civil liberties, in publicizing them and in working through the channels of public opinion and of the law to see that our constitutional principles as expressed in the Bill of Rights remain a living force . . ."

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"If the American Bill of Rights has served to keep this country's constitutional structure secure in the troubled decades since the First World War, a substantial share of the credit belongs to the American Civil Liberties Union."

The Christian Science Monitor

" 'I do not agree with a word you say,' said Voltaire, 'but will defend to the death your right to say it.' It would be hard to find a more searching test of the genuineness of democratic sentiments than is implicit in this famous dictum. And it would be equally hard to find an organization that subjects itself to this test more often and more willingly than does the American Civil Liberties Union . . ."

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"Both locally and nationally, the ACLU has functioned effectively for the preservation of the Bill of Rights. That is its only function. In defending the rights of those who happen to be in danger of having them violated or denied, the ACLU defends the rights of all Americans . . ."

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"Inevitably, many of the causes the American Civil Liberties Union has championed have been unpopular. The fighter for free and untrammeled speech must defend some unsavory characters who abuse their liberty. It follows that many sincere lovers of freedom have at times found themselves at odds with ACLU policy. The alternative, however, is infinitely worse, and the ACLU has earned a welcome from all who cherish the idea of a government of laws under which all men enjoy equal privileges."

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"If the battle for democracy in the United States is ever lost it will be lost, in a manner of speaking, over the dead body of the American Civil Liberties Union . . ."

During the 43 years of its existence the American Civil Liberties Union has played a significant role in defending our basic democratic freedoms. Your voice has always been raised clearly and sharply when our liberties have been threatened. America is a stronger nation for your uncompromising efforts.

— JOHN F. KENNEDY

During the span of years covered by your organization, the American people have given increased attention to progress in the field of civil rights. . . . It is good to be reminded that the members of the American Civil Liberties Union and the overwhelming majority of my fellow citizens are working together in this field with steadfast vigor and understanding.

— DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

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You believe in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights—but how do *you* feel they should be interpreted today, in times of domestic complexity and world tension? Short summaries like those below cannot include the many necessary qualifications, but your answers should tell you where you stand on some representative American Civil Liberties Union policies (which were not all adopted unanimously by the ACLU Board —it seldom agrees 100% on any question).

To check whether you and the ACLU agree on the statements below, put a circle around Y (for YES) if you agree; if you do not agree, circle N (for NO).

1. Any private individual should have the right to criticize any government or government official anywhere in the world. ..... **Y N**

2. Congressional investigations into "un-American activities" are essential to our nation's security. ..... **Y N**

3. Segregation in public schools violates the equal protection of the laws guaranteed to all Americans by the Constitution. ..... **Y N**

4. A trade union member should be permitted to advocate "right-to-work" laws without jeopardizing his union membership. ..... **Y N**

5. Belonging to the Communist Party should be punishable by fine or imprisonment. ..... **Y N**

6. Everyone who invokes the privilege against self-incrimination must be guilty as suspected. **Y N**

7. Religious exercises, such as the Lord's Prayer and Bible reading, should be barred from public schools. ..... **Y N**

8. Books like "Tropic of Cancer" should be banned from newsstands and libraries. ..... **Y N**

9. States' rights clauses in the Constitution justify efforts by certain states to prevent Negroes from voting. ..... **Y N**

10. Communist leader Benjamin Davis and Birch Society head Robert Welch are both entitled to make public speeches. ..... **Y N**

11. Movies, books and plays presenting an offensive characterization of a particular racial or religious group should be suppressed. ..... **Y N**

12. Everyone should have the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country. ..... **Y N**

13. In their war against crime policemen are entitled to listen in on private phone conversations. ..... **Y N**

14. Parochial school pupils are entitled to free bus service, paid for from public funds. ..... **Y N**

15. Laws against the use and sale of birth control devices violate rights of privacy guaranteed by the U. S. Constitution. ..... **Y N**

16. Those accused as security risks under the federal security program should have the right to confront and cross-examine their accusers. **Y N**

17. Students receiving financial aid from the government should be required to swear that they are not members of the Communist Party. ..... **Y N**

18. Racial discrimination in housing, public and private, should be prohibited by law. ..... **Y N**

19. Police are entitled to hold and interrogate arrested persons as long as 24 hours before arraigning them in front of a magistrate. ..... **Y N**

20. To "emancipate the American Indian," reservations should be closed and federal services terminated—regardless of the tribes' wishes. **Y N**

CHECK YOUR SCORE AFTER YOU ANSWER ALL TWENTY QUESTIONS

In the ACLU's opinion, you get 5 POINTS each for answering YES to numbers 1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 15, 16 and 18; and 5 POINTS each for answering NO to numbers 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 17, 19 and 20.

IF YOU SCORE 75 OR MORE, then you agree substantially with the ACLU, and are a *member in spirit.* Put your belief in civil liberties to work by joining the one national organization which fights—52 weeks a year—for the liberties you cherish. Use the membership blank on the other side.

WHATEVER YOUR SCORE, SEE OVER • • •

SAVE THIS QUIZ

TRY IT ON YOUR FRIENDS

"The American Civil Liberties Union [is a] useful and thoroughly patriotic organization . . . To equate patriotism with conformity, orthodoxy, and name-calling is dangerous nonsense; and this cannot be pointed out too often."

—*The New York Times*

" 'I do not agree with a word you say,' said Voltaire, 'but will defend to the death your right to say it.' It would be hard to find a more searching test of the genuineness of democratic sentiments than is implicit in this famous dictum. And it would be equally hard to find an organization that subjects itself to this test more often and more willingly than does the American Civil Liberties Union."

—*The Christian Science Monitor*

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The ACLU is the only permanent national non-partisan organization devoted solely to defending the Bill of Rights for *everybody*. The Union fights for the civil liberties even of those whose anti-democratic opinions it abhors. But the ACLU bars from its governing councils all adherents of all totalitarian doctrines.

Today the ACLU with its Board and National Committee of leaders in every field, its thirty-three state and city affiliates (and their many chapters), its corps of volunteer lawyers, and its experienced staff, is engaged primarily on four fronts. YOU have a stake in the American Civil Liberties Union's fight in these four areas, among others:

- AGAINST those federal, state and local measures which, though aimed at non-conformists, threaten the civil liberties of all Americans.
- TO PROMOTE fair procedures in court trials, congressional and administrative hearings.
- AGAINST both governmental and private pressure group censorship of movies, plays, books, newspapers, magazines, radio, and television.
- TO ELIMINATE second-class citizenship for Negroes, Puerto Ricans, American Indians and other minorities.

The ACLU needs and welcomes the support of all those—and only those—whose devotion to civil liberties is not qualified by adherence to Communist, Fascist, KKK, or other totalitarian doctrine.

YOU ARE NEEDED TOO—as a member of the ACLU. The Union depends on its nearly 70,000 members (enrollment has doubled in the past six years) for its entire support. To meet the challenge of the times, we need 10,000 new members this year.

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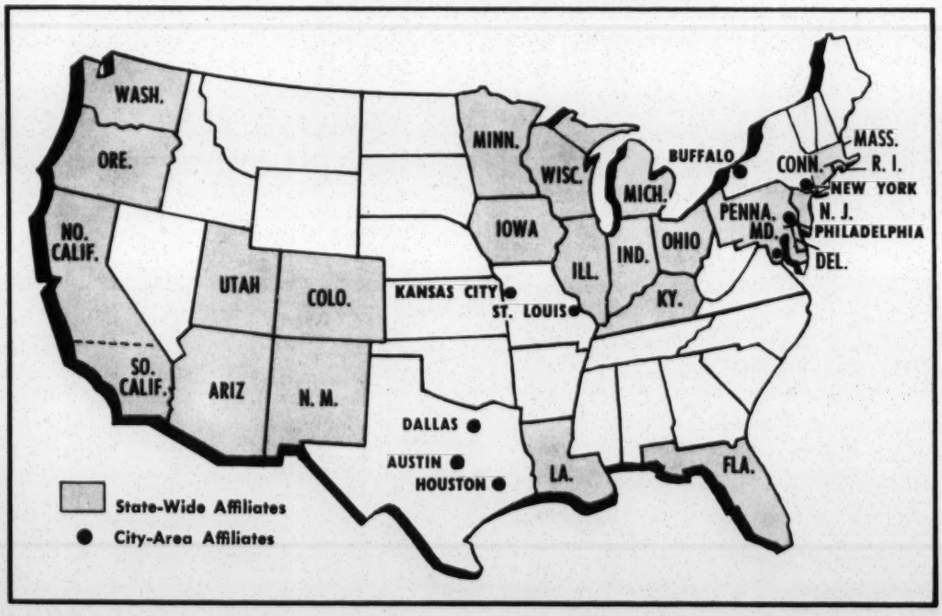

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As the worldwide contest on behalf of free institutions against communist totalitarianism continues, there remains in the United States only a very small group of people adhering to the Communist Party whose sympathies are with the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the fears and emotions resulting from this contest have produced a set of repressive laws which raise a very real question whether our democratic society is strong and self-confident enough to deal with this domestic communist problem within the framework of our traditional freedoms and without resorting to governmental repression of mere ideas in violation of our basic tradition. We who sign this statement are Americans who believe that our society can and must deal with domestic communism <u>without</u> resorting to the totalitarian methods which we so strongly oppose.

The recent spread of the cold war to new areas undergoing rapid social and economic change has made us realize anew that one of our greatest assets is still the tradition of free expression and association with which communism is incompatible. But in the effort to enlist the allegiance of emerging peoples to freedom, we are burdened with a serious handicap, since in the recent hysteria over communism, we ourselves have undertaken to prohibit and penalize liberty of mere expression and advocacy. The past quarter-century has witnessed the enactment of laws penalizing speech rather than action - laws which, in the name of national security, have undermined the very freedoms they purported to protect.

In 1940 the Smith Act made criminal the mere teaching and advocacy of communism. In 1950 the McCarran Internal Security Act sought to prohibit and penalize mere membership in or association with communist-"action" or communist-"front" groups, while in 1954, the Congress, in the Communist Control Act, sought to "outlaw" the Communist Party as such.

As of July 1963, the Communist Party has been named a communist-action organization; twenty-three organizations have been ordered to register as communist-fronts (although a U.S.Court of Appeals has set aside the designation of two of these organizations); one union has been ordered to register as a communist-infiltrated organization; twenty-seven individuals have been ordered to register as members of the Communist Party; the Communist Party has been convicted and fined $120,000 for failing to register; two persons have been indicted for failing to register as officers of the Party; the State Department has ordered the revocation of the passports of two individuals for membership in the Party; one individual has recently been indicted for working in a defense facility while a member of the Communist Party; and every applicant for a passport must swear he is not a member of the Communist Party.

The continued existence of these laws dealing with mere <u>expression and association</u> as distinguished from subversive <u>action</u> leaves us open to the just charge of inconsistency and hypocrisy and profoundly impairs our ability to win other nations to the cause of freedom which we preach but do not fully practice. <u>We believe the time has come for the repeal of these authoritarian and ineffective laws</u>. More specifically, we assign the following reasons for such repeal.

First. The Smith Act of 1940 broke with our constitutional tradition by proposing to punish persons for the mere teaching and advocacy of unpopular doctrine. In succeeding years the courts have properly imposed constitutional restrictions upon the application of this Act, and, since virtually no further effort for its enforcement is now being made by the Department of Justice, it is appropriate that this law, so inconsistent with our free institutions, should be removed from our statutes.

The Internal Security Act of 1950 - passed over President Truman's veto - is similarly directed against the mere expression of ideas rather than against any overt subversive acts. The Government has for many years been seeking to enforce this Act against the Communist Party and a group of so-called "front" organizations. If successful, this enforcement effort would require various public disclosures by the organizations and their individual members. But it may be assumed with certainty that anyone who may be actually engaged in espionage or other illegal action will not be induced by this means to make public disclosure of that fact. In short, ideas and associations, as distinguished from any illegal actions, would, in practice, be the objects of repression and punishment.

Similarly, the Communist Control Act of 1954 which seeks to "outlaw" the Communist Party, has raised the gravest constitutional issues. There has never been any Federal effort to enforce this law and its net practical effect has been to strike the Communist Party from the election ballot in those few places where the Party has sought to run candidates. It is ironic that the only aspect of Communist Party operations which this Act has actually curtailed is its least objectionable activity

of participating in the democratic process of free elections.

In short, none of these Acts dealing, as they all do, with the mere teaching and expression of communist doctrine provides protection against any true domestic threat to the United States. Against such a threat our best defense remains our counterespionage system and our traditional criminal sanctions against spying and sabotage. On the other hand, while the benefits from these laws are illusory, the dangers are real because, as President Truman said in vetoing the Internal Security Act. "We will destroy all that we seek to preserve if we sacrifice the liberties of our citizens in a misguided attempt to achieve national security."

Second. Not only does this legislation, in seeking to control and punish mere expression and advocacy of "subversive" ideas, fail to serve any practical need in the contest with communism, it also does definite harm to the self-respect of our people and to our standing as an international leader in this contest. The toleration of unpopular and even of hateful opinion is of the very essence of our tradition, and we repeat that the erosion of that principle exposes us to a just charge of inconsistency and hypocrisy. Along with our failure to provide equality of opportunity and equal justice for our Negro population, nothing so much down-grades our world reputation and influence as our failure to abide by our tradition of free expression.

It is a baseless insult to the patriotism of our people and to our constitutional tradition to outlaw political parties, associations and ideas, which in a freesociety should find their rejection in the public mind and not in the public jail.

It is doubtless true that the Communist Party has at times been and may be today not merely a political organization but also a source of recruiting for illegal action. To the extent, however, that individuals or organizations engage in criminal acts, the general law stands ready to punish them for those acts; while, to the extent that entire organizations and their members are virtually made outlaws in the community, forbidden even to advocate their ideas and doctrines, we have unnecessarily forsaken fundamental principles of liberty upon which our society is based.

Until the Congress repeals these laws, we call upon the President to exercise the greatest caution in their enforcement. A 5-4 Supreme Court ruling has upheld the requirement of the Internal Security Act of 1950 that the Communist Party must register with the Attorney General. But the prohibitions and penalties of that Act, the validity of which has not yet been tested in the courts, are so dangerous and constitutionally questionable that the Government should be slow to seek their imposition. The burdens imposed by this Act include fantastic penalties for nonregistration, the disallowance of tax deductions, the public stamping of mailings, the prohibition of government employment and of private employment on government work, denial of passports, identification of printing presses, and similar drastic provisions. Members of listed organizations are thus truly made "outlaws" in our society, and at the same time are prohibited from obtaining passports in order to leave it.

By these means the most grievous punishment is inflicted on persons who have not been convicted nor even accused of the commission of any crime. In the name of protecting ourselves from hearing communist doctrines which nearly all

Americans detest, we have thus fashioned a system more consistent with the dictatorship which we abhor than with the liberty we purport to love.

In accordance with the foregoing principles, the undersigned appeal:

To the President: To suspend future enforcement of the Internal Security Act of 1950 until the constitutionality of its several provisions is finally determined in the courts under litigation already in progress; and also to call for its Congressional repeal for the reasons so eloquently stated in President Truman's veto message;

To the Congress: To repeal the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act and the Communist Control Act;

To Citizens Throughout the Nation: To support a return to our tradition of free expression and association, whereby the good judgment of our people, rather than the censor and the jailhouse, provides the surest protection for our national ideals.

(Signed)

Ernest Angell
Thurman Arnold
Grenville Clark
Reinhold Niebuhr
Victor Reuther
Harold Riegelman
Norman Thomas
Howard S. Whiteside

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED TO
THE WORKSHOP OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED
ON OCTOBER 30, 1962

CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

By
Leslie W. Dunbar

Before we discuss specific rights and liberties under the Constitution, there are some general principles that should be kept in mind.

First, the most important idea to grasp regarding the Constitution of the United States is one that may seem commonplace to you because you so take it for granted. It is this: the Constitution itself is a law, enforceable in the courts. We are so used to this that we probably do not stop to think that this is unlike most of the other important constitutions of the world. In the Constitution of France, for example, rights and liberties are specified, just as in our constitution, but they are not law unless the French parliament has passed statutes making them law. They are simply constitutional principles to guide the French government, not to bind it. Our Constitution is different because it is itself a law. It binds; it can be enforced regardless of what Congress may or may not do.

Secondly, the Constitution is the supreme law of the land. Article VI of the Constitution reads, in part:

> This Constitution, and the Laws...made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made... under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

Thirdly, our Constitution, as you know, provides for what we call a federal system and what we call a separation of powers. You might think of it this way. Imagine the total power of government. Then imagine that you cut it up and gave a portion to the national government and a portion to the state governments. Then imagine further that you take the portion given to the national government and cut it into three parts, giving one each to the President, Congress, and the Courts. This means, as you can see, that the total power of government is not in any one set of hands. This was precisely what the framers of the Constitution intended, because they were deeply suspicious of what any power holders would do. We have heard a lot about "state's rights." We should keep in mind that if the states do not and will not act responsibly, if they act in such a way as to affront standards of human decency, the national government will inevitably be driven to supervise them in some ways or to exercise functions which states should be exercising. When this happens, as it has happened because of the irresponsibility of states, we move away from that conviction of the constitutional fathers that it was good to have vigorous state governments.

Fourthly, nearly all of the rights and liberties in our Constitution are what might be called "negative." This means that they typically do not tell the citizen what he can do, but rather tell the government what it cannot do. There is, for example, no provision of the Constitution which says that you have a right to vote. There are provisions, on the other hand, which forbid government from denying you the right to vote for certain reasons.

With these basic principles behind us, we can look quickly at some of the specific rights and liberties of the Constitution.

Sometimes we tend to think of all the rights as being in the so-called Bill of Rights, that is, in the first eight Amendments, or in later Amendments. As a matter of fact, there is good reason to believe that the most basic of all our rights is specified in the body of the Constitution itself, where in Article I, Section 9, habeas corpus is provided for. Habeas corpus is your protection against being held without proper charge, your protection that you cannot be punished without having your day in court.

In the body of the Constitution also there are other protections for the individual, such as, for example, the right to jury trial whenever charged with a federal crime.

The First Amendment to the Constitution is, however, in sum probably the most important expression of the American concern for liberty. I think it would be worthwhile quoting it in full before we talk about it.

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Let me point out first that the language of this amendment says nothing at all about the states; it refers only to Congress. I think most people have forgotten this, but, in fact, until 1926 there were no federal protections against interferences by state governments with freedom of speech and other like individual liberties. How it came about that there now are such protections is very interesting because it reveals the processes by which the Constitution is continuously being interpreted by the Supreme Court and given new meaning. In the years following the first World War, a number of complaints began coming up through the federal courts from persons whose freedom of speech or press had been interfered with by state governments. Faced with these cases, the Supreme Court gradually moved to a new interpretation of the Constitution. The Court did it in this way: if you will look at the XIV Amendment you will see that it contains a clause which says, "nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." Beginning in 1926 the Supreme Court has ruled that the "liberty" which the XIV Amendment protects against the states is to be defined by, at a minimum, the rights of the First Amendment. In this way, the First Amendment has been made binding on the state governments as well as Congress.

Notice, too, that the First Amendment uses very flat language, "Congress shall make no law." Now, of course, both Congress and the

states do make laws which restrict freedom of speech and the press. We have, for instance, libel laws, obscenity laws, and we have recently had an Act of Congress punishing those who "advocate" the overthrow of the government. Advocacy, of course, is speech. Laws such as these give the courts a great deal of trouble, but they clearly believe that the First Amendment, despite its flat, absolute language, does allow interpretation. All the courts, for example, up to now, seem agreed that obscene speech or writing can be punished. The federal courts are having a great deal of difficulty in defining what obscenity is, and because of this no one can be very sure what is allowable and what is not, but the courts, nevertheless, accept the principle that the First Amendment was intended to protect rational discussion and not the purposeful spread of obscenity.

One of the guarantees of the First Amendment is freedom of religion. The amendment also says that the government shall not "establish" a religion; we usually call this the doctrine of separation of church and state. Here again nobody knows exactly what the law now is; at least, no sensible man would attempt to say what the law will be in a few years. We are having a great debate within the country about this matter and until the country itself makes up its mind, so that there is something like a national consensus, I think the Supreme Court will not know clearly how to interpret the Constitution. For one of the truths about our civil liberties and civil rights is that, although the courts play a very big role in defining them, the courts do usually speak the will of the people. Let me illustrate that by a far-fetched example: if you were a man from Mars and knew nothing about American history or society or morality, there would be about as much reason for you to say that the Constitution prohibits the segregation of sexes as that it prohibits the segregation of races. We don't <u>want</u> the Constitution to forbid the segregation of sexes; we <u>do</u> want it to prohibit the segregation of races -- at least this is what prevailing public opinion has come to want. Consequently, the court acts in the one field and does not act in the other. It will be the same way regarding separation of church and state. What does the Constitution mean? What do the American people want it to mean? Does it mean that our government may cooperate with the churches in various ways, even assist them, so long as no government, either national or state, "establishes" a church? That is, gives one church a preferred and official position, such as the Church of England has? Or does the Constitution mean that there shall be a firm barrier, a high wall, separating church and state, that neither one shall have anything to do with the other? I don't have to tell you that there is a lot of difference of opinion about this today. We have such questions as released time in schools, Bible instruction in the schools, the use of school buses to carry children to parochial schools, the whole huge question of federal aid to education and whether it can go to church-supported schools; up in New York state this year some school principals have even denied the children Christmas trees because of the possible religious connotations. We, as a people, haven't made up our mind as to what we want. Until we do, the Courts will not be able to give a clear definition to the Constitution.

Our time is running short and perhaps this is all we can say now about the First Amendment; lots more could be said.

The rest of the Bill of Rights deals, mainly, with what we call procedural rights. Such things, that is, as protection against unreasonable searches and seizures, the guarantee of grand jury indictment in federal courts, protection against self incrimination, etc. These so-called procedural rights apply more strictly against the federal government, its officers and courts, than they do against the state governments. This also is a long and complex subject which we have not time to go into. Perhaps I can illustrate it by pointing out that although you have a constitutional guarantee, for whatever it is worth, that you cannot be tried for a federal crime unless you have been first indkcted by a grand jury, there is no like Constitutional guarantee against the states. Some of the states have, as a matter of fact, experimented with other forms of procedure and do not invariably require grand jury indictment.

After the Civil War, three amendments were passed which greatly enlarged American liberty. The XIII Amendment prohibited slavery. The XV Amendment said that race could not be a qualification for voting. We have to remind ourselves that in the United States voting qualifications, even for the federal elections, are determined by the states. The Constitution does, however, lay down certain ground rules. The XV Amendment says that race cannot be a qualification; the XIX Amendment says that sex cannot be a qualification.

We have already mentioned the XIV Amendment, in that it became the bridge by which some basic rights(such as freedom of speech, press, religion, and assembly) were protected against action by state governments. The XIV Amendment has other importance too. Indeed, practically speaking it is perhaps as important as any other provision of the Constitution, and a good part of the reason for this is that it regulates the activities of state governments. There are two other provisions of it which I would like particularly to call to your attention.

One is the group of words at the very beginning of the Amendment which define American citizenship. You may think it curious that until 1868 the Constitution did not have a definition of citizenship in it. But now it does:

> All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside.

This means, very literally, that anyone born in this country is a citizen, or can claim to be one, unless his parents were foreign diplomats or otherwise not subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. Even a child born of parents who themselves are not citizens becomes a citizen simply by right of birth.

The other clause which is so important and which is so close to the concern of all of us here, is the one which reads,

> ...nor shall any state...deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

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This clause has a glorious history, a history not yet ended and of which we are a part. It means that the laws of the state must apply equally to everyone. It means that a state cannot provide benefits to some of its citizens and irrationally deny them to others. It means that the enforcement of state laws cannot be discriminatory. And, since the great decision of 1954, it has been understood to mean racial segregation cannot be compelled or encouraged by state law, because since 1954 the federal courts have consistently ruled that segregation is a form of discrimination and is therefore a denial of the equal protection of the laws.

This is a very hurried and incomplete review of our Constitutional rights and liberties. But even though it is incomplete, we must remember that the Constitution itself is never complete but keeps evolving in pace with changes in American life and the maturing of America.

Response to a Panel on "The Church in a Valley of Decision"

By

Rev. Vincent Harding

To: The Workshop of The Fellowship of The Concerned - October 30-31/62

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I speak for Father John Morris as well as for myself when I seek to offer this response to yesterday's panel presentation on "The Church in a Valley of Decision."

Our first response was this: God bless the women! God bless the women for their deep concern. God bless the women for their searching and sensitive spirits. God bless the women for so often being so far ahead of the men in the joyful, agonizing search for the way of discipleship in the midst of our nation's racial conflicts.

After having said that, it would be tempting for me to sit down, and for all of you to sit up and pat yourselves on the back and say "how good we are." We must not yield to this temptation, though, for self-congratulation and the easy offering of undeserved praise are among the besetting sins of the church. Rather, let us look and see what we have not done, what we have yet to do before we may even claim the title to "unworthy servants."

Actually, the panel left many things to be desired --- partly, of course, because of the meagre allotment of time that was made to each speaker. On the topic itself, "The Church in a Valley of Decision," little was really said. The nature of the decision was not defined in any way, and this omission was unfortunate, to say the least. For the title was no mere playing with words; the church is indeed faced now with a decision that is focussed on this matter of race. It is a great decision. It must choose to be or not to be the Church. It must choose to be the Church or a social club. It must choose to be the Church or another variety of white citizens' council. It must choose to be the Church or to be a Negro haven of rest. It must choose to be the Church or a Colored fashion show. Ultimately, of course, the choice before the Church now is to respond to God's challenge on the issue of race, or to die of abject fear. Here is the valley.

Perhaps it was because of this lack of a central definition that I found so little of a sense of urgency about the entire presentation. But a sense of urgency is greatly needed, for the context of the title words, as they are found in the book of Joel, is this: "Multitudes, multitides, in the valley of decision! For the day of the Lord is near in the valley of decision." This is the point: the day of God's judgement is no less near to us, for a revolution now sweeps around us, the world is passing us by, as schools, restaurants, bars all move ahead; and day by day, a silent, segregated church becomes more and more irrelevant to the new society. Soon, before very long, separate but equal churches will be antiquated anachronism, fit only for the dung heap.

Somehow, the panel needed to say more about our need to face the church fully and honestly with this time of decision. In some way we

must help it to cease evading the moment of truth when it must decide to be God's people or to remain a white people and a colored people. We must bring it to the time when it will see no path but the path of decision between being the Body of Christ or being permanently split into white and non-white bodies. At the same time we must call the church to a new understanding of who it belongs to. Again and again, we heard the panel members speak of opening "our church" to the Negroes. Instead, we must cause men to know that our great calling may well be to get out of the way and let Christ open His church to all people. For it is His church, you know. Unless it is his, unless it follows his command to make disciples of all men, wherever they are found, unless it is open to all men, then it has not yet come near the fullness of his calling. Indeed, if this is not its stance, there may be great reason to question its credentials as a church under his Lordship.

Throughout the panel discussion, it was possible to sense an uncomfortableness not dissimilar to that which has been experienced in the nation at large of late. Just as men and women grew uneasy with the lack of local action to implement the 1954 Supreme Court decision and the 1961 Interstate Commerce Commission ruling, so, too, has our uneasiness increased over the plethora of church pronouncements on race in the face of so little local congregational implementation. And as I think of the action we need, I remember a lady from Virginia who approached me at the recent World Mennonite Conference and asked: "Are you starting a new colored work in Atlanta?" My response to her was: "Sister, what we are really trying to do is to get all of the colored people out of the colored churches, and all of the white people out of the white churches, and put them together into one true Christian church." For in a real sense, this is our goal; not to integrate the churches, as some ladies said. No, our goal is to help create a fully Christian church, a church that refuses to let the walls of the world be built up in the church, a church which preaches and practices, "whosoever will, may come."

Now, how shall this necessary action come? How shall the church be brought to its hour of decision? How shall the volumes of pronouncements become flesh and live in deeds among us? The answers to this are not simple, but perhaps a direction may be seen. Just as the 1954 court decision and the 1961 ICC ruling did not bring (and have not brought) voluntary corrective action without some real stimulation in most cases, so we must not expect church pronouncements to bring action without similar stimulation. Is this not in keeping with our Protestant, crisis-centered theology? Rarely, for instance, do we expect a man to become a Christian only by reading volumes of documents about conversion. In our tradition -- for better or worse -- we look for a crisis experience, a sharp encounter with the truth, which may in turn lead to a turning from old ways and a commitment to the new. Is this not what our churches need in order to become truly inclusive fellowships? Do they not need to be faced with an inescapable crisis of decision?

How shall we do this? There are many ways. On the political level it took men and women who were willing to grasp Negro children by

the hands and lead them to principals and school boards -- then the issue could not be avoided. It took courageous young men and women to enter the restaurants and sit at the counters, facing the owners with the reality of their presence and the necessity of a choice. What does it take in the church?

Now, we may sit back and wait, perhaps, for some of these same young persons to enter the church without invitation and thus stimulate our decision-making. This is not a wise way, though, for many of them will never bother to come to our churches -- for a host of good and bad reasons. More importantly, though, this is not a wise way because it removes the initiative from our hands, and it is in our hands that it belongs. We are the people of the church. There are many ways in which we can grasp the chance (Miss Mears of United Church Women's "Project: Race" has a host of ideas). However, I should like to offer one suggestion which seems to me to be faithful both to the theme of this conference and to the life of the church. I would suggest that we give up those feelings of self-righteousness which so easily overcome us when we attend regional and statewide conferences like this. I would suggest that we grow dissatisfied with talk about the hands we have shaken and the tables we have shared at this level. The time has come for us to move down (or up!) to the level of our local congregations, to take our sister of another color by the hand, a and to walk by her side into our church sanctuary. Take her, and walk with her, and say to any who ask: "This is my sister in Christ; if this is Christ's church, then she belongs here as fully as I do." Indeed, we might be called upon to add the words: "If she does not belong here, then neither do I." In our hands -- there is the initiative. Joined hand in hand we may face the church with its choice.

Obviously, this is no easy way for us to go; but that is good. It is good because this issue of race, this frightening, shaking issue may finally bring us to our senses: at last it may break down our frantic efforts to be Christ's disciples and socially acceptable at the same time. In moments of the church's crisis, this kind of double life is rarely possible or even desirable. Thus the valley of our decision on race may be a place in which we discover anew that following Christ still brings with it the joyful agony of the cross.

Only briefly was this alluded to yesterday, when one of the panel members reported on the difficulty Albany's leading Baptist minister is having in finding a place to have his hair cut. (Actually, the barbershop problem is only a symptom of the greater trials this man faces.) He simply spoke for the openness of Christ's church, and has been granted the provilege of a glimpse at the cross. In Montgomery and New Orleans, some ladies now present have been faced with rejection by their husbands as a price for their own decision. Such experiences remind us that we too must be ready for this at every moment if we would really take the present opportunity in our own hands. We must be ready to be taken off the best invitation lists. We must be ready to be socially ostracised, intimidated and reviled. This was the way of our Master; why should his followers ask for a more pleasant path?

(At this moment I remember an example given by Archbishop Fulton Sheen illustrating the difference between Christianity and Communism.

He said that the communists have marched up to the Christ of the cross, torn him from the cross, cast him aside, and have marched off bearing the cross -- the cross of suffering, ridicule and rejection for their cause. On the other hand, we of the western world, said the Bishop, have walked up to the cross, taken Christ off, and have walked off with a gentle Jesus, meek and mild, leaving the cross and its costliness behind. Neither of these is the true faith, of course. For just as there is no real Christian cross without Christ, so, too, is there no true Christ without his cross. In our valley of decision on race, each of us must make our own choice.)

Here, then, is our response. And as I thought of the decision we now face -- a calling to open Christ's church to all men -- it seemed to me that T. S. Eliot was speaking to us all through his Murder in the Cathedral (and perhaps God was speaking through the poet). There, in his dramatic recounting of the life of Thomas Becket, 12th century Archbishop of Canterbury,Eliot often dwelt on the conflict between Thomas and the King, between the commands of God and the decrees of the state, between the way of our Master and the way of the world. Then, near the closing of Thomas' life in the play, Eliot portrays the priests of the Cathedral as they urge Thomas to lock himself in the sanctuary and to bar it against the King's knights who seek to kill him. They cry out:

Priests: Bar the door. Bar the door.
The door is barred.
We are safe. We are safe.
The enemy may rage outside, he will tire
In vain. They cannot break in.
They dare not break in. They have not the force.
We are safe. We are safe.

Thomas: Unbar the doors! Throw open the doors!
I will not have the house of prayer, the church of Christ,
The sanctuary, turned into a fortress.
The church shall protect her own, in her own way, not
As oak and stone; stone and oak decay,
Give no stay, but the Church shall endure.
The church shall be open, even to our enemies.
Open the door!

Priests: My Lord! these are not men, these come not as men come, but,
Like maddened beasts. They come not like men, who
Respect the sanctuary, who kneel to the Body of Christ,
But like beasts. You would bar the door
Against the lion, the leopard, the wolf or the boar,
Why not more
Against beasts with the souls of damned men, against men
Who would damn themselves to beasts.
My Lord! My Lord!

Thomas: Unbar the door!
You think me reckless, desperate and mad.
You argue by results, as this world does,
To settle if an act be good or bad.
Unbar the door! Unbar the door!
We are not here to triumph by fighting, by stratagem,
or by resistance,
Not to fight with beasts as men.
We have fought the beast and have conquered.
We have only to conquer now, by suffering.
This is the easier victory.
Now is the triumph of the Cross, now
Open the door! I command it. OPEN THE DOOR!

The door is opened, and within a few minutes time, the King's knights murder Thomas (for God has never promised safety to those who do his will, only his eternal presence with them). However, in the final moments of the play, the people of Canterbury are granted that great vision which helps them to see that Thomas' death, resulting as it did from his refusal to close Christ's church to any man, was indeed a blessing upon them all. It had caused them to see God and themselves. Therefore they could sing out:

Chorus: . . . . . .

. . . O God, we thank Thee
Who hast given such a blessing to Canterbury.

Forgive us, O Lord, we acknowledge ourselves as type of
the comman man,
Of the men and women who shut the door and sit by the fire;
Who fear the blessing of God, the loneliness of the night
of God, the surrender required, the deprivation
inflicted;
Who fear the injustice of men less than the justice of God;
Who fear the hand at the window, the fire in the thatch,
the fist in the tavern, the push into the canal,
Less than we fear the love of God.
We acknowledge our trespass, our weakness, our fault;
we acknowledge
That the sin of the world is upon our heads; that the
blood of the martyrs and the agony of the saints
Is upon our heads.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Christ, have mercy upon us.
Lord, have mercy upon us.
Blessed Thomas, pray for us.

Reverend Vincent Harding
Mennonite House
Atlanta, Georgia

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED TO
THE WORKSHOP OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

ON OCTOBER 30-31, 1962 - - INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER

BY

Miss Flora Y. Hatcher
Assistant to the Administrator
Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington, D. C.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

In our own country rebuilding our communities to eliminate blight on the one hand, and accommodate explosive population growth and urbanization on the other, has been a major national effort since 1949. This led President Kennedy in a special housing message to Congress in March 1961 to assess first, where the nation was and second, to determine what priorities should be set further housing and urban rebuilding. He stated: "Two problems standing near the top of our national priority lists are first, preventing the appalling deterioration of many of our country's urban areas and rehabilitating the cities of our Nation, which currently contain 70 per cent of our people -- a figure that is constantly growing - and second, insuring the availability of adequate housing for all segments of our population."

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

The Southern Regional Congress on City Planning while meeting in Roanoke, Virginia, in 1953 took note of what change from a rural to a predominantly urban pattern of living meant to the South. In part, this report of city planners from southern communities stated: "The growth of southern cities presents both problems and opportunities. For the first time many southern cities are faced with problems of housing, traffic congestion, schools, recreation areas, and utilities, ...The southern people must grasp the problems of their new environment if they are to adapt themselves successfully to the changes that are taking place."...[1]

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Decent Homes and Suitable Living Environment.--A third perspective - very significant to any community's housing and replanning efforts - is our national housing goal "the realization as soon as feasible of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." This goal was established, of course, by Congress in the Housing Act of 1949.

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[1]City Planning In The South: The Findings and Recommendations of the Southern Regional Congress on City Planning. August 17-19,1953, Roanoke, Virginia. Final Report of Committee on Professional Planning Services for Southern Cities.

Most Urgent Housing Needs.--When the President made his 1961 assessment of the nation's housing,he pointed out that 14 million American families currently live in substandard or deteriorating homes and the other 39 million families must be protected from the encroachment of blight and slums. He found the most urgent housing needs to be among families of moderate and low income, and therefore directed his proposals toward providing opportunities for these groups for whom our national pledge of a decent home and suitable living environment had not been fulfilled. The Congress agreed with the President's Assessment and enacted in the Housing Act of 1961 new and extended housing programs to provide housing for these people - and minorities are found predominantly amont these moderate and lower income levels.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Minorities are also found occupying a substantially higher ratio of our poorest housing. The 1960 census data show that nationally the housing conditions of nonwhites continue to be substantially worse than for whites. About 45 per cent of the nonwhite households live in substandard housing. Looking at these data for the southern region, we find that 53 per cent of substandard owner-occupied housing is occupied by nonwhites compared to only 16 per cent for whites. For substandard rental housing, 68 per cent is occupied by nonwhites compared to only 28 per cent by whites.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

It is highly significant to the work of your Conference that hundreds of southern localities are participating so fully in federally aided programs to add to their supply of good housing and to replan and renew their deteriorating communities. This takes on added meaning when one remembers that no Federal aid program in housing and community improvement goes forward in a locality except when initiated, planned, and carried out by the local community. These locally initiated activities can improve housing for all segments of the population, and within total community development, there are many potentials for advancing housing opportunities for minorities. Whether or not these programs are effective in a local community depends not alone on public agencies, but also upon the will, desire, and responsible participation of the local citizenry. Responsible participation requires being well informed about what is going on in one's locality. Perhaps it would be helpful, therefore, to identify a few significant housing and community developments now under way in many southern communities.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Workable Programs for Community Improvement.--The Workable Program is a Federal prerequisite to a locality's availing itself of urban renewal and certain housing assistance from the Federal Government. The Housing and Home Finance Agency Administrator must certify a Workable Program initially, and subsequently review it for re-certification annually. Where annual review indicates the need for further progress or corrective steps, Regional HHFA staff is available to assist

localities in working out problems so as to enable re-certification.

Under the Workable Program, a plan for the community's total development will get under way. Housing and neighborhoods most in need of improvement will be analyzed and ways to eliminate blight will receive major attention - and these neighborhoods include a preponderance of minority group families. The community will be planning ahead to meet the rehousing needs of all its families. A representative citizens' advisory committee will be established and officially designated to provide for citizen participation. Also because of the widely-experienced difficulty in communities in making adequate housing available to minority groups, a special or sub-committee on minority group housing for study and action is expected to be established. Agency guidelines point out that minority groups should be represented on both the overall Advisory Committee and on the subcommittee or special committee for minority group housing.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Heightened Planning Activity.--Nor can the heightened importance of community planning be overlooked. Large and small communities alike are feverishly developing "community plans" for growth, development, and rearrangement of their housing and facilities. The South is very much a part of the vast planning activity now going on. Most of the large southern communities have Planning Commissions, some established in recent years. Nine states[1] in the South have state planning agencies that, among other responsibilities, help smaller communities in their urban planning. In seven southern states[2] there are metropolitan and regional planning agencies.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

For the country as a whole about 66 per cent or two-thirds of the families displaced by urban renewal are nonwhites. Of the families displaced in communities in the South up to March 31, 1962, 16,639 were nonwhites compared to 3,708 whites. This then obviously means that the re-housing operation of urban renewal is of major importance to the housing opportunities of minorities. The Federal statute requires that all families displaced by urban renewal action are provided the opportunity to be rehoused in decent safe, and sanitary housing - available and within their financial reach. The quality of a community's relocation operation can determine whether rehousing extends or threatens housing opportunities for minorities.

---

[1]Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

[2]Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

Women leaders can help their community improve housing opportunities by stimulating the use of these varied new and amended tools. The key factor here is remembering that our traditional policy has been to rely on private enterprise groups to provide by far the major portion of our housing supply. Translated into action, this means reflecting your concerns about housing opportunity for all citizens to builders, realtors, and lending institutions.

It is now timely to do so for these business interests are beginning to recognize that their housing market today is increasingly' in the low and moderate price field, including a better market than ever before among minorities. Women leaders also can help the business sectors of their communities examine and modify traditional practices that negate housing opportunities. They can also provide essential community understanding and support as representatives of the housing industry revoke such traditional practices and serve all elements of the market for housing equally.

REPORT OF THE

WORKSHOP OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED - HELD ON OCTOBER 30-31, 1962, at THE INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER

* * * * * * * *

The below listed items are what the Workshop participants said they would do when they went home.

- - - - - - - - - - -

OUR REACH

Plan soon to get a few women from my Sunday School class to meet in my home with a couple of Negro teachers.

Planning a Workshop: on the Family in a World of Rapid change in January, on all phases of housing, employment, using persons from Urban League, New Orleans Community Relations Council, Housing Authority, Welfare Planning Council. This will be in cooperation with Christian Social Relations Department of U.C.W.

Next week -- report to Annual Meeting Women's Fellowship. Later brief State Chairman of Social action. Next spring give information to district meeting.

Will incorporate on Friday some ideas learned in the Country-wide World Community Day Service.

Wherever possible will take all others to meetings and situations where their attitudes may be changed.

In an institute, teaching high school youths, State Board Meetings, Baptist Women -- will share what I have learned. Hope to have integrated services.

Hope to have a telephone group whose job will be to get acquainted with at least one white woman each month.

THE CHURCH

Urge my church to study work book on Local Ecumenicity -- "Servants of Eternal Christ."

Continue to welcome every person who comes through the doors of my church.

Make it a personal responsibility to see that my church knows the official position of our denomination, and try to get them to do at least one thing to advance good relationships, taking steps toward recognition of persons.

I shall ask our Women's State Board to study "One Family" come together for discussion of it and consideration of participation in "Assignment Race."

Will try to integrate our local U.C.W. -- will try to go grips with our Methodist Church. Work more closely with League of Women Voters.

As a member of the official board of my church -- I shall try to make way to the opening of doors wider, extending the hand of fellowship and welcome to all people.

As a conference officer I will include in my message to the women what I have learned.

Work, hope, and pray that all churches may be willing to welcome Negro worshippers, and be willing to entertain inter-racial conferences.

Will work for a study group in our U. C. W.

Try to have an integrated U. C. W.

I will try to have the Negro Presbyterian church taken into white Presbyterian.

Urge my church to study the proclamation on open-door policy.

Integration of our churches is a Christian requisite. Will continue my efforts to bring it about.

Encourage our Woman's society to study Charter of Racial Policies.

Will write an article for our denominations weekly on concerns for church women.

Will serve on Committee of Local U. C. W. on"Assignment Race."

To help my fellow church members to realize the privilege and opportunities to promote better race relations.

Will report to my Synodical board and to my Sunday School class of 50 members my prayer is that may those who hear me will know these things are important for they are to God.

Will accept the invitations that have come to me -- to visit white churches which have invited.

REPORT OF THE

WORKSHOP OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED - HELD ON OCTOBER 30-31, 1962, at THE INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER

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GEORGIA METHODIST COMMISSION ON HIGHER EDUCATION
408 Wesley Memorial Building — 63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone JAckson 2-3882

JOHN OWEN SMITH, *Area Bishop*
LESTER RUMBLE, *President*
FRANK L. ROBERTSON, *Vice President*

GEORGE E. CLARY, *Director*
GORDON THOMPSON, JR., *Secretary*
T. O. MARSHALL, JR., *Treasurer*

November 2, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am not at all sure that I made any worth while contribution to the discussion group, but I do want to tell you that I was greatly impressed and delighted with the work that you are doing with the fellowship of the Concern. I appreciate having the opportunity to be a part of so significant a group. Please feel free to call on me any time you feel I may be of assistance to you.

With sincere good wishes and kind personal regards, I am

Yours cordially,

G. E. Clary

George E. Clary

Executive Committee
GEORGE S. COBB, JR., VIRGIL Y. C. EADY, CHARLES P. GRAY, ZACH HENDERSON,
Y. A. OLIVER, C. E. (NED) STEELE, W. EARL STRICKLAND, ROBERT TAYLOR, ALVIS A. WAITE, JR.

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MISS MARY LENA WISEHART
SECRETARY SUPPLY WORK
25 WEST VILLA PLACE, FORT THOMAS, KENTUCKY

Nov 6 1962

Dear Mrs Selby

Nancy Fowler called the morning after she returned from Atlanta.

I am going over material which is very good - I would like copies of

"Why Are you Fearful" by Mrs M. E. Selby

"One Man's Humanity"
reprint from Ladies Home Journal

If there is cost by 25 or 50 let me know -

Nancy tells me you are sharper than ever - I am so glad - Mother is almost 81 & is Judge at Poels to day - We are so interested in Clyde Middleton, his wife has planned interesting May Fellowship days, we need more such couples -

Always
Mary Lena Wisehart

Rec'd 12-3-62

Mrs. Roland Rainwater
804 Barrow Court
Columbia, Tennessee

November 6, 1962

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

It was a real privilege and opportunity to be included among the delegates to the recent Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned in Atlanta. I shall always be grateful fate put me in my church job that let me have this experience. One in the more conservative areas as we now are, feels keenly our minority view as vividly as we feel it to be the only right view in these matters of racial justice and understanding.

~~You~~ It was planned and executed a most compact, helpful, intellectually satisfying, morally challenging, and religiously oriented meeting, and it will be many days before I feel I have even half digested all that was presented.

The Rev. Elbert Jean, of Nashville, was kind enough to stop by for a few minutes as he drove to Birmingham this morning, and it was a pleasure for my husband to have this chance to meet and know him. He is a most sincere, helpful person.

My mother told me, after I'd left your meeting, that my grandmother, whom I recall only as a pre-school child, since her death came as I was entering first grade, was a friend of yours, she felt certain. My grandmother was Mrs. Luke G. Johnson, her husband a Methodist pastor in N. Ga. Conference many years. Had I realized this, I'd have asked you about your

Mrs. Roland Rainwater
804 Barrow Court
Columbia, Tennessee

memory and associations with her. She was a very concerned person in this area long before many men, much less women, felt that something was out of line with Christian ethic and the legal segregation and race descrimination.

Thus is was especially a pleasure to get to know you, I have heard many years of how your concern and zeal never falter. I wish you and your work every blessing, and do hope you continue in your present good health for many years to come.

Sincerely,

Zillah M. Rainwater
(Mrs. Roland W.)

Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions of The Methodist Church

CABLE: MISSIONS NEW YORK
FOURTEENTH FLOOR
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
RIVERSIDE 9-0700

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

THELMA STEVENS
Executive Secretary
MARGARET R. BENDER
Executive Secretary
THERESSA HOOVER
Associate Secretary

November 8, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

This little note comes to say again how deeply grateful I always am for your good leadership, and to thank you for the privilege of being a part of your recent meeting in Atlanta. It was a rich and good experience for all of us. Please take good care of yourself because we need you for the next hundred years.

With my love to you, I am

Hurriedly yours,

Thelma

Thelma Stevens

TS:jc

Dictated by Miss Stevens
but signed in her absence.

Pacolet, South Carolina
November 8, 1962

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

Because I had already "settled accounts" with Mrs. Morgan, I am returning the $2. You see, I ate breakfast in the cafeteria two different mornings without paying for it. Mrs. Morgan and I thought this fact would "even matters up". So I am not due any refund.

Thank you again for inviting me. I feel as if I made no contribution at all, for I did not know enough about what to expect to be adequately prepared. In that I had never before attended such a meeting, I needed an extra bit of "coaching" in advance. -I had thought in terms of a few illustrative incidents (of how I have seen a changing attitude taking place) from my work. But when I talked with some of the others in attendance, it seemed that this was not the best approach. And I could not speak with surety from the standpoint of larger areas within the Conference. Hence, I felt that I did little more than "take up space".

~~But~~ I was enriched personally---and informed. And because of this experience, I can better interpret this organization and its purpose and outreach. I am grateful for this privilege!

On Monday-Wednesday of this week I was at Hinton Rural Center, Hayesville, N.C. attending a workshop in the area of my work. I was surprised to see the Indian student (Mr. Ahkeeth--?) at this meeting. He made a real contribution through his report of his own work in the conference in North India in which he serves.

Very sincerely yours,
Mary Beth Littlejohn
Mary Beth Littlejohn.

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. ROBERT L. WILCOX
SECRETARY OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
16 MINNEKAHDA PLACE
CHATTANOOGA 5, TENNESSEE

November 10th 1962.

Mrs.M.E.Tilley,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs.Tilley,

The members of the Committee on Christian Social Relations of the Southeastern Jurisdiction Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church in session in Atlanta wish to express to you their thanks for the opportunity of attending the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

The information and the inspiration were excellent, the speakers challenging, but the feeling that there was a new urgency to this whole matter, and no time must be lost, was perhaps the most valuable thing.

Thank you for the wonderful leadership you have given, and are giving, and please accept our deep appreciation for the privilege you give us of attending the meeting.

Most sincerely,

Eleanor S. Smith

Mrs.Ralph S.Smith, Secretary.

MISS ELIZABETH HARTSFIELD
723 CENTRAL AVENUE
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

Nov. 12, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Forgive my delay in writing to tell you how much I appreciated the privilege of being in the recent meeting of "The Fellowship of the Concerned."

It was one of the most helpful meetings I have ever been privileged to attend. I came away with a new desire to do all I can to work for better understanding and good will.

Ever since I began working in United Church Women I have heard my Methodist friends talk of "Mrs. Tilly." Minnie McDaniel, who died just a little more than a year ago, was one of my special friends who had mentioned you many times. I am so grateful to have been with you in the workshop.

God bless you in all that you do to keep some of us aware that "In Our Hands" is a tremendous power that can be used by God if we will permit him to work in and through us.

Most cordially,
Elizabeth A. Hartsfield
Exec. C.W.F. Secy. of Kentucky
Association of Christian Churches.

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR • WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

Federal Housing Administration
Public Housing Administration
Federal National Mortgage Association
Community Facilities Administration
Urban Renewal Administration

November 13, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your cordial letter that came today. I shall certainly look forward to seeing "The Gleanings" when they come out.

Your conference and the experience of working with the delegates were one of the richest experiences that has come my way in quite a time, and I consider it a privilege to have been able to participate. Your own personal leadership over the years has made a meaningful contribution that most certainly will prove to be a part of the South's heritage of which it will be deeply proud. I thought the manner and insight with which you conducted the conference was effective in a remarkable sense.

There is one definite result that I hope will come about from the participation of our Agency in your program. It is that there will be a closer working relationship between religious leaders such as you brought together and Regional staff of our Agency who advise and work with local communities throughout the Region. I am convinced this can be of substantial mutual benefit. Our Regional people who participated in your work groups were deeply impressed with the leadership potential in these women.

With every good wish to you and your group for your continued usefulness and warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Flora Y. Hatcher

Flora Y. Hatcher
Assistant to theAdministrator
(Consumer and Community
Group Relations)

MRS. JOSEPH B. HUNTER
68 BERKSHIRE DRIVE
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Nov. 14, '62

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

This is just a note to express my sincere appreciation for the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned at Atlanta. The program was very stimulating and those of us who attended should all be better women and more helpful in our local communities.

I believe Mrs. Washington from Ft Smith and I were the only representatives from Arkansas.

MRS. JOSEPH B. HUNTER
68 BERKSHIRE DRIVE
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

I am sure this is no fault of yours as I know others who were invited.

May the good Lord give you health and strength to continue the work for better race relations.

Sincerely,
Mary C. Hunter

Southeast Convention

CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

(An Acting Conference of the United Church of Christ)

REV. J. KERMIT HARRIS
MODERATOR

MR. W. PRESSLEY INGRAM
MODERATOR-ELECT

MRS. A. D. HARRY
RECORDING SECRETARY

MR. W. J. STRICKLAND
TREASURER

TELEPHONE: TRINITY 4-2558

673 PIEDMONT AVENUE, N. E.

ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

REV. JAMES H. LIGHTBOURNE, JR.
SUPERINTENDENT

REV. EMILIE F. PITCOCK
MINISTER OF
CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

November 15, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

Thank you very much for your kind words in your letter of November 6. From my brief encounter with the women of the Fellowship of the Concerned, it seemed to me that they are engaged in a most vital witness.

Enclosed is a copy of the Meditation which you requested. In print it does not appear to me to have the meaning I felt as all of us personally shared the worship experience. If it lacks such meaning for you, or if it is arriving too late, please feel free to omit it from the mailing you will be sending.

Many thanks for your invitation to share the brief time with the Fellowship of the Concerned. It was far more enriching to me than I can evaluate in writing.

Cordially,

Emilie F. Pitcock

Emilie F. Pitcock

(Mrs.) Johnnie P. Taylor
2339 Magazine Street
Louisville 11, Kentucky

November 19, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
South Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

The workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned was quite interesting, in that it presented so many values in the area of our church and home life that we were not aware of.

Thanks again for inviting me. I have a number of projects to present to my group from information received from the workshop. I have received the money for travel and room accommodations from the finance department.

Yours,

Johnnie P. Taylor

(Mrs.) Johnnie P. Taylor

JPT-sab

MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

AGENCY FOR RELIEF AND OTHER CHRISTIAN SERVICES

540 Houston Street NE · Atlanta, Georgia · Atlanta 688-0594 (Area Code 404)

ORGANIZED 1920
INCORPORATED 1937

November 20, 1962

Mrs. Nobbie Morgan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Morgan,

Here is my best recollection of what I said from notes at the Fellowship of the Concerned meeting. I was glad for the opportunity to share with your group, and I hope the manuscript will serve your purposes.

Please pass on concerned regards from my wife and I to Mrs. Tilley. We hope that she is having no serious problems, for she has yet much to do and to be.

Yours,

Vincent Harding

Vincent Harding

General Offices · Box 38 · Akron, Pennsylvania · Akron 859-1151 (Area Code 717)

Nov. 24, 1962
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Miss.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Among the things for which I am thankful this year, is the oppor-

tunity I had to at-
tend the Fellowship
of the Concerned.
It was and is a
most meaningful
and encouraging ex-
perience.

Cordially yours,
Ruth Beittel

(Mrs. A. D.)

Lincoln Leadership School
of Christian Service

Pine Crest Apts
Paris, Ky

May 1st 1963

Dear Mrs. Tilly

I have been a long while getting a report of to you. But I have been ill for the last two months, but I am back in the whirl again.

I have visited several colored churches and told them about my trip to Gulf Side assembly + your seminar and reviewed the C.S.R. Book "To Mary's Children for to-morrow's World."

We have succeeded in getting a negro Homemaker Club organized and I was happy to have a representative to help some, when we took a pre Easter Service + party out to our T.B. Hosp. It was the first time for this to happen.

I have been very busy presenting the Charter for Racial Policies. I have been very successful I think —

Just returned from our Annual meeting of the W.S.C.S + W.S.G. Charter was

ratified in my work shop and was unanimously accepted by the body of W.S.C.T. that is the first time — as usually there are a few who just look a hole through you and refuse to hold up a hand — Well at last they are honest.

I am working very hard now, helping to set up L. Leadership School — wish you could be with us again this year. I was unable to be there only two days last year.

The Ky. Conf. is extending invitations to the female negro churches in our bounds to attend school of missions at Lou Bennett — they are being sent all material just as the white ones. we are hoping there will be several to come.

We hope you are staying well & will be so for a long time —

I did so appreciate my trip to Atlanta & your seminar —

Sincerely
Elizabeth M. Carr (Mrs. H.B.)
The Duet apts
Paris Ky.
Conf. Sec. C.S.R.

MRS. NEWTON B. FOWLER, PRES.
KY. CHRISTIAN WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP
FORT THOMAS, KENTUCKY

Sat, Nov 3

Dear Mrs. Lilly;

I want to thank you again, for giving me the opportunity to attend the Workshop, "The Fellowship of the Concerned," this past week. It was my second experience and I can't tell you how much I treasure the chance given me to attend. The program, the inspiration the challenge presented was one not soon, if ever, forgotten, nor to be taken lightly. The areas of Concern considered touch us right where we are and need to be faced and action taken.

My very best regards, wishes and prayers for your continued health & work. Gratefully, Nancy Fowler

Candle - 2 nurses in Emory
Mable
Wendenhall
Trimble
Local Society - A.C.W
Bethlehem Center
Nov. 28
Seabrook
Christmas Program
Children

Home
Thursday

Dear Dorothy -

Just a line to say how inspiring your recent meeting was. You always give us something worth while - but I felt these sessions reached a new peak.

Love,
Evelyn Owen

OFFICERS

MRS. JANIE POE GOODMAN
Recording Secretary
P. O. Box 4553
Sarasota, Florida

MRS. CARRIE CARSWELL
Corresponding Secretary
129 Central Ave.
St. Augustine, Florida

MRS. SUSIE C. HOLLEY
President
429 N. W. 16th Avenue
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

MRS. JOSIE Q. JAMES
Treasurer
930 Second Ave.
Daytona Beach, Florida

MRS. TEMPIE FORD
Directress of Youth Work
716 Old Bainbridge Rd.
Tallahassee, Florida

Mrs. W. E. Gilly
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga

Dear Mrs. Gilly:

Thanks for your letter. I want you to know I felt we had a good & rewarding workshop and it was due solely to your keen planning ability and gracious personality.

I thank you for the privilege of being a part of the fellowship. It means much to me in my leadership responsibility ~~since~~ I feel a "Ps" for the expense check.

May God continue to bless & enable you to keep making the fine contributions as this is the uplifting of his kingdom

Yours Sincerely
Susie C. Holley

March 19, 1962

Miss Thelma Stevens
Executive Secretary
Woman's Society of Christian Service
The Methodist Church
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Thelma:

There are many things I need to talk about with you. We need your open dates in October and November. I have Miss French's open dates - and as soon as I hear from you I will pull the other denominational leaders.

The Jewish holidays almost take up the month of October. The New Year is October 7-8, the other holidays called by different names are 13 and 14, 19, 20, and 21.

I will be at the Assembly and hope we may have a breakfast togehher. I hope I will be walking by then, I am not sure though.

Things look much better in Atlanta and Emory University.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

April 5, 1962

Miss Cecilia Sheppard
Division of Philosophy and Religion
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Miss Sheppard:

Please accept my apologies for the delay in letting you know the time of Mrs. Tilly's arrival.

She is to leave here on Sunday morning at 9:30, and will be arriving there in Augusta at 2:45, P. M.

In view of her plans to be on your program at 11:00 A. M. on the 9th, we felt this would be more convenient for her.

Best wishes for a successful meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Secretary to Mrs. Tilly

/nm

Paine College
ESTABLISHED 1882
AUSPICES METHODIST CHURCH AND
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
E. CLAYTON CALHOUN, PRESIDENT
Augusta, Georgia

March 3, 1962

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

We have not heard from you yet, but we are going ahead confidently to plan for the two meetings at 11:00 A.M. and 8:00 P.M. Monday, April 9.

Mr. Buffington will plan to meet your train as soon as we know the time of arrival.

With love and gratitude,

Yours,

Cecilia

Cecilia Sheppard

CS:jr

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

April 6, 1962

Miss Eleanor French
Director
Christian Social Relations
United Church Women
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Miss French:

Enclosed you will find the open dates of Thelma Stevens' as she has given them to me.

Please look at these dates and see if you can match them, and then let me know quickly.

My best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

OPEN DATES OF THELMA STEVENS

MONTH OF OCTOBER:

17, 18, 29, 30, and 31.

MONTH OF NOVEMBER:

13, 14, 26, and 27

Woman's Division of Christian Service of the
Board of Missions of The Methodist Church

CABLE: MISSIONS NEW YORK
FOURTEENTH FLOOR
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
RIVERSIDE 9-0700

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

THELMA STEVENS
Executive Secretary
MARGARET R. BENDER
Executive Secretary
THERESSA HOOVER
Associate Secretary

March 26, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I was so glad to have your two letters this week. Thank you for both. I hope we may have opportunity to talk together at the Assembly in May. You know how tremendously interested I am in these crucial issues about which you speak.

I am listing the following dates about which I have placed question marks and your name until I hear further from you. October 17 and 18; October 29, 30, 31; November 13 and 14; November 26 and 27. Unfortunately these dates are the only possibilities as far as I am concerned. If they are not possible for the majority of your group, I hope you will not feel in any sense that you should try to arrange the meeting for a time when I can be there. You know I will help in any way possible and I am sure you will be amply provided with Methodist women from the conferences across the South.

With my love and deepest gratitude, I am

Hurriedly yours,

Thelma

Thelma Stevens

TS:jc

Dictated by Miss Stevens
but signed in her absence.

April 13, 1962

Mr. Freeman L. Nelson
723 Peoples Street, S. W.
Atlanta 10, Georgia

Dear Mr. Nelson:

You have every right to feel that I am not concerned about job opportunities, job protection, and security for those who are released from prison. But, I have been busy contacting the various denominational women in the field of social action.

Are you free to speak to groups? The best time to launch this is at the South-wide Workshop of "The Fellowship of the Concerned," which will be in October.

In the meantime, I would like to see you, at your convenience. Would you have time during a day to come to our office, if not, would it be possible for you to come in the evening to my home, 1013 Highland View, N. E. Our office phone number is 522-8764, and my home phone is TR-2-2951.

I am grateful to you for calling this serious matter to my attention.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

April 13, 1962

Editorial Department
The Ladies Home Journal
Independence Square
Philadelphia 5, Pennsylvania

Gentlemen:

I am writing to you in reference to a splendid article about Pope John XXII, "One Man's Humanity," by Ira Hershman, which appeared in the April issue of The Ladies Home Journal.

We are wondering if you will supply us with two hundred reprints of this story, and if so, please quote us the price. If you cannot supply the reprints, we would greatly appreciate it if you would give us permission to have copies made, giving credit of course to the magazine.

We would like to distribute them during the fall workshop of "The Fellowship of the Concerned," which is the women's program of the Southern Regional Council.

For many years we have had this south-wide meeting of church women, who come together to face our problems in human relations. This brings together the key women who work in the field of social action, holding state-wide or south-wide positions in the Protestant and Catholic Churches, and the B'nai B'rith and Temple Sisterhood. The over-head officers of each group send to us the list to be invited.

I hope you can see from these statements how valuable the story of "One Man's Humanity," would be to these women.

Hoping for a favorable reply, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

April 30, 1962

Miss Ann Greer Hiros
Journal Library
Ladies Home Journal
Independence Square
Philadelphia 5, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Hiros:

Enclosed you will find a check for $12.15 for which please send us 500 copies of reprint of "One Man's Humanity."

As stated in our previous correspondence, these will be used in the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned in which there will be women of our three great faiths - Protestant, Hebrew and Catholic.

We are indeed grateful that reprints of this good article are available.

My best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure - Check for $12.15

Ladies' Home
JOURNAL
THE CURTIS PUBLISHING CO. INDEPENDENCE SQUARE
PHILADELPHIA 5, PENNA.
WALNUT 5-6500

Bruce Gould
Beatrice Blackmar Gould
Editors

April 18, 1962

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your interest in "One Man's Humanity."

We're happy to tell you that reprints are available, but they must be ordered in quantities of 100 or more at cost. Prices are:

100 -	$ 9.09
500 -	12.15
1,000 -	16.04

Usually, an order takes at least two weeks, at which time your bill is sent by our Accounting Department.

Or, we could give you permission to make your own copies, provided that you follow our instructions.

Do let us know how we can help.

All good wishes,

Ann Greer Hiros

Ann Greer Hiros
Journal Library

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 2, 1962

On Friday, May 11, at 10:30 a. m., The Planning Committee of the Fellowship of the Concerned is having a meeting in the Conference Room of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, NW, Room 201.

The purpose of this meeting is to formulate plans for the South-wide Workshop, which is to be held in Atlanta on October 30-31.

Your presence is much needed, and we are indeed looking forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Secretary to Mrs. Tilly

/nm

Persons invited to attend planning committee of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

1 - Mrs. N. C. Johnson
2 - Mrs. Van P. Enloe ✓ - 31 So. Prado, N.E. - 5
3 - Mrs. Mable Morley
4 - Mrs. J. G. Walsh ✓ - 1396 Normandy Dr. - N.E. - 6
5 - Mrs. John T. Patton ✓ - 1745 W. Wesley Rd., N.W. - 5
6 - Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen ✓ 1197 Fountain Dr., S.W. - 14
7 - Mrs. Stanley Harris ✓ - 790 Briar Park Ct. N.E. - 6 - 875-4060
8 - Mr. Monroe Schlactus - ADL ✓ 41 Exchange Pl., S.E. - 3
9 - Mrs. Phil Narmour ✓ - 595 McAfee, N.W. - 13
10 - Mrs. Clayton Calhoun ✓ - 1235 - Fifteenth St. - Paine College - Augusta
11 - Mrs. Frances Pauley ✓ Ga. Council on H.R. - 41
12 - Mrs. Ben Milner
13 - ~~Dr. Robert Coles~~
14 - Mrs. George T. Gunning ✓ - 17 Demorest Ave., N.E. - 5
15 - Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.
16 Mr. John Yungblut

Who is Pres B'nai -

Board of Women's Work

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A PONCE DE LEON AVENUE, N.E., ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

EVELYN L. GREEN, *Executive Secretary*
MRS. MABLE C. MORLEY, *Director of Leadership Education*

May 4, 1962

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Morgan:

I have your letter of May 2 giving me the information that on Friday, May 11 at 10:30 a.m. the Planning Committee of the Fellowship of the Concerned is meeting. I seem to be "jinxed" every year in getting to attend the planning session for the fall meeting of the Workshop.

I am leaving Atlanta Sunday afternoon, May 6 for Winston-Salem, North Carolina and do not expect to return until Tuesday, May 15. I am sorry I will not be able to attend the planning meeting, but I do expect to attend the Workshop on October 30,31.

Yours sincerely,

Mable Morley

Mrs. Mable C. Morley

MCM/s

50 years of SERVICE STUDY 1912 1962

May 4, 1962

Mr. D. M. Heritage
Warden
United States Department of Justice
Bureau of Prisons
United States Penitentiary
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Heritage:

We thank you very much for your letter of April 27, and will be delighted to see Mr. Nelson at 9:00 a. m. Wednesday, May 9.

In the fall we will have a workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, bringing together South-wide groups of women from the various denominations, Catholic, B'nai B'rith, and Temple Sisterhood. We feel that this particular time, October 30-31, should be a good time to launch our program.

We would appreciate it very much having a speaker before us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:nm

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
BUREAU OF PRISONS
UNITED STATES PENITENTIARY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

April 27, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Womens' Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am very glad to see that you agree with me that job opportunities, job protection, and security for those released from prison are a problem worthy of consideration by your group.

Mr. Freeman L. Nelson will be more than happy to speak to any group that you feel would be beneficial to this cause.

If it will be convenient for you Mr. Nelson can be in your office at 9:00 AM, Wednesday, May 9, 1962.

Thank you very much for the consideration you have given this matter.

Sincerely yours,

D. M. Heritage
Warden

DMH:rf

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 24, 1962

NOTICE RE: Fall Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Dear Friend:

Please circle the dates October 30-31 on your calendar for the Annual Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held in Atlanta, Georgia, this year.

Let us know if you plan to attend so that further information may be sent to you later.

We have planned to meet at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 671 Beckwith Street, S. W. There are funds available for travel and room accommodations, but not for meals.

If you are not in office at this time, in your organization, please forward this letter to your successor.

An early reply will be highly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly/nm

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

May 28, 1962

Dr. Harry Richardson
President
Interdenominational Theological Center
671 Beckwith Street, S. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Dr. Richardson:

This is to confirm our conversation over the phone some evenings ago.

We are delighted that you will close the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned at noon on Ocrober 31, with a challenging message that will send us forth with a burning desire to do our best to "straighten the crooked places" in our communities and state.

We will be meeting at ITC beginning at 10:00 A. M. on October 30. We hope you can drop in on us often before the final speech.

Further information will be sent to you later.

With a grateful heart of thanks for your understanding and help along the way, I remain

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

May 28, 1962

Shields

Mr. William A. Seals
Interdenominational Theological Center
671 Beckwith Street, S. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Mr. Seals:

Thank you very much for reserving the dates October 30-31 at ITC for The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Besides the room in which we will spend most of the time, we will need about five places for discussion groups.

I think you have housing space enough for us at ITC, and Gammon together.

I am deeply grateful to you for your help in all of this,

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

May 29, 1962

Mrs. M. A. Horne
President
Woman's Baptist Home and Foreign
Missionary Convention of N. C., Inc.
1467 Trade Street, N. W.
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Horne:

I have been out of the city attending with 9999 other women the 6th Assembly of Methodist Women at Atlantic City, hence my delay in answering your letter.

The $25.00 to the Fellowship of the Concerned is gratefully received. Thank you so very much. I hope you've received an acknowledgement.

I suppose you have already had an announcement of the dates October 30-31 for the "Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned" and have circled the dates. We are meeting at the ITC this time.

I am glad to tell you that I am walking now - but can't run yet. How wonderful it is to be out of the rolling chair.

Looking forward to seeing you in October. I am

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

P. S. I hope we will have a number of Baptist Women this year.

1

Woman's Baptist Home and Foreign Missionary Convention of North Carolina, Inc.

BAPTIST HEADQUARTERS
~~608 SOUTH WILMINGTON STREET~~
~~RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA~~
~~PHONE TEMPLE 2-0734~~

MRS. M. A. HORNE, PRESIDENT
1467 TRADE STREET, NORTHWEST
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA
PHONE PARK 2-8081

1 MRS. ELLEN S. ALSTON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
P. O. BOX 1818, RALEIGH, N. C.

MRS. RACHEL L. BOYCE
CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE BOARD
WINDSOR, N. C.

MRS. ROSALIE F. WYATT
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SALISBURY, N. C.

MRS. C. E. MCLESTER
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DURHAM, N. C.

MRS. L. E. MCGRIER
JR.-Y. P. SUPERVISOR
WARRENTON, N. C.

MISS DELORES MCGRIER
JR.-Y. P. PRESIDENT
NORLINA, N. C.

May 14, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

I do trust you are much better and out of the rolling chair. I was so delighted to hear from you and I have remembered you constantly in my prayers. I pray it may be the Lord's will to keep you here for a long long time. Such leaders as you are not picked up easily. May God continue to smile upon you and your work.

CR RKA 5/21/62

Enclosed is a check for twenty five dollars ($25.00) a small contribution for the cause you are representing. We trust to increase this amount annually.

With personal and sincere regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

M. A. Horne

Mrs. M. A. Horne, President
Woman's Baptist Home and Foreign
Missionary Convention of North Carolina

June 7, 1962

Mrs. Harry Strauss
2001 Emoriland Blvd.
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Strauss:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Conwerned will be held here in Atlanta at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 671 Beckwith Street, on October 30-31.

I sincerely hope you will be with us. I would like so much to have you be one of the Workshop Group Leaders. I am hoping you have no other engagements at this time for we really need you.

My very best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

STRAUSS & STRAUSS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
SUITE 401-404 COMMERCIAL NAT'L. BANK BLDG.
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

HARRY STRAUSS
AMELIA CORKLAND STRAUSS

TELEPHONE: 524-5491
P. O. BOX 65

June 28, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention: Mrs. M. E. Tilly

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your letter of recent date advising me of the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held in Atlanta on October 30-31st. Since the first time I was priviledged to attend one of these sessions, and that has been a number of years ago, each year when the meeting date is announced I sincerely feel like I am cheated out of a most gratifying experience when other responsibilities make it impossible for me to attend. This year as I check my calendar for October I am delighted that I find no conflict, and am very happy to accept your kind invitation.

I am also most pleased to accept the assignment of serving as a Workshop Group Leader. If you will advise me as the time grows nearer as to exact task, I will do my best to meet it.

My very warm regards to you, and no doubt from your letter you are feeling much better, for which I am grateful. So much of the success of this movement depends on you!

Cordially,

Amelia Strauss

(Mrs. Harry) Amelia Strauss

ACS/gs

June 12, 1962

Mrs. Ebbie C. Jackson
2303 W. Chestnut Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Jackson:

We are in the process of planning our program for the fall Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, for October 30-31, this year.

Please send us a list of members, especially officers of the AME Southeastern States.

I would appreciate your being present and serving as a Group Chairman for one of the Groups.

My very best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society
of the
A. M. E. Zion Church

"The World For Christ"

TELEPHONE — SPRING 8-1534

OFFICE OF THE GENERAL PRESIDENT
MRS. CLARENCE P. JACKSON

2303 WEST CHESTNUT STREET
LOUISVILLE 11, KENTUCKY

June 28, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your letter which I found upon my recent return to Louisville.

I find that I can attend the fall Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, October30-31, 1962 , and I shall be pleased to serve as a Group Chairman for one of the Groups.

It was nice to see you at The Lincoln Leadership School at Frankfort. I trust you were not too tired , and that you have returned home rested.

Enclosed is the list which you requested.

With every good wish, I am ,

Cordially,
Abbie Clement Jackson
Mrs. Clarence P. Jackson

June 20, 1962

Miss Flora Y. Hatcher
Assistant to the Administrator
(Consumer and Community Group Relations)
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Office of the Administrator
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Miss Hatcher:

I was in Frankfort, Kentucky, all last week, and on my return to the office I found your gracious letter with the joyful news that you would be with us in the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on October 30.

This will be held at The Interdenominational Theological Center, 671 Beckwith Street, S. W., here in Atlanta.

Attending will be state leaders in the field of human relations in the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish women's groups. These women to attend are selected by their National or Southern Boards. Of course, besides being an inter-faith group, it is also inter-racial.

The agenda is not yet fully prepared, and when it is you will hear again from us.

Looking forward to having you with us, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR • WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Federal Housing Administration
Public Housing Administration
Federal National Mortgage Association
Community Facilities Administration
Urban Renewal Administration

June 13, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Administrator Robert C. Weaver has asked me to let you know that he has requested me to arrange my schedule to speak to the Fellowship of the Concerned at the Interdenominational Theological Center on October 30 in Atlanta. I fully share your keen disappointment that Dr. Weaver could not accept your invitation.

Although I have not been privileged to know you personally, I, of course, am familiar with your significant leadership over many years with church women and the Southern Regional Council.

I will appreciate further information about the meeting, the program, and the participants. Any other suggestions you have will be most welcome.

Sincerely yours,

Flora Y. Hatcher

(Miss) Flora Y. Hatcher
Assistant to the Administrator
(Consumer and Community
Group Relations)

May 29, 1962

Mr. Robert C. Weaver
Administrator
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Weaver:

Thank you so much for your letter which we have just received, and we want you to know that we appreciate your cooperation in helping us who so much need your help.

The Fellowship of the Concerned will be at the Interdenominational Theological Center, October 30-31. We would like a speaker on the morning of the 30th. From time-to-time we will give you fusther information as the program develops.

As soon as we know whom you have assigned to us we will also communicate with him.

With best wihses for the great work you are doing and thank you for your promised help. I remain

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR • WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Federal Housing Administration
Public Housing Administration
Federal National Mortgage Association
Community Facilities Administration
Urban Renewal Administration

MAY 24 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thanks for your letter of May 10. We will be glad to provide an Agency representative from either our Community Group Relations Service or our Intergroup Relations Service to speak on housing to the women of the Fellowship of the Concerned. Please let us know the place of the meeting and we will designate the representative for your assignment.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Weaver

Robert C. Weaver
Administrator

May 10, 1962

Mr. Robert C. Weaver
Administrator
Housing and Home Financing Agency
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Weaver:

We were very much disappointed to learn that you can not be with us on October 30. We desperately need someone to talk to us on housing because I feel that housing is the key to integration in our communities and churches.

As the women of the Fellowship of the Concerned are mostly church women, at this time they should face realistically the issue, and be willing to accept as neighbors members of all groups.

Is there anyone in your office that would be available, or if not is there a regional person that you would suggest to us.

I trust this is not putting too much responsibility upon you when you are already heavily loaded with responsibility. We thank you very much for lyour kind expressions of appreciation for the Fellowship of the Concerned material.

We would highly appreciate any help you can give us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

MAY 8 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

It was very kind of you to send me copies of the Work Book.

I appreciate having the opportunity of reading them and sharing them with members of my staff.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Weaver

Robert C. Weaver
Administrator

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

May 7, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Many thanks for your kind letter of May 2nd inviting me to speak at the Fellowship of the Concerned in the latter part of October.

Unfortunately, I have a previous commitment on the dates involved and, consequently, cannot join you and your associates. You may be sure that I regret very much my inability to be with you and wish the conference every success.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Weaver

Robert C. Weaver
Administrator

April 24, 1962

Mr. Robert C. Weaver
Administrator
Housing and Home Financing Agency
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Weaver:

We very much need you to speak on Housing to "The Fellowship of the Concerned," at its yearly South-wide Workshop to be held here in Atlanta on October 30-31.

We begin at 10:00 a. m. on the 30th and have an afternoon and evening session. We need you on this day at any time you may find convenient.

"The Fellowship of the Concerned: Southern Women Concerned about their South," is the woman's work of the Southern Regional Council. The two attached sheets tell you something of it.

It is made up largely of church women, Catholic, Jews and Protestant. It is inter-racial as well as inter-faith.

The women are the state key women in the field of human relations, and each year the various denominations, the Catholic and Jewish organizations, send in the names of the women to be invited.

The church women through the years, have been the leaders in interpreting and initiating social change. They must now face the issue of living together in integrated neighborhoods.

We need you, and hope you will find a way to be with us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:nm

June 20, 1962

Mrs. John F. Kennedy
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Kennedy:

You have been in many parts of the world, and have been a great ambassador of peace for us, but except for your visits to Florida, I do not think you have been in the deep South and we need you.

"The Fellowship of the Concerned" Southern women concerned about their South and what happens here, as it affects us, the nation and the world, will have its yearly Workshop here in Atlanta on October 30-31. It would be great for us if you find it possible to be our luncheon speaker on October 30 or 31.

We would like for you to help us see our kinship to all the world and what we do here -- good or bad -- affects our brothers everywhere.

The general subject is "In Our Hands," and we are using an excerpt from President Kennedy's Inaugural address, and Toyohiko Kagawa's poem "a secret plan -- is hid in my hand. (See attached)

There will be about 200 women, Catholic, Jewish and Protestant state leaders in their denominations in the field of human relations. The group is inter-racial as well as inter-faith, and they all come from eleven Southern States.

Mrs. Roosevelt was with us a few years ago.

The Fellowship of the Concerned is the Woman's Work of the Southern Regional Council, and the Council is well known to the present national government administration.

We hope we are not asking too much of you to render this great service to our fine women leadership of the South, and are hoping you will be with us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosures

WORK BOOK

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED
of the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

"IN OUR HANDS"

A CUT

----Man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life.

--from Inaugural Address of -
Presisent John F. Kennedy

-- a secret plan
Is hid in my hand
-- my hand is big
Big,
Because of this plan
-- God
Who dwells in my hand
Knows this secret plan
Of the things He will do for the world,
Using my hand --

--from the Songs of the Slums

-Toyohiko Kagawa

(DRAFT OF FRONT COVER FOR PROGRAM)

DRAFT OF INSIDE COVER

. . . Duty of each of us to grow, and help our neighbors grow, big enough for our new world of brotherhood, plenty and human dignity.

It is a duty which is a great adventure in love and respect for each other, in ideas and opinions which we can free from the meanness and falsity around us.

It is a duty to know our neighbors, to speak for them and gladly to live beside them.

It is a duty to hate and fight the inhumanity of our prisons; the crime of state murder.

It is a duty to disagree with demagogues whose cynicism and hatred demean us all.

It is a duty to love life, hate war and destruction and to demand the conversion of the great atomic force released in our time to a blessing for everything human on this earth, a force which can free man from poverty, fear and shame.

It is a duty to stand, each of us in our own community and circle of friends, for the great,good destiny which God envisions for His children, our brothers next door and everywhere on earth.

ARTHUR HEYMAN (1867-1951)
HERMAN HEYMAN
MORRIS B. ABRAM
ROBERT G. YOUNG
ROBERT E. HICKS
MAURICE N. MALOOF
JOHN H. HICKS
JOSEPH LEFKOFF

LAW OFFICES OF
HEYMAN, ABRAM, YOUNG, HICKS & MALOOF
1504 HEALEY BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GA.

TELEPHONE
JACKSON 5-3471

June 26, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I will be delighted to speak at the Fellowship of the Concerned on October. However, there are some contingencies. In the first place, I have become the Chairman of the National Executive Board of the American Jewish Committee and a trip is planned to Israel sometime in October. The date has not yet been firmly established.

I very much appreciate all your kind references. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to answer your question. I do have an opportunity to join a New York law firm but I also have the greatest reluctance to leave Atlanta, particularly at this time. As you may or may not know, Jane is pregnant and will be delivered of our fifth in August. This is not a very good time, I find, to make any kind of decision.

With kind regards, I am

Very truly yours,

Morris

Morris B. Abram

A/w

June 20, 1962

Mr. Morris B. Abram
Healey Building - 1504
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Morris:

It has seemed impossible for me to get in touch with you. We both are too busy to stay in one place long enough to make the contact. However, I glory in your business-es that has made us in Atlanta real citizens.

I need you Morris - to be with us October 30, when we have the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned. What we have needed to know a long time -- is the rights we have as citizens of our country -- the whole gauntlet. I know we usually sum it -- Freedom of Assembly, of Workshop, of speech, etc.-- but it needs to be spelled out. You can do it better than any one else. Please do this for us.

We can put this on the program for the evening of the 30th, if you can't do it in the day sessions.

We will meet at the Interdenominational Theological Seminary unless the Biltmore opens wide its doors.

Our group is made up of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish ladies in the field of human relations -- and they are of both races, coming from eleven Southern States.

Morris, I have been told over and over again, when I happened to be in Washington or places outside of the South you are going to New York. This, I feel sure, may open wider fields of service for you -- but what will we do without you?

Alex Miller, Harold Fleming, Art Levin, Phil Hammer and Dr. McMains, are all gone. I feel very bereft sometimes. I will add this, however, my best wishes go with you, if you do go.

Here's hoping you will be able to speak to the Fellowship of the Concerned, October 30.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

July 18, 1962

Miss Ruby Berkley
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Miss Berkley:

Your letter has remained unanswered, not because I was not deeply concerned, but getting ready for two study courses this summer has kept me very busy.

I would not feel too badly about the Bethlehem Center, it may bring about somewhat of a reform in the policies of the Committees.

At the meeting of the Southeastern Jurisdiction, one of the Alabama women spoke out against the racial charter because she said it would keep them from being in the United Fund in her city. If the United Fund is to control the policies of our organization, then I believe we need to free ourselves from it.

The wrong that was done in Augusta was not what you did, but what the paper and St. John Church did. You most certainly could not have said you were unwise. No one could be counted unwise who listened to a person whose husband was in prison.

I certainly hope you will find it convenient to attend our Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned this year. It is to be held at the Interdenominational Theological Center, and will be on October 30-31.

My very best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

July 20, 1962

Literature Headquarters
Woman's Division of Christian Service
Board of Missions The Methodist Church
7820 Reading Road
Cincinnati 37, Ohio

Dear Friends:

Enclosed please find check for the amount of $7.00, for which send us 168 copies of "A Charter of Racial Policies," size 11 x 16 inches.

Thanking you not only for your attention to this order, but for all the courtesies you have shown throughout the years.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

July 20, 1962

The Curtis Publishing Company
The Saturday Evening Post
Philadelphia 5, Pa.

Gentlemen:

I am writing to inquire if it will be possible to get reprints of the article "Confessions of a Block-Buster," by Norris Vitchek, as told to Alfred Balk, printed in the July 14-21 1962 issue.

If it is possible to get these reprints, please quote us the price on 200 copies. We will highly appreciate your early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:nm

July 30, 1962

Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner
President
Woman's Society of Christian Service
The Methodist Church
Southeastern Jurisdiction
8213 Brookfield Road
Richmond 27, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Glossbrenner:

First of all, I do want you to be a group leader, and we are asking the group leaders to meet on the afternoon of the 29th of October. I will give fuller particulars nearer the time.

Now perhaps I had better go more into details as to how the letters can't go through too many hands. First of all, if the women were attending on their own expense, and making their own hotel reservations it would not be a difficult matter, but I have to watch my budget and when a reply comes in, and someone writes they can not come then I can let some one else come in their place, as I have always done.

Every denomination, even the Southern Baptist send me a list of people to be invited, so do the Jews, Catholic and all the rest. There is always a waiting list, as each of these usually add extra names of people who would be valuable, and the vacant places can be filled.

There is a matter of hotel space — I never know until late how many the Negro college can take. Last year on Saturday before Monday of the opening meeting, I sent fourteen telegrams to people to go to the Piedmont Hotel.

You can very well see that by the time letters went through two or three hands, it would be difficult for me to keep the budget even, and the reservations secure. I have so many adjustments to make in the budget to handle reservations, I do not see how it would be possible for me to work otherwise.

Please understand this situation, and you can see that it is the only way I can work.

I regret that I never saw your first letter, so it all came as a shock to me.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:nm

cc: Mrs. R. Wilcox
Mrs. J. F. Tillman
Mrs. M. Bender

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. E. L. GLOSSBRENNER
PRESIDENT
8213 BROOKFIELD ROAD, RICHMOND 27, VIRGINIA

July 23, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Director of Woman's Work,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N.M
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your letter of July 18. Yes, I knew of the relationship of the Southern Regional Council with the Woman's Division. Because of that I was surprised to receive the request in April for a listing of our officers to be sent to your office. My reply then to Mrs. Morgan was that which we are urged by the Woman's Division to send in every such case - excepting that I offered to mail myself, or have Mrs. Robert Wilcox mail, anything you wished sent to our Southeastern Jurisdiction women.

On a similar request made for you by Mrs. Wilcox while we were in summer school this month I was concerned that perhaps you had not received my May 1 letter and so had not been able to notify the conference presidents. Because we all know you and trust you implicitly, Mrs. Tilly, I was about to send the list - ruling or no. However, before doing so I mentioned it to Mrs. Tillman and Margaret Bender. I was again advised to hold to my first mentioned offer to help by doing the mailing, myself.

Please know that this is more embarrassing for me, Mrs. Tilly, than for you. You do not know me very well but I, we all, know and love and greatly trust and admire you and all you have done yourself and through the church and Woman's Society we seek to serve in our small way. I always find it most difficult to refuse this assistance and especially to anyone whom I well know wishes to use the lists for informing and strengthening our own work and interests.

But , orders are orders. I do hope you will know this is in no way a personal or even a singular rejection. Sometimes I believe I am known more by our preachers, institutions and colleges for this "sorry" letter than anything else.

If you wish me to serve as a group leader- inspite- I shall be glad to do so. With best wishes to you always,

Dorothy M. Glossbrenner
Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner

THE MOST WIDELY QUOTED PERSONAL JOURNAL IN THE WORLD—
THAT GAVE BIRTH TO "ONLY IN AMERICA," "FOR 2C PLAIN,"
"ENJOY, ENJOY", "CARL SANDBURG" AND "YOU'RE ENTITLE."

THE CAROLINA ISRAELITE

HARRY GOLDEN, EDITOR

August 4, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

I hate to procrastinate but I am never sure what the lecture bureau is coming up with for a certain day.

Right now October 30 is clear but if you can wait until September 15 or 20th I will then be able to confirm it definitely.

But I might add that at this moment it looks good.

Sincerely,

Harry Golden

Harry Golden

wire:

Sept 30

Sept 23

Forwarded - 10-15-62

PLEASE REPLY TO BOX 2505, CHARLOTTE 1, NORTH CAROLINA / TELEPHONE 375-6624

August 3, 1962

Mr. Harry Golden
Editor
The Carolina Israelite
1229 Elizabeth Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Golden:

I hope you have open the dates of October 30-31, and will not be too busy to be with us in the South-wide Workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned, meeting at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 671 Beckwith Street, S. W., here in Atlanta.

We want you to speak to us at 2:00 P. M. on October 30. Our general theme will be "In My Hand," from Kagawa's poem --a secret plan, Is hid in my hand --my hand is big, etc.

We hope to develop a deeper sense of responsibility and stewardship with the 150 women, who will be in attendance. Can you help us in a 30-minute talk just before we send them to discussion groups? You may name your subject.

The Fellowship of the Concerned is made up of the women leadership of the various Protestant, Jewish and Catholic Churches from the Southern states. Their names are sent to us by their overhead boards. I am enclosing a sheet that gives some of its history. Under separate cover, I am sending you a copy of our program of last year.

I have always had a feeling that Southern women had to be the interpreters and shock absorbers of the social changes upon us -- at the same time we must be aware that the world is a listening post, and a whispering gallery, and what we here do or not do is reaching around the world.

I sincerely hope you can render this great service to the women who are anxious to know the way.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

RESIDENCE PHONE 283

STUDY PHONE 410

First Methodist Church

Mena, Arkansas

August 4, 1962

Dear Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your letter of August 1, 1962. I have set aside the date of October 30 and 31, 1962 on my calendar to attend the South-wide Annual Meeting of The Fellowship of the Concerned.

I will do whatever I can to make any worthwhile contribution in this area, please keep me advise as to what possibilities are open.

Sincerely yours,

Elbert B. Jean

Elbert B. Jean

August 1, 1962

Rev. Elbert Jean
First Methodist Church
Mena, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Jean:

First of all I want to express my great satisfaction that the Southeastern Division, National Council of Churches now has on its staff some one to work with the rural church. This has been needed a long time - you have my best wishes in this new undertaking.

Now, I want you to know that I need you to be with us in the South-wide Annual Meeting of The Fellowship of the Concerned, which will be held at the Interdenominational Theological Center, Atlanta, on October 30-31. (See enclosed on "The Fellowship of The Concerned).

We will have with us, some rural workers from our several denominations. We will give you time to get with them and we will want you to lead a discussion with them before the whole group. This will be a needed experience for all of us, if you find it convenient to do this great job

I will appreciate it if you will give me an early answer.

I am the daughter of a Methodist minister and therefore, you will have a double welcome from me. Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar joins me in the best of wishes for you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

METOBU
Enclosure

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. E. L. GLOSSBRENNER
PRESIDENT
8213 BROOKFIELD ROAD, RICHMOND 27, VIRGINIA

August 9, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Your cordial letter of August 2 greeted me on my return from Lake Junaluska yesterday.

The Workshop theme and plans sound most stimulating. Certainly," The Promise of Tomarrow" by William L. Laurence is a fine springboard. I especially like the story of the two interpretations of the explosions at Alamogordo-new to me.

I am glad to list several of our very fine and effective workers in Rural Work whom I know personally and whom I believe could make valuable contributions as panel members. Others are doing outstanding work but these, I believe,might be especially spontaneous and out-going in a discussion situation.

Mrs. Augusta Helms, Box 205, Woodville, Mississippi - in charge Wilkinson County, S. Miss. Rural Work

Miss Mary Beth Littlejohn, Pacolet, South Carolina - Rural Work in Spartanburg-Greenville Area

✓ Miss Jennie Flood, 110 Bailey St., Harlan, Ky - Harlan County Methodist Rural Work

Miss Cora Lee Glenn, 335 East College St, Murfreesboro, Tenn . RutherfordCounty Area (I know of her work and that she is thought highly of in this section)

Mrs. Lelia Robinson Cox, 2110 Dandridge Ave., Knoxville, Tenn. is one of our effective negro Deaconesses. I know her personally but I am not certain about her ability as a panel member, speaking "off the cuff"

These, you see, are from strategic areas. Miss Flood would, perhaps, have experience , more than the others, in working with mixed racial groups. Others, all, would be assets to the whole group. I might have mentioned the Rev. Gene Holdredge, Scarritt College Rural Work, Nashville 5, Tenn. formerly a rural pastor and now an instructor in this field.

Thank you, dear Mrs. Tilly, for your understanding reply and for asking me again to try to help. I'm hoping now the best of these will be available!

Cordially, Dorothy N. Glossbrenner

August 15, 1962

Mrs. Edith J. Walsh
Director of Christian Community Action
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
341-A Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 8, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Walsh:

The Presbyterian Church has made some forward steps here in Georgia in integration, and we want you in a discussion during the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop, on October 30, to tell us just what has been done, not only in Ga., but in your national organizations.

Be sure to tell us about the integration of kindergartens here in Georgia.

Please let me hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:nm

August 15, 1962

Mrs. Fred W. Patterson
2959 Andrews Drive, N. W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

I am very anxious to have a survey of what churches are doing in making steps toward integration.

The Southern Baptist Church has made some good statements, and we need you to serve on a panel discussion, and give us these statements, during the workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on October 30.

Please let me hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:nm

AIR MAIL

August 22, 1962

Mr. Al Wright
Assistant
Editorial Promotion Manager
The Saturday Evening Post
Independence Square
Philadelphia 5, Penna.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thank you for your letter advising us that reprints of "Confession of a Block-Buster" are available.

Please place our order for 200 copies, and bill us for them- since we do not know what the amount of postage would be.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:nm

The Saturday Evening POST
FOUNDED BY Cyrus H. K. Curtis
Independence Square
PHILADELPHIA 5, PENNA.

August 17, 1962

$12 cr

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Jackson - Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Reprints of the Post's article CONFESSIONS OF A BLOCK-BUSTER are now being produced and copies may be obtained at a cost of $6.00 per hundred plus postage.

Should you decide to place an order, may I hear from you no later than Thursday, August 23.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Al Wright

Al Wright, Assistant
Editorial Promotion Manager

AW:ahf

August 23, 1962

Miss Miriam J. Robinson
Executive Secretary
Woman's Missionary Union of N. C.
301 Hillsboro
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Miss Robinson:

Your letter has been received, and we would be happy for the two young women to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

It has really been a joy to me to have your wonderful cooperation. I appreciate your working with us.

Please give us the names and addresses of the young women, so that we may get in touch with them directly.

My very best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:nm

WOMAN'S MISSIONARY UNION OF NORTH CAROLINA

Auxiliary to the Baptist State Convention

MISS MIRIAM J. ROBINSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

301 HILLSBORO P. O. BOX 9523 RALEIGH

August 20, 1962

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Mrs. A.L. Parker, our president, and I very much appreciate the invitation to again attend the annual workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held in Atlanta October 30-31. Our spontaneous response would be to immediately accept. However, we have talked about the matter, and feel it would mean so much to our total program of missionary endeavor to send two of our other workers this year instead of returning to this meeting ourselves.

We are anxious to know if it would meet with your approval for us to send two of our youth leaders: Miss Sara Ann Hobbs who works with young women from 16 to 25 years of age, and Miss Willa Dean Freeman who works with girls from 12 to 16. Woman's Missionary Union of North Carolina would care for all of their expenses.

Please let me know whether or not it would be acceptable for these two representatives of our youth work to attend this meeting. We are hoping for a favorable reply.

May God continue to richly bless you with physicial and spiritual power for the tremendous responsibilities that are yours in the planning of this meeting and the direction of this work.

Cordially yours,

Miriam J. Robinson

Miriam J. Robinson

MJR:am

September 4, 1962

Rev. Annie Campbell
Robbins, Tennessee

Dear Friend:

Some days ago I wrote to Mrs. Ulrich of your church asking her to give me the name of a rural worker of your denomination, who I could invite to participate in a discussion group on "Workers in Rural Communities" facing the race question with the church groups.

I was delighted to have her suggest my friend, Annie Campbell, and I am just hoping that you can be with us on the days of the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop, which is to be held here in Atlanta on October 30-31.

I am calling Miss Pitcock to give me the name of a worker in South Alabama and South Georgia. The United Church of Christ has done a great deal in the rural community, and we certainly need the stories.

Here's hoping you can be with us on October 30-31.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:nm

The Council for

LAY LIFE AND WORK

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

• 19 S. LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

August 21, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

In reply to your letter of August 15 regarding rural workers, I have talked with Mrs. F. C. Lester who has suggested the name of the Rev. (Miss) Annie Campbell, Robbins, Tennessee.

Mrs. Lester suggested also that you might get in touch with Miss Emilie Pitcock, 673 Piedmont Avenue N. E., Atlanta, Georgia for the names of other workers.

If we can be of further assistance to you, please feel free to call upon us.

Sincerely

Mildred H. Ulrich

Mrs. Arthur M. Ulrich
Secretary

September 6, 1962

Miss Mary Beth Littlejohn
Pacolet, South Carolina

Dear Miss Littlejohn:

The yearly Work Shop of The Fellowship of the Concerned will be at the Interdenomination Theological Center here in Atlanta, October 30-31.

One of the features will be a discussion of the Rural Church and Race Relations.

We are anxious to have you be one of the rural workers to tell what you face and how much can you do in this field. Of course your expenses will be covered by the Southern Regional Council.

We will have others from various denominations. The panel will be led by Rev. Elbert Jean, who has been appointed by the National Council of Churches to work with the rural church.

Please know that I know the problems a rural worker faces in these days of tension, but perhaps through discussion we may find some way to begin to solve the problem.

Please let me hear from you at an early date. Here's hoping you will be able to render this service.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

METimg

September 6, 1962

Mrs. Harold J. Dudley
United Church Women of N.C.C.C.
2726 Anderson Drive
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Dudley:

Your letter just received and I'm glad to tell you Mrs. Jarnagin can most certainly take the place of the chairman of Christian Social Relations.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:mg

September 11, 1962

Mrs. W. W. Thrasher
10 S. W. 12th Street
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Dear Mrs. Thrasher:

The Theme for the work-shop of The Fellowship of The Concerned is, "In Our Hands"-(more or less stewardship) based partly on Kagawa's Poem
--a secret plan
Is hid in my hand--
Two issues we must face are The Church-and Housing-they are connected-The Church should pave the way. Housing is a key to integrated churches, schools, job opportunities-etc.

Well, here is a job I am asking you to do. We will have a symposium on the Church and we want one from each of our cooperating denominations to be ready in a few words to tell of the plans made and the results of the open door policy.

Will you do this for your Church? I will give you more details later.

Please let me hear from you. I am so glad you will be with us October 30-31.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:mg

P. S. - THE POST SCRIPT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF A LETTER. Please bring with you a short summary of the plans and action of your denomination. This will be mimeographed and placed in the findings which will be sent out after the work-shop.

September 11, 1962

Mrs. Abbie Clement Jackson
2303 West Chestnut Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Jackson:

The Theme for the work-shop of The Fellowship of The Concerned is, "In Our Hands"-(more or less stewardship) based partly on Kagawa's Poem
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Two issues we must face are The Church-and Housing-they are connected-The Church should pave the way. Housing is a key to integrated churches, schools, job opportunities-etc.

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Please let me hear from you. I am so glad you will be with us October 30-31.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

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September 11, 1962

Mrs. Robert Wilcox
16 Minnehaha Place
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Wilcox:

The Theme for the work-shop of The Fellowship of The Concerned is, "In Our Hands"-(more or less stewardship) based partly on Kagawa's Poem
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Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:mg

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September 11, 1962

Mrs. E. L. Askren
170 Laurel Forest Circle, NE
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Askren;

The Theme for the work-shop of the Fellowship of The Concerned is, "In Our Hands" - (more or less stewardship) based partly on Kagawa's Poem
--asecret plan
Is hid in my hand--
Two issues we must face are The Church and Housing--they are connected--The Church should pave the way. Housing is a key to integrated churches, schools, job opportunities, etc.

Well, here is a job I am asking you to do. We will have a symposium on the Church and we want one from each of our co-operating denominations to be ready in a few words to tell of the plans made and the results of the open door policy.

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Please let me hear from you. I am so glad you will be with us October 30-31.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:mg

P.S. - THE POST SCRIPT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF A LETTER. Please bring with you a short summary of the plans and action of your denomination. This will be mimeographed and placed in the findings which will be sent out after the work-shop.

September 11, 1962

Mrs. Norvell Elliott Wicker
2212 Douglass Boulevard
Louisville 5, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Wicker:

The Theme for the work-shop of The Fellowship of The Concerned is,"In Our Hands"-(more or less stewardship) based partly on Kagawa's Poem
--a secret plan
Is hid in my hand--
Two issues we must face are The Church-and Housing-they are connected-The Church should pave the way. Housing is a key to integrated churches, schools, job opportunities-etc.

Well, here is a job I am asking you to do. We will have a symposium on the Church and we want one from each of our cooperating denominations to be ready in a few words to tell of the plans made and the results of the open door policy.

Will you do this for your Church? I will give you more details later.

Please let me hear from you. I am so glad you will be with us October 30-31.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:mg

P. S. - THE POST SCRIPT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF A LETTER. Please bring with you a short summary of the plans and action of your denomination. This will be mimeographed and placed in the findings which will be sent out after the work-shop.

September 11, 1962

Mrs. Benjamin Mays
820 Fair Street, SW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Mays:

The Theme for the work-shop of The Fellowship of The Concerned is, "In Our Hands" - (more or less stewardship) based partly on Kagawa's Poem
--a secret plan
Is hid in my hand--
Two issues we must face are The Church and Housing--they are connected--The Church should pave the way. Housing is a key to integrated churches, schools, job opportunities, etc.

Well, here is a job I am asking you to do. We will have a symposium on The Church and we want one from each of our co-operating denominations to be ready in a few words to tell of the plans made and the results of the open door policy.

Will you do this for your Church? I will give you more details later.

Please let me hear from you. I am so glad you will be with us October 30-31.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:mg

P.S. - THE POST SCRIPT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF A LETTER. Please bring with you a short summary of the plans and action of your denomination. This will be mimeographed and placed in the findings which will be sent out after the work-shop.

September 11, 1962

Mrs. Susie Holley
429 North West 16th Avenue
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Dear Mrs. Holley:

The Theme for the work-shop of The Fellowship of The Concerned is, "In Our Hands"-(more or less stewardship) based partly on Kagawa's Poem
--a secret plan
Is hid in my hand--
Two issues we must face are The Church-and Housing-they are connected-The Church should pave the way. Housing is a key to integrated churches, schools, job opportunities-etc.

Well, here is a job I am asking you to do. We will have a symposium on the Church and we want one from each of our cooperating denominations to be ready in a few words to tell of the plans made and the results of the open door policy.

Will you do this for your Church? I will give you more details later.

Please let me hear from you. I am so glad you will be with us October 30-31.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

METrmg

P.S. - THE POST SCRIPT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF A LETTER. Please bring with you a short summary of the plans and action of your denomination. This will be mimeographed and placed in the findings which will be sent out after the work-shop.

SEA FOAM BOND

September 10, 1962

Mrs. Ben Russell
824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greenville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Russell:

The Theme for the work-shop of The Fellowship of The Concerned is, "In Our Hands" - (more or less stewardship) based partly on Kagawa's Poem
--a secret plan
Is hid in my hand--
Two issues we must face are The Church and Housing--they are connected--The Church should pave the way. Housing is a key to integrated churches, schools, job opportunities, etc.

Well, here is a job I am asking you to do. We will have a symposium on the Church and we want one from each of our co-operating denominations to be ready in a few words to tell of the plans made and the results of the open door policy.

Will you do this for your Presbyterian Church? I will give you more details later.

Please let me hear from you. I am so glad you will be with us October 30-31.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:mg

P.S. - THE POST SCRIPT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF A LETTER. Please bring with you a short summary of the plans and action of your denomination. This will be mimeographed and placed in the findings which will be sent out after the work-shop.

ARTHUR HEYMAN (1867-1951)
HERMAN HEYMAN
MORRIS B. ABRAM
ROBERT G. YOUNG
ROBERT E. HICKS
MAURICE N. MALOOF
JOHN H. HICKS
JOSEPH LEFKOFF

LAW OFFICES OF
HEYMAN, ABRAM, YOUNG, HICKS & MALOOF
1504 HEALEY BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GA.

TELEPHONE
JACKSON 5-3471

September 13, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

As I mentioned to you in my letter of June 26, I am the Chairman of the Executive Board of the American Jewish Committee. As such, I have been appointed to a delegation to visit the Vatican and Israel this fall. This trip was originally scheduled for September but has been postponed because of the ecumenical conference in Rome until October 18. I therefore expect to be gone from the 18th of October for about two weeks and I notice that this would in all likelihood cover the period of the workshop assigned for October 30. I regret this very much but there is nothing I can do about it.

It may well be that again the dates of the Israeli trip will shift, in which case I would, of course, if you wish me to, still be available for the 30th.

My very best to you.

Affectionately,

Morris B. Abram

A/w

September 14, 1962

Most Rev. Paul J. Halliman
Catholic Center
Archdiocese of Atlanta
P. O. Box 12047
Northside Station
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Arch-Bishop Halliman:

This is a big request and I feel very daring in asking it.

Would it be possible for you to speak at the South-wide Work Shop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, 11:30, October 31st? If it is impossible for you to render this great service, would you let us have some one of your Priest who are your Panel on Christianity Unity to speak on the plans of closer cooperation between Catholics and Protestants?

The Work Shop will be at The Interdenomination Theological Center, 67 Beckwith Street, S. W.

The Fellowship of the Concerned, Southern Women Concerned about their South-really began just after the world wars-and it draws together the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant women who are state or local leaders in their denominations.

Each of the over head bodies send in the list of the names of the women to be invited.

We always appreciate very much the contribution the Catholic women make to the work shop.

Mrs. Gunning can answer any question you may wish to ask her. She is a spiritual power within herself.

When I read in the Atlanta Journal of July 28th of the Panel on Christian Unity you had appointed "to prepare laymen and lay women for correct and courteous cooperation with those of other faiths," my heart sang a paeon of thanks.

The annual meeting of the Catholic women last Saturday was a heart warming experience. I appreciated meeting you personally.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:mg

united church women

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIVERSIDE 9-2200

J. IRWIN MILLER, PRESIDENT REV. ROY G. ROSS, GENERAL SECRETARY

MRS. THEODORE F. WALLACE
CHAIRMAN

MRS. W. MURDOCH MACLEOD
GENERAL DIRECTOR

September 17, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

We are delighted that you are coming to the October committee meetings and look forward so much to at least seeing you around the edges.

As is the custom between us I am now enclosing a list of the women who have indicated to us that they are planning to attend the Fellowship of the Concerned meeting. I thought that this would be a double check for you.

If I remember correctly from our experience last year, we decided that I should be in direct touch with Mrs. Anderson at the women's dormitory at Atlanta University to make arrangements for the meeting we will want as usual following your meeting. I enclose a copy of my letter to Mrs. Anderson so that you will know what we have said to her.

Regarding Judge Kenyon, let me say that I did not make clear to you the fact that we have asked her to speak at our October meetings here. She will not be attending the Fellowship of the Concerned unless you have invited her. We have asked her to give the major address on civil liberties.

I look forward to seeing you soon. I hope that the year is starting well and that you are feeling quite yourself again.

Cordially,

Eleanor

Eleanor French
Director
Christian Social Relations

EF:as

September 24, 1962

P.S. Since dictating the letter yours of September 17 has been

received, and I am writing to Dr. Seals instead of Mrs. Anderson.

Thank you so much for your word that the additional third woman coming from several of the states will be welcome at the workshop provided she takes care of her expenses. I shall get word out to this group at once. To do this I need to know by return mail from you the cost of board and room. Many thanks for this information and especially for the invitation.

Mrs. C. G. Washington, 1216 North 8th, Fort Smith, Arkansas, state Christian Social Relations chairman, says she has not yet heard from you. She, of course, wishes to attend. Also, Mrs. R. G. Hunt, 926 Linda Lou, San Antonio, Texas, state Christian Social Relations chairman said she had not heard from you. I have written both these women telling them that they were automatically on your list and the reason they had not heard from you must have been some technical error.

As of September 24 the following are planning to attend. Other replies are yet to be received.

ARKANSAS - Mrs. C. G. Washington, 1216 North 8th, Fort Smith

FLORIDA - Mrs. John H. Caldwell, 513 Lake Bonnie Dr., Lakeland
Mrs. W. W. Thrasher, 10 S. W. 12th St., Fort Lauderdale
Mrs. Susie C. Holley, 429 N. W. 16th Ave., Fort Lauderdale (third member)

GEORGIA - Mrs. C. M. Weston, 2052 Edinburgh Terrace, Atlanta
Mrs. Ben Milner, 59 Sheridan Dr., Atlanta 5
Mrs. Eva Parks, 502 Rockwell St., SW, Atlanta 10 (third member)

KENTUCKY - Mrs. J. Ward Rees, Millersburg

LOUISIANA - Mrs. Jimmie Simmons, 659 McCormick St., Shreveport
Mrs. J. A. Thornton, 2746 Abbie St., Shreveport (third member)

NORTH CAROLINA - Mrs. Harold J. Dudley, 2726 West View Ave., Nashville

SOUTH CAROLINA - Mrs. Harold L. Timmerman, 1002 Fairfield Ave., North Augusta? (hopefully)

TENNESSEE - Mrs. Ben Russell, 624 Tusculum Rd., Greeneville
Mrs. Harry C. Spencer, 610 Westview Ave., Nashville 5

TEXAS - Mrs. Luther Holcomb, PO Box 9742, Dallas 14

VIRGINIA - Mrs. Ralph Singleton, 1841 University Circle, Charlottesville, attending in place of Miss Charlotte Crawley
Mrs. J. Paul Gruver, 1113 Skymont Rd., Staunton

September 19, 1962

Dr. Will Campbell
2011 Grand Ave nue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Campbell:

The Southwide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned will be held at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 671 Beckwith Street, S. W., on October 30-31, 1962.

There are two big issues, we must face - both inter-related, the Church and House.

We have asked a representative of each of our participating denominations to tell what progress has been made in their church to open doors to all people. Please be the coordinator of this panel - - we need you.

We would like for them to meet with you at nine o'clock - an hour before the workshop begins.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

September 19, 1962

Rev. Edward A. Driscoll
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Driscoll:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of The Concerned will be at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 671 Beckwith Street, on October 30-31, 1962, beginning at 10:00 a. m. the morning of the 30th and closing after lunch on the 31st.

We would like very much to have you give us greetings from the Georgia Council of Churches at the beginning on the 30th.

We would also like for you to be a Resource Person in one Workshop groups which will be meeting in the afternoon and evening of the first day.

Our general theme is "In Our Hands" - building on the 8th Psalm where God gives man dominion over the work of His hands. We are using Kagawa's poem "--a secret plan
Is hid in my hand --
Also the words of the scientist William Lawrence as he tells the story of the First public exhibition of nuclear energy plants.

The two big items we must face in all of this is, first, the church must lead the way. We will have a panel led by Dr. Will Campbell with women from each denomination to tell what their church has done to open its doors to all people. The second is Housing, the key to integrated churches, schools, job opportunities, etc. We will have with us Miss Flora Y. Hatcher, Assistant to the Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency of the Federal Government.

Ltr, Rev. Edward A. Driscoll
September 19, 1962

We are hoping that you will render this great service for us. Please let us hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

September 19, 1962

Dr. J. Edward Lantz
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Lantz:

The Southwide Workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned will be held at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 671 Beckwith Street, on October 30-31, 1962, beginning at 10:00 a. m. on the 30th and closing after lunch on the 31st.

We would very much like to have you as a Resource Person in one of the groups, which will be meeting in the afternoon and evening of the first day.

The general theme is "In Our Hands," building on the 8th Psalm where God gives man dominion over the work of His hands.

We are using Kawaga's poem "--- a secret plan
Is hid in my hands--", also the words of the scientist William Lawrence as he told the story of the first public exhibition of a nuclear energy plant. We hope to build a burden really, a personal responsibility.

The two big items we must face in all of this is, first the church must prepare the way. We will have a panel led by Dr. Will Campbell with women from each denomination telling what their church has done to open its doors to all people. The second is Housing, the key to integrated church, schools, job opportunities, etc. We will have with us Miss Flora Y. Hatcher, Assistant to the Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency of the Federal Government.

Ltr, Dr. J. Edward Lantz
September 19, 1962

We are hoping you will render this great service. Please let us hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Same letter sent to:

Dick Shapiro

Dr. George Clary, 63 Auburn Avenue

Bob Thompson

Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen

Robert Shrider

September 24, 1962

Mrs. E. L. Askren
170 Laurel Forest Circle, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Askren:

On September 11 we wrote asking you to participate in a symposium on the church, which will be led by Dr. Will Campbell.

We would appreciate very much hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

September 24, 1962

Mrs. Abbie C. Jackson
2303 West Chestnut Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Jackson:

On September 11 we wrote asking you to participate in a symposium on the church, which will be led by Dr. Will Campbell.

We would appreciate very much hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

September 24, 1962

Mrs. W. W. Thrasher
10 S. W. 12th Street
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Dear Mrs. Thrasher:

On September 11 we wrote asking you to participate in a symposium on the church, which will be led by Dr. Will Campbell.

We would appreciate very much hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

September 24, 1962

Mrs. Benjamin Mays
820 Fair Street, S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Mays:

On September 11 we wrote asking you to participate in a symposium on the church, which will be led by Dr. Will Campbell.

We would appreciate very much hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

September 24, 1962

Mrs. Robert Wilcox
16 Minnekahda Place
Chattanooga 5, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Wilcox:

On September 10 we wrote asking you to participate in a symposium on the church, which will be led by Dr. Will Campbell.

We would appreciate very much hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

United Church Women of Kentucky

2212 Douglass Blvd.
Louisville 5, Kentucky
September 25, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly.

I thank you for your kind letter of September 11th. I had meant to answer sooner but it seems that every available minute has been taken up with preparation for the six Ecumenical Institutes which we are now conducting as we go through the state.

Of course, I want to help you in any way you feel that I can. I have written to our Director of the Dept. of Christian Social Relations, asking that he send me the most recent plans of his dept. in this area and also the stands taken at General Convention.

United Church Women of Kentucky

I shall await your next letter for more details.

With best wishes to you as you continue to do the work to which you surely have been called by your Master.

Faithfully,

Marion B. Wicker
(Mrs. Norvell E.)
President

September 24, 1962

Mrs. Norvell Elliott Wicker
2212 Douglass Boulevard
Louisville 5, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Wicker:

On September 11 we wrote asking you to participate in a symposium on the church, which will be led by Dr. Will Campbell.

We would appreciate very muchhearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

September 25, 1962

Miss Mary Beth Littlejohn
Pacolet,
South Carolina

Dear Miss Littlejohn:

On September 6 we wrote asking you to be one of the rural workers to tell what you face in this field, and how much can you do in this area. As you know this is to be in the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on October 30-31.

We would appreciate very much hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

September 25, 1962

Bishop W. R. Wilkes
1212 Fountain Drive, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bishop Wilkes:

The Fellowship of the Concerned of the Southern Regional Council is having its Annual Southwide Workshop at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 671 Beckwith Street, on October 30-31.

We would certainly appreciate if if you would give us a list of women to be invited. We would like one from each of the southern states, and of course several from Georgia.

This would be a great favor to us, and we believe to the women that could attend.

My very best wishes to you. I remain

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

September 28, 1962

Mrs. J. F. McLeod
1540 College Court
Montgomery 6, Alabama

My dear:

I do have to have someone in the audience for spiritual support. I need you on October 30-31.

Love,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:nm

October 2, 1962

Miss Flora Y. Hatcher
Assistant to the Administrator
(Consumer and Community Group Relations)
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Office of the Administrator
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Miss Hatcher:

Due to several things -- one an emergency in the family and changes in the plans for the Workshop, caused me to delay the letter to you. The dates are October 30 and 31, beginning at 10:00 a. m., Monday the 30th and closing after lunch on the 31st. Our Workshop will be held at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 671 Beckwith Street, S. W.

We will room at Bumstead Hall, Atlanta University, 50 Chestnut Street, S. W., and have our meals there also.

Our general theme is "In Our Hands" and we hope to develop a sense of responsibility for the needed social changes. Housing is the key to the integrating our churches, schools, job opportunities, etc., hence my request to your agency.

The church, of course should lead the way, but it has not, so as we are church woman, we begin with a few words from a representative of each of our denominations, Jewish and Catholic as well, telling what steps have been taken for an open-door policy of her church. This will be a sad story, I am afraid.

We are very much concerned that more than not, when a Negro family moves near a white community, the white people not only begin to make plans to move themselves, but to re-locate their church.

Ltr., Miss F. Y. Hatcher
October 2, 1962

I wish some way we could lead the way so that church leaders would realize the opportunity of being good neighbors.

We will have six workshop groups, and out of their discussions may come some help.

I hope you may be able to stay with us both days. If not, we will give you time to answer questions. There are other things we will face -- but the church and Housing will be the main issues.

We are enclosing some information about The Fellowship of The Concerned.

My very best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

October 3, 1962

Mrs. David R. Driver
1410 Evans
Arkadelphia, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Driver:

We did receive your and Mrs. Washington's acceptance in plenty of time to reserve places for you.

Further details will be forwarded at a later date. Please let us know if you are planning to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Secretary to Mrs. Tilly

/nm

United Church Women of Arkansas

1410 Evans
Arkadelphia
Sept - 20, 1962

Dear Mrs. Zilly -

As you perhaps remember I have only recently accepted your invitation to attend the Fall Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned. Perhaps I was too late. However I need very much to know whether or not I can attend in order to make other plans for the week of Oct 30 - Will you please drop me a card as soon as you can? I'd also like to know whether Mrs. C. G. Washington, 1816 N. 8th St. Fort Smith got her acceptance there in time - She has had no information either - She is a negro woman, our state CSR Chairman -

Thanking you for your prompt reply, I am

Sincerely

(Mrs. David M) Ruth R. Driver
Pres. UCW of Ark -

October 3, 1962

Mrs. C. B. Christian
503 South Fifth Avenue
Laurel, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Christian:

We regret very much you will not be able to attend the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on October 30-31.

Due to limited funds this year, we are not bearing total expense for the people attending, only their transportation to Atlanta, and a room. This arrangement concerning the expense includes all participants. I feel sure you understand our position in the matter.

We will miss you terribly, but we solicit your prayers for a successful meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Secretary to Mrs. Tilly

/nm

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

October 3, 1962

Dear Friend:

Please circle the dates October 30-31 on your calendar for the Annual Workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held in Atlanta, Georgia, this year.

Let us know if you plan to attend to that further information may be sent to you later.

We have planned to meet at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 671 Beckwith Street, S. W. There are funds available for travel and room accommodations, but not for meals.

We are anxious that the Unitarian-Universalist Church participate in the South-wide Workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned. Mr. Clifton Hoffman, Field Executive of the Thomas Jefferson Unitarian-Universalist Council has suggested your name to us.

Information concerning the Fellowship of the Concerned is enclosed for your convenience.

Please let us hear from you by October 9.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

October 4, 1962

Miss Mary Lena Wisehart
25 West Villa Place
Fort Thomas, Kentucky

Dear Miss Wisehart:

We have such limited funds this year until we are limiting our invited people to presidents of the organizations, mostly.

If you are not the president this year, please passtthis invite on to her. If you are the president, let us know and additional information will be forwarded to you immediately.

May we hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Secretary to Mrs. Tilly

M/nm

MISS MARY LENA WISEHART
25 WEST VILLA PLACE, FORT THOMAS, KENTUCKY

Sept 30-1962

Dear Mrs Tillery -

I plan to attend Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop - Oct - 30 + 31 - 1962.

I need to have information as to expense + how to be shared.

Sincerely
Mary Lena Wisehart

She is no longer C. S. R Chm U. C. W
Mrs ____ took her place

October 4, 1962

The Rev. Vincent Brannon
Chairman Archdiocessan Commission
on Christian Unity
Marist College
335 Ivy Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Father Brannon:

Before Archbishop Hallinan left for Rome I wrote to him, asking that someone from your Commission speak on Christian Unity at the South-wide Workshop of the Fellowship of The Concerned, at 11:30 A. M. on October 30, which is to be held at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 671 Beckwith Street, S. W.

Someone called and left a message from the Archbiship to contact you. We hope you will find it possible to do this forus or send someone else.

The Fellowship of the Concerned is really the woman's work of the Southern Regional Council. Each fall the church women leaders in the field of social action in our Southern States come together to face issues and to try to find ways to meet challenges of this changing age. The group is inter-racial and inter-faith.

Mrs. Gunning and Mrs. Correll have been of great help in all of this. They can tell you more fully about this work. The enclosure may help you to understand what we have been doing.

Ltr; The Rev. Vincent Brannon
October 4, 1962

You may be sure of a very sympathetic audience, who will listen with renewed hope.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

October 4, 1962

Miss Evelyn Berry
Woman's Division of Christian Service
Room 1456
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Evelyn:

On October 1 the court decided in our favor and Emory and all other tax exempted colleges, can enroll Negroes without losing the tax exemption.

Everything would be great, except the registration at Emory closed on September 28, so our two splendid nurses will have to wait until the winter quarter. They are taking graduate work in chemistry and biology -- and are enrolled in Atlanta University -- only Atlanta University is a graduate school.

These nurses have each a course at Clark and a course at Morris Brown. Here is our big trouble -- maybe you can help us. Is it possible to send the check to Clark? I have just talked to Dr. Brantley and he says if you can, send him the check with an accompanying note, he would then pay the University.

I am not sure this is ethical -- but the girls are so fine we must find some way -- and we have worked for months on the integration of Emory and this opportunity for these girls. It was just sickening that just 15 minutes before the deadline, that DeKalb lawyer filed his appeal -- and all of this came upon us.

If you can't give but the amount due at Clark perhaps I can find the other $170.00 for the Morris Brown Courses.

Work it out if you can ethically, morally and legally.

Here's hoping,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

METinm

October 5, 1962

Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner
8213 Brookfield Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Glossbrenner:

When my son was a very little boy he came to me and asked almost in one breath, "When will birthday, Easter and Christmas be?"

When the letter from Mrs. O. D. Thomas came with the check for $250.00 from our Jurisdiction Society, I felt like birthday, Easter and Christmas had come to me.

A Woolworth store is next door to our building, and it is all dressed up with Christmas trees and Christmas lights. I have resented this -- but when I opened the letter and found the check I really felt like going in the store and standing under one of the trees with the check in my hand and thanking God and my Jurisdiction Woman's Society of Christian Service.

You know I am a child of the parsonage, and the Methodict Church, all of my life has showered me with blessings. I was president of a Juvenile Missionary Society at the age of seven, and all through the years have been an officer of some kind, and now has come this lovely gift of the Jurisdiction. It will be used, of course, for our October 30-31st days.

Thank you a heartful, which do not know how to express in words.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

October 5, 1962

Mrs. O. D. Thomas
2011 Eleventh Street
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

It was a surprise and quite a thrill to come into the office and find your letter and the check for $250.00 from our Southeastern Jurisdiction, Woman's Society of Christian Service.

A Woolworth's store is next door to our building, and is already decorated with Christmas trees. I felt like taking the check in this Woolworth store and standing with it in my hand under one of the Christmas trees for Christmas had come to me.

The surprise was as great and the joy as complete as I ever had as a child opening my stocking on Christmas Day.

Please come to the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned. It is to be held at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 671 Beckwith Street, on October 30-31. Come and see how we use this money. Next week full information and direction will be forth-coming to all invited.

My ~~very~~ and thanks to you personally. I am writing to Mrs. Glossbrenner.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

October 8, 1962

Mrs. G. J. Gunning
President, ACCW
17 Demorest Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Gunning:

Thank you so very much for the list you have sent us, and we hope all of these women will be with us.

We would appreciate it if we could have 150 copies of the "Prayer for Success" of the Ecumenical Council.

We highly appreciate the cooperation you have always given us. Best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

October 9, 1962

I am so glad that you are coming to the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned this year.

Will you please be a Group for us. Let me hear from you. I am enclosing a postal card for your reply. We need you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

October 9, 1962

Mrs. Moreland Smith
3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Smith:

We have not heard from you as to whether you will be at the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned which is to be held at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 653 Beckwith Street, S. W., on October 30-31.

We hope you will be with us and be a reporter for one of the Workshop groups.

Please let us hear from you. Of course, travel and room will be paid for by the Southern Regional Council, but funds are short, so each will pay for her meals.

Awaiting your reply, I remain

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

October 10, 1962

Miss Cecilia Sheppard
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Miss Sheppard:

You will remember that Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., led our singing at the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Con-concerned last year. Please do this for us this year. The dates are October 30-31.

Our general theme is "In Our Hands" -- based on the 8th Psalm and Kagawa's poem "I Have a Plan," you can see it is really a stewardship we must face and a challenge and responsibility as well -- and an answer we must anseer to God.

The main issues we will face must be housing -- upon it really depends integrated churches, schools, job opportunities, etc. -- and the church must lead the way.

We will have some one from the National Housing Authority with us, Miss Hatcher, and the Rev. Elbert Jean, who has been appointed by the National Council of Churches, will lead a panel discussion, and the participants will be persons from each of our denominations to tell in a few words how far their church has become integrated.

Hoping you can render this service, I remain

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

October 11, 1962

Mrs. Florence Robin
926 Crane Road, N. E.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Robin:

I have read about "the Duchess" in Harper's.

Why don't you come and see the Fellowship of The Concerned for yourself.

The Southwide Workshop of The Fellowship of The Concerned will be held on October 30-31, beginning at 10:00 a. m. on the 30th with an afternoon and evening session, and ending on the 31st after lunch.

This will be at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 653 Beckwith Street, S. W.

We would like to have you with us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR • WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

Federal Housing Administration
Public Housing Administration
Federal National Mortgage Association
Community Facilities Administration
Urban Renewal Administration

October 12, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you so much for your letter of October 2nd. I am planning to be with you at the beginning on Tuesday, October 30th at 10 a.m. at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 671 Beckwith Street, S.W. If you can conveniently arrange it, I would like very much to be housed with the conference group at Bumstead Hall, Atlanta University for the night of October 30th and likewise have my meals there. I will have to leave at about noon on Wednesday, October 31st to catch a plane elsewhere in early afternoon on that day.

I am wondering if you agree that it might be quite helpful to invite three or four of certain selected Regional Housing and Home Finance Agency staff members to meet also with your group to serve as resources. These people are, of course, all located in Atlanta. Their job is to assist local communities throughout the Southern region in their housing, urban renewal, and community development activities. It is because they are so well versed about Southern localities that I think they might prove useful. This is purely a suggestion, however, and I want you to feel free to accept or reject it. If in any way it does not fit in with the conference plans, please know that I will understand.

A brief note of invitation to these people is all that would be required.

Norman Watson,
Special Assistant to the Regional Administrator
(Workable Program For Community Improvement)
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Peachtree-Seventh Building
Atlanta 23, Georgia

Hubert M. Jackson
Intergroup Relations Office
Public Housing Administration
Peachtree-Seventh Building
Atlanta 23, Georgia

will be present

Sydney Maslen
Relocation Advisor
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Peachtree-Seventh Building
Atlanta 23, Georgia

will be present

Albert L. Thompson
Zone Intergroup Relations Advisor
Federal Housing Administration
101 Marietta Street Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

I'm not suggesting any substitutes because these particular people carry responsibilities particularly relevant to your conference objectives. I am looking forward with great pleasure to meeting with your group and hope I can make a useful contribution.

Sincerely yours,

Flora Y. Hatcher

Flora Y. Hatcher
Assistant to the Administrator
(Consumer & Community Group
Relations)

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Final plans for the Workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned. The sessions will be held at the New building of the Interdenominational Theological Center, 653 Beckwith Street, S. W., in the auditorium. This is about a block from Bumstead Hall of Atlanta University, where we will have our meals.

The Schedule is as follows:

OCTOBER 30 -- Registration -- 9:30 -- 10:00 A. M.

Morning Session -- 10:00 - 12:30 p. m.

Lunch -- 12:45

Afternoon Session -- 2:00 - 5:00 p. m.

Dinner -- 6:00 p. m.

Evening Session -- 7:30 - 9:30 p. m.

OCTOBER 31 -- 9:30 - 12:30 p. m.

Followed by lunch. This year travel and hotel expenses only will be taken care of by the Southern Regional Council. Due to our limited funds you are asked to take care of your meals.

THE GENERAL THEME - "In Our Hands" -- "God's Trust in Us."

We will consider The Church for one thing, with a symposium led by Rev. Elbert Jean, National Council of Churches; and Housing, on which Miss Hatcher of the National Housing Authority will support us. We have some able leaders for our Workshop Groups.

Looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

PLEASE RETURN THIS TO ME IMMEDIATELY:

I will _____ (will not)_____ be present on October 30-31.

FELLOWHIP OF THE CONCERNED

What is the Fellowship of the Concerned? It is what its name implies -- a fellowship of the Church women leaders of both races and the three faiths, concerned about their South. There are no officers and no membership dues. It is sponsored by the Southern Regional Council. The initiative for action, however, is entirely in the hands of the women.

HISTORY

Whenever there has been a crisis in human relations in the South, Church women have come together to face the issues and work out a program of action. The first call was to a Cause and Cure of War Conference, just before World War II. This answered a national call, under the direction of an appointed Southern leader (Mrs. M. E. Tilly).

Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

When lynching was prevalent in the South, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was formed, under the direction of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The story of their work is well known and saved the South from continued mob violence. (Mrs. Tilly was secretary of this group--since then she has directed all other of these Southwide meetings.)

Rural Health.

Rural health was the next disturbing situation faced. This began as a Methodist project, but, realizing it was the concern of all the South, the leaders of the groups of the three faiths came together. The U. S. Surgeon-General gave his blessing to the endeavor by his presence and address at the meeting. This health conference was followed by district meetings in States. In our files we have a letter from the Director of the State Health Department of Georgia, stating that it was entirely through these meetings that the Legislature passed the appropriation of one million dollars for rural hospitals a few months later. This same story could be said of each of the States.

Demobilization Conference.

Realizing that the women had spent a great deal of time in First Aid and Red Cross work, and now that the war was over this time should be mobilized for peacetime action, women were called together in a Demobilization Conference.

Workshop of Civil Rights.

With a member of the staff of the U. S. Department of Justice with us, this workshop was held to study civil rights and to become aware of current infringements of these rights in our South.

Conference on Injustice in the Courts.

At this conference was worked out a program "Know Your Courts as You Know Your Schools." Here the women named themselves The Fellowship of the Concerned, and began sitting in courts, giving courage to judges and juries alike. They presented the sheriffs of two-thirds of our counties with the pamphlet, "Race and Law Enforcement."

Supreme Court Decision on School Integration.

The first conference was held in 1953 just before the decision came and here the women planned what they would do in preparation for the decision. In February of 1955, the women again came together from the States of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina. These have been followed up with State meetings. On October 30-31, 1956, one hundred nine women came from 10 southern states -- this was a gathering of the women of three faiths, of each denomination, and of both races. This meeting is being re-enacted in the states. Altogether about 2,000 women, each year, have been in the South-wide and State meetings on this question. These Workshops have been great by every measure. One is impressed by the deep spiritual nature of them. This is well, for spiritual power is needed. These women are finding the spiritual strength and power to be --

> Firm in conviction, never afraid to speak
> Persuasive in conversation,
> Patient and understanding with those who do not agree...
> "Fervent in spirit, serving the Lord."

1957 Workshop was held October 29-30.

The general subject was, "The Challenge of Controversy."

1958 Workshop was held October 16-17.

The subject was "Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world."

1959 Workshop was held November 5-6.

The general subject was, "Roots Of Freedom."

1960 Workshop was held November 15-16.

The general subject was, "Justice Weighed in the Balance."

October 16, 1962

Mr. Allan Reitman
American Civil Liberties Union
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Reitman:

I will arrive in New York on Sunday afternoon, October 21, and will be at the Hotel Wellington - 7th Avenue and Columbus Circle.

Would it be possible for you to see me late Sunday afternoon or Sunday evening. I am afraid that I will be too tied up with the meeting of United Church Women to do anything else.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:nm

October 16, 1962

Mrs. Paul Gruver
1113 Skymont Road
Staunton, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Gruver:

We have your letter of October 12 in which you stated that your husband would be staying with you and would love to attend our meeting. We would be delighted to have him with us, however, it would be more convenient to us, for you to make your own reservation for you and your husband at the Piedmont Hotel. We do have only women at Bumstead Hall.

We are so very sorry that we can not offer expenses for the both of you, but as you know this year, our budget is very limited, and anything that can be done in this area by the participants is highly appreciated.

You may turn in your expense account after the meeting, form for which will be in your packet.

We indeed look forward to seeing you, and having your husband with us. Please let us hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

United Church Women of Virginia

A Department of The Virginia Council of Churches

MRS. J. PAUL GRUVER, *President*
1113 Skymont Road
Staunton, Virginia

October 12, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I did not fill in the blank you sent but will leave it up to you.

My husband is much concerned in this area too. He is a minister. We do not know if the workshop is open to others than those who received the invitation. If he can be a part of the group, paying his own expenses, place us either in the dormitory or the hotel. Since the invitation came from the women's department, I thought this dormitory could be the women's dormitory. If he should get his own room he will do that on arrival. If that is so, then I shall be happy to stay with Mrs. W. Ralph Singleton in Bumstead Hall.

We are especially looking forward to this experience.

Sincerely,

Alberta C. Gruver

October 16, 1962

Rev. Elbert Jean
Pine Circle, Route 5
Franklin, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Jean:

We are so glad you are to be with us at the Workshop of the Fellowship of The Concerned. We will hold our sessions at the Interdenominational Theological Center, and we had made reservations for you there.

We hope you will come on Monday, because at 9:15 a. m. on Tuesday, we have asked those who will be in your group to meet with you in a briefing session.

We asked you sometime ago to interview some rural workers we have invited, and we asked Dr. Campbell to be with a group made up of one from each denomination, who are to tell what progress has been made in integration in their denomination. Dr. Campbell has written that the both of you cannot be at the same meeting, so, we are asking you to do the double job, taking both the denominational and the rural workers. In view of the number in this group, we have asked them to condense their statements.

You will have two rural workers, so you may ask them questions also. You will have 40 minutes for this, and it comes near the beginning of our first session.

By the way -- our sessions are as follows:

October 30 -	Morning --	10:00 - 12:30
	Afternoon -	2:00 - 5:00
	Evening --	7:30 - 9:30
October 31 -	Morning --	9:30 - through lunch.

Looking forward to seeing and working with you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

October 16, 1962

Miss Thelma Stevens
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Miss Stevens:

Your reservation is at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 653 Beckwith Street, S. W., and I am so very glad that you will be with us on Monday. We will have our group leaders briefing session on Monday afternoon. I certainly hope your plane will get in in time for this. I am sure you will get in on a part of it anyway. They meet at 3:30.

At 9:15 Tuesday, a. m., we are seeking the group , who will report on the progress of open-door policy of their own denomination (very little has been done - but we must face it), to meet with Rev. Elbert Jean of the National Council of Churches, who will be in charge.ofThis will be this group's briefing session. We need you to be with them. At 10:00 a. m. be begin our sessions.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

October 16, 1962

Miss Cecilia Sheppard
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Miss Sheppard:

We have received your letter of October 14, and want you to know that we still want and need you for our program, leading the songs.

We look forward to seeing you and having you with us on October 30, 31.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Secretary to Mrs. Tilly

/nm

P. S. Did we get your reservation yet, if not, I am enclosing another copy for your convenience. Thank you.

Paine College
Augusta, Ga.
October 14, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your letter of October 10 and for the privilege you have given me. I do expect to be there and I shall always love to sing and - particularly in this situation - to lead others in singing. But you must know that I am not at all qualified for such a thing. I am not really a musician. I should love to work with Mrs. Martin Luther King in it, pinch-hitting for her when she cannot be there. Could this be possible? Or are you sure you have not someone much better equipped than I am to do this for the Fellowship? If you find that you do, please do not hesitate for one moment to change yourplans. We simply want the very best that can be used for this very, very vital experience.

But if Mrs. King cannot do this, even part of the time, or if there is no one else whom you can find to do it as you know it should be done, I shall be glad and grateful to help. Will the songs be printed on your program as they were last year, and shall I have a copy in sufficient time ahead to be sure to know them? Or would I be supposed to select them? I realize that there is not much time for such planning.

I am so glad that we are going to move straight to the crucial issue of housing.

Yours in Christian fellowship,

Cecilia Sheppard

Cecilia Sheppard

October 16, 1962

Mrs. Stanley Harris
790 Briar Park Court, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Harris:

We are asking Mrs. Gunning - Catholic Women; Mrs. Milner, U. C. Women; Mrs. Harris (you) B'nai B'rith, to be our official hostesses and would like to introduce all of you at the beginning session, 10:a. m., October 30.

Now here are two other things. On Wednesday morning, Mrs. Gunning will speak of the work of Catholic women, Miss Eleanor French of United Church Women, and we are asking you to tell of the work of B'nai B'rith.

The 3rd thing we need from your group is someone to tell of the policy of Jewish congregations in regard to integration. I know they do have some Negro members and I do believe the doors of your Temples would have hearsbeenaghamed against "kneel ins".

The first real issue on the program is Rev. Elbert Jean of the National Council of Churches, will interview a woman from each of our denominations on the open door policy of their denomination, and we are asking you or someone in your place to be a part of this group. At 9:15 a. m., October 30, 45 minutes before our sessions begin, Rev. Jean will have a briefing session.

I think you already know that we are to meet at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 653 Beckwith Street, S. W. A schedule is enclosed for your ready reference.

Looking forward to seeing and working with you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

October 19, 1962

Rev. Emilie F. Pitcock
881 Derrydown Way
Decatur, Georgia

Dear Miss Pitcock:

First of all, I hope you will be with us throughout the four sessions of the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

The hours are as follows: 10:00 - 12:30 - - Monday
2:00 - 5:00
7:30 - 9:30

9:30 - through lunch - Tuesday

I think I told you our general theme is "In Our Hands," on the front cover of the program. We have used a part of 8th Psalm - Kagawa's Poem -- "a secret plan, Is Hid in my Hand,"

This, as you can see, is really stewardship God has trusted us to fulfill.

My minister will open our sessions with prayer. Then we will have introduction and greetings. Then my statement will come before the worship, because I want the Workshop to lead us into the issues we must face.

Please give us your subject and thettitle of your position. We would like to have a copy of your meditation to be included in the gleanings that will be sent to participants in the Workshop.

Thank you very much for doing this for us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

October 20, 1962

Mr. Freeman L. Nelson
U. S. Department of Justice
Bureau of Prisons
U. S. Penitentiary
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Nelson:

The Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, will be held at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 653 Beckwith Street, S. W., on October 30-31.

We will be happy to have you tell us how we can help in "job opportunities, job protection and security for those released from prison." This will be in our afternoon session on October 30, about 2:30 p. m.

Please call my secretary, Mrs. Morgan, 522-8764, and give her information as to how you want the title of your subject put on the program.

Looking forward to your presentation of this much needed help and information.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

October 21, 1962

Mrs. Martha Thrasher
10 Southwest 12th Street
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Dear Mrs. Thrasher:

Mrs. Holley represents her denomination, you and Mrs. Caldwell are the two officers of United Church Women that I invited -- so all three of you will be in the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

As our first letter stated, travel and hotel will be taken care of by the Southern Regional Council. We had so many participants last year that a cut had to be made this year -- therefore, each person pays for her meals. I hope that this will work no hardship on anyone. It is the best we can do.

Now I thought you had received the letter about the part both of you, meaning Mrs. Holley, would have on the program. We must face what the Church is or is not doing opening its doors to all people -- so we are having someone from each denomination to give, in a few words, how far her church has gone in being an integrated church.

I know Mrs. Holley is a Baptist and some way felt sure that you were a member of the Christian Church. And from that standpoint gave this assignment to you. Attached you will find a sheet of fuller information.

I am very glad to have all three of you valuable people.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

United Church Women
Of
Florida

WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT OF FLORIDA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

MRS. W. W. THRASHER
10 SOUTHWEST 12th STREET
FORT LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA

October 9,1962

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Yesterday I had a letter from Eleanor French from New York and in the letter she referred to the third person coming from a State. She also mentioned this person would not have any expense money. Last night Mrs Holley and I were talking and I wanted to clear this point with you. Florida United Church Women will have Mrs. John Caldwell, Chairman of Christian Social Relations and myself as president. Mrs Holley, represents her Denomination but of course could also represent United Church Women as she is first vice president. However her correct status is her Denomination and you will be caring for the expense of Mrs. Caldwell, Mrs. Holley and myself, is that correct?

During the Ecumenical Institute you mentioned my coming on Monday for training to lead a group, is that still in effect or is Tuesday soon enough? Of course most of us will need to come in on Monday for a Tuesday morning meeting.

Thank you for clearing this for me, Mrs. Tilly. I know you are busy getting things ready for this important meeting. My prayers and good wishes are with you.

Most sincerely,

Martha Thrasher
Martha Thrasher

Take care of yourself - we need you.

October 22, 1962

Rev. Vincent Harding
540 Houston Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Harding:

I have tried to reach you by phone, and you were out of town. I need you to be with us in the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned. This workshop will be held at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 653 Beckwith Street, S. W., on October 30-31, beginning at 10:00 a. m. the first day, with an afternoon and evening session. On the 31st, the hours are from 9:30 through lunch.

Now if you can stay all the while, we would appreciate it, but we especially need you the first morning. The theme of the Workshop is "In Our Hands" -- the trust God has given us -- in fact, stewardship, as expressed in the 8th Psalm.

There are two big issues we must face -- the first is the churches slowness in its open-door policy. One from each of our denominations will tell in a few words how much progress has been made in integrating the church. This will be a sad story. This will be directed by Reverend Jean from the National Council of Churches.

We want you, Rev. John Morris (Episcopalian), Rev. LeRoy Smith (Methodist) to listen to this and you three summarize it and give the verdict. This report will come in the afternoon so you three can eat lunch together and get it ready.

Ltr. Rev. Vincent Harding
October 22, 1962

The second thing we will face is housing, and housing is really the key to integrated churches, schools, job opportunities, etc. The reporters in the Workshop groups will report on this the next morning, October 31.

We hope you will find it convenient to do this need job. We are enclosing a sheet that will give you some information about the Fellowship of the Concerned. Women leaders of the three faiths and of course of both races will be here from our southern states.

Please extend to Mrs. Harding our invitation to come with you and be a part of us.

I am having to go to New York for three days, so please phone Mrs. Morgan, my secretary, 522-8764, and give her your reply.

Hoping you will be with us, I remain

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

METinm
Enclosure

October 22, 1962

Rev. & Mrs. LeRoy Smith
Lovejoy Memorial Methodist Church
Newnan, Georgia

Dear friends:

The Fellowship of The Concerned will meet this year at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 653 Bekowith Street, S. W., on October 30-31, beginning at 10:00 a. m. on the 30th with an afternoon and evening session. On October 30, the session will begin at 9:30 and ending after lunch.

Now I need you both. We must face the hesitancy of the church, and so, in the morning, October 30, we will have one woman from each denomination to tell of the progress made toward integration (not much of course, but maybe it will stir the conscience). This will be led by Reverend Elbert Jean, a Methodist Minister of Arkansas, now with the National Council of Churches.

I feel that there should be an appraisal of this symposium, so, I am asking Reverend LeRoy Smith, Reverend John Morris (Episcopalian), Reverend Vincent Harding (Negro minister of the Mennonite Church), to be on this committee, and make a report at the afternoon session.

You will stay at the Interdenominational Theological Center. Here's hoping to see you both on October 30.

Thanking you,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

November 6, 1962

Rev. Emilie Pitcock
881 Derrydown Way
Decatur, Georgia

Dear Miss Pitcock:

Please accept our thanks and deep appreciation for your contribution to the Workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned. Your message was the keynote to what we longed to have for our Workshop groups.

The women are anxious for a copy of your challenge to them -- so we would appreciate it if you could furnish us the manuscript of your meditation. This we will mimeograph and send to them with the gleanings.

Each year, as I more-or-less evaluate the blessings that came to me through the months, I find myself centering on the new people that I came to know, who helped along the way. Your name, of course, is on the Roster.

With a heartful of thanks to you, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

November 8, 1962

Rev. Elbert Jean
Route 5
Pine Circle Road
Franklin, Tennessee

Dear Rev. Jean:

Thank you very much for being with us and leading the panel on "The Church" -- This did help us all to realize more fully, how far behind the church really is. Some way, perhaps we do not expect it to lead in the field of action and look more and more to court action.

The ineffectiveness of the church in community action is heart-breaking, isn't it.

I am quoting a paragraph from Mrs. Rainwater's letter. "The Rev. Elbert Jean, of Nashville, was kind enough to stop by for a few minutes as he drove to Birmingham this morning, and it was a pleasure for my husband to have this chance to meet and know him. He is a most sincere, helpful person." I am glad that you two met each other -- the two fine people., that you are.

Please know we are deeply grateful to you for what you did for us in the vital question of the "Church."

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

November 8, 1962

Dr. J. J. Sneed
Pastor
Haygood Memorial Methodist Church
1015 E. Rock Springs Road, N. E.
Atlanta, 6, Georgia

Dear Dr. Sneed:

I want to thank you for your prayer at our Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned -- and the way you have spared the time always to be with us. I know how full your schedule is.

Your sermon Sunday was so worthwhile and so needed. I'll carry it with me always.

Best wishes to you and our precious treasure -- Mrs. Sneed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:nm

November 8, 1962

Rev. Will Campbell
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Rev. Campbell:

Thank you so much for bringing Rev. Elbert Jean to the deep South. He was very, very valuable to us in the Workshop of The Fellowship of The Concerned, October 30-31.

My very best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

November 8, 1962

Miss Eleanor French
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

My dear Eleanor French:

I hope that you felt repaid for sharing in another conference immediately after the one you had in New York.

If you could see the words written on the sheets of "What I will try to do," and the thanks that have come -- I am sure you would feel grateful.

It is all "In Our Hands," isn't it? Maybe our workshop will help to make the churches become the power they should be.

Thank you for coming -- I have enjoyed so much working with you.

Love and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

November 9, 1962

Miss Flora Y. Hatcher
Assistant to the Administrator
(Consumer and Community Group Relations)
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Office of the Administrator
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Miss Hatcher:

It was wonderful to have you speak to us of the Fellowship of the Concerned, and very wonderful that you spent so much time with us.

We are getting ready "The Gleanings," and these will be sent out shortly. You will see how impressed the women were when you read the summary of what they expected to do about "Housing."

Something happened these two days. The personal committments on the sheets and the notes that have come in makes you realize God was in our midst and moving among us.

Please accept the thanks of the women church leaders of social action, and especially those of us of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

November 9, 1962

Rev. Edward Driscoll
Wesley Memorial Bldg, Room 212
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Driscoll:

Thank you so much for greeting our Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned. I regret that you could not stay through it all.

There is a Board meeting of the Southern Regional Council scheduled for November 20. I am sorry that this conflicts because I would very much like to attend the Anniversary meeting, especially as I was present at the birth of the Georgia Council of Churches.

It has been so good to have had contact with you through the years.

My best wishes to you for a great meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

November 9, 1962

Mrs. A. R. Hill
111 Leathers Circle, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hill:

This is to thank you for sharing your experience in Federal Housing with your Workshop Group. I wish I might have had some one with your knowledge in each group.

Also, I wish to express my appreciation of youras president of our Bethlehem Community Center. I've never seen you the least bit fuffled with us -- or confused over the problems we face.

Please accept my thanks and admiration.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mn

November 9, 1962

Miss Cecilia Sheppard
Division of Religious Education
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Cecilia:

Thank you more than I have words to tell you for the wonderful way you tied the workshop together with spirituals and hymns.

Mr. Wiley Branton, who spoke on the Voter-Registration Program came back to the office and told them how wonderful it was that a white lady could really sing the spirituals. If I had been in the office, I would have told him, "she can sing them because she feels them."

The yearnings of many of us are best expressed by the spirituals -- you were always ready with one that filled what we were facing at that moment.

I rejoice that God gave you this talent that you could use it to translate what we were thinking -- but were unable to word.

A heartfull of love and thanks to you, from

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

November 9, 1962

Miss Janet Rogan
26 Third Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Rogan:

It was really a great experience to have you with us -- you helped very much in the briefing session of the Workshop leaders.

The women in your group were delighted with your leadership -- as we knew they would be. I hope out of all we did, the church will be stronger and more voiced at this time when we so much need the church to lead us.

Mrs. Henry deGive was splendid. I have been several times to the meetings of Georgia Council of Catholic Women, and knew of their work -- but she gave me and others a new insight into the work being done. She is a precious woman.

Love and thanks to you from one who is glad to have met and worked with you on October 30-31.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

November 12, 1962

The Rev. Vincent Brannon
Chairman
Arch Diocessan Commission on
Christian Unity
Marist College
335 Ivy Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Father Brannon:

It is difficult for me to find words adequate to express my thanks and appreciation of your great help in the Workshop of The Fellowship of The Concerned, of the Southern Regional Council.

Several of the women expressed to me their delight in meeting you, and to you, I am passing on their thanks for your message, and especially for you giving some insight in the great Council going on now at Rome.

I am wondering if you have something that has been printed on this program of Christian Unity, if so, please send me a copy. I am enclosing postage.

Miss Janet Rogan was most valuable to us. Her leadership of a Workshop group was excellent. Miss Rogan and Mrs. Henry deGive had not been with us before. They both were splendid. Mrs. Correll and Mrs. Gunning for several years have helped push us along. Please accept our thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

November 12, 1962

Dr. Master Wynn
President
Gammon Theological Seminary
653 Beckwith Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Wynn:

Because I am late with the "thank you" note I have had in my heart to write you, please know the appreciation of all you did for us of the Fellowship of The Concerned of the Southern Regional Council, it is really increasing everytime we look back on it.

The Gammon Building is beautiful and for the first time in years we found plenty of room for our discussion groups.

There were many courtesies shown us -- for instance, one of the women needed to make phone calls and did not have correct change, your janitor saw her consternation and handed her a dime. I felt that I could not walk up the hill to the dormitory, and your night watchman went and got his car and took me there.

The meals were splendid -- the men in the School helped us to be quickly served, and seemed glad to have us. These are just a few of the things done for us. We are grateful for all of it.

It was a great pleasure to me to have the women at I.T.C. showing what Christian Unity can be.

The best of wishes to you and Mrs. Wynn and the children you have taken in your heart and your abode.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

December 18, 1962

Miss Thelma Stevens
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Thelma:

Is my face red! When I wrote to you I never once thought of the tribute you paid Dorothy Tilly (however, Mr. Tilly would have loved it), I can't send that out. What I needed was the last part of your speech as you appraised the Workshop.

I was having quite a time trying to get Dr. Harding's evaluation of the panel speeches on the church. I have it now and am enclosing a copy.

Thelma, you have led all of us in a great way. You have strengthened me all along the way. If I had not have been so amazed, I could have told that group how you had helped all of us.

I am at a loss to know how to push or help the women who were with us, carry over into the local church what they faced in the Workshop. I am really frustrated.

Dr. Lester Rumble came to see me at home yesterday and we talked at length about it all. He is doing some real strong work along this line. He has several churches whose members are trying to sell to Negroes.

One puzzling thing is our Mayor Allen and the City Council are planning a "buffer zone" in one section against "Negroes encroachment" -- which is of course against the law. But, back to my problem. I am sending Dr. Harding's speech and an accompanying letter right after Christmas, to our women, and am including quite a number of ministers.

Ltr, Thelma Stevens
475 Riverside Dr.
New York 27, N. Y.
December 18, 1962

Eben is driving Miriam and me to Clayton on Saturday of this week, so we will have our Christmas there. Except Mr. Tilly will not be with us this year. How he loved it!

I hope you will be with some of your family. The family makes Christmas.

A heart full of love and admiration to you.

Lovingly yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm
Enclosure

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Dear symposium participant:

Please be at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 653 Beckwith Street, S. W., New Building, at 9:15 a. m., Tuesday, October 30, for a briefing session.

This discussion will be led by Rev. Elbert Jean from the National Council of Churches. Your reports must be concise as many will report. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

The Church

Baptist - Mrs. Fred Patterson

Presby - Mrs Walsh

Presby - Mrs. Ben Russell

Christian Church -

Episcopal Church

Methodist -
Mrs. Robert Wilcox
16 Minnehaha Place
Chattanooga 5, Tenn

N. Baptist
Mrs Grace C. Haley
429 Northwest 16th Ave
Ft Lauderdale Fla

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

group leaders
Mrs Mrs Harry Strauss
Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner
Mrs Abbie Jackson

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Final plans for the Workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned. The sessions will be held at the new building of Interdenominational Theological Center, 653 Beckwith Street, S. W. auditorium. This is about a block from Bumstead Hall and the Atlanta University Dining Room. Schedule is as follows:

OCTOBER 30 -- Registration - 9:30 -- 10:00 A. M.
Morning Session -- 10:00 - 12:30 p. m.
Lunch - - 12:45
Afternoon Session -- 2:00 - 5:00 p. m.
Dinner -- 6:00 p. m.
Evening Session -- 7:30 - 9:30 p. m.

OCTOBER 31 -- 9:30 - 12:30 p. m. Followed by lunch. This year your travel and hotel bill will be taken care of, but because of shortage of funds you are asked to take care of your meals.

The General Theme --"In Our Hands" -- "God's Trust in Us."

We will consider -- The Church for one thing, with a symposium led by Rev. Elbert Jean, National Council of Churches; Miss Hatcher, of the National Housing Authority will be with us. We have some able leaders for our Workshop Groups.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

PLEASE FILL OUT AND RETURN TO ME BY OCTOBER 15. This is absolutely necessary in order for us to make reservations for you and have your program and packet ready.

You have a choice of staying at the: (Please check one)

1. Atlanta University, Bumstead Hall_____
   Meals for the two (2) days will cost you only $4.00

2. Piedmont Hotel_____

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

The Southwide Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, which is to be held at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 653 Beckwith Street.

Dates -- October 30 - - Three sessions, 10:00 to 12:30 2:00 to 5:00 p. m., and 7:30 to 9:30 p. m.

October 31 - - 9:30 through lunch.

General Theme -- "In Our Hands" -- The Trust God has given us"

Workshop groups will be led by able leaders. We hope you will be with us. Catholic women have much to share with the groups. We need you. Please let us hear from you by October 15, so we may have your packet and program ready.

Lunch 75¢, and dinner $1.00, will be served at Atlanta University's Dining Hall, on Chestnut Street.

Looking forward to seeing you October 30-31.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

united church women

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIVERSIDE 9-2200

J. IRWIN MILLER, PRESIDENT REV. ROY G. ROSS, GENERAL SECRETARY

MRS. THEODORE F. WALLACE
CHAIRMAN

MRS. W. MURDOCH MACLEOD
GENERAL DIRECTOR

April 10, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

In reply to your letter asking about dates for the Fellowship of the Concerned, I have cleared with Thelma Stevens and found what she has already sent to you. Using the dates she suggested Carrie Meares and I would react as follows:

October	17-18	Not good since this comes immediately before our National October Committee meetings.
	~~29~~ 30-31	Second choice
November	13-14	First choice
	26-27	Possible but presume this is pretty late to effect program this year.

Let me use the opportunity of this note to you to put in writing what I said to you in Atlanta during my last visit, namely that we hope very much that you will serve as consultant to the Christian Social Relations Advisory Committee in this triennium. The next meeting of the National Committee will be at the time of the October National Committee meetings, the dates of which are October 22-24. Your being part of the group will be a great joy and strength to us all.

My love to you,

Affectionately,

Eleanor

Eleanor French
Director
Christian Social Relations

EF:as

Board of Women's Work

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A PONCE DE LEON AVENUE, N.E., ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

EVELYN L. GREEN, *Executive Secretary*
MRS. MABLE C. MORLEY, *Director of Leadership Education*

April 23, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Today I have replied to a letter received from Mrs. Morgan, your Secretary, letting her know that the dates October 30,31 are clear on my calendar, and I have now reserved them for the 1962 Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop.

In my letter to Mrs. Morgan I listed the names of the eleven persons who make up our Staff Council who might be available to attend all or a part of the Workshop.

Mrs. J. G. Walsh of our Staff is now Director of Christian Community Action, and I am going to ask her to supply the names to you this year from the Presbyterian Church, U.S. for you to invite to the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop. I know you will enjoy working with Mrs. Walsh (Edith). If I can be of any help in any of the planning, of course, I will be glad to do whatever I can, and I do plan to attend the Workshop. Edith is available at the same address that I am, 341-A Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 8, Georgia.

With every good wish.

Yours sincerely,

Mable Morley

Mrs. Mable C. Morley

MCM/s

cc: Edith Walsh

50 years 1912 1962 of SERVICE STUDY

Board of Women's Work

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A PONCE DE LEON AVENUE, N.E., ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

EVELYN L. GREEN, *Executive Secretary*
MRS. MABLE C. MORLEY, *Director of Leadership Education*

April 23, 1962

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsytg Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Morgan:

Your letter of April 19 has been received. Mrs. Tilly checked with me over the telephone about the dates October 30,31 for the 1962 Fellowship of the Concerned meeting. These dates are clear on my calendar and have been reserved for this Workshop.

The following persons are members of our Staff Council and might be available for attending all or a part of the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop:

Miss Evelyn Green, Executive Secretary
Mrs. Ben Knox, Director of Records and Research
Miss Mary Quidor, Treasurer
Mrs. Esther Anderson, Business Manager
Mrs. H. Q. Huie, Director of Literature Distribution
Mrs. H. Kerr Taylor, Director of Personal Faith and Family Life
Mrs. J. G. Walsh, Director of Christian Community Action
Miss Janie McCutchen, Director of Ecumenical Relations and Mission
Mrs. Mable C. Morley, Director of Leadership Education
Miss Pearl Weathers, Director of Interpretation and Promotion
Miss Elizabeth Lollar, Field Representative

All of the above persons may be addressed at the Board of Women's Work, Presbyterian Church, U.S., 341-A Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 8, Georgia.

Sincerely yours,

Mable Morley
Mrs. Mable C. Morley

MCM/s

50 years 1912 1962 of SERVICE STUDY

April 19, 1962

Mrs. Mable C. Morley
Director
Leadership Education Department
Board of Women's Work
Presbyterian Church, U. S.
341-A Ponce DeLeon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 8, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Morley:

As you know, in the fall of each year, we sponsor the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop, here in Atlanta.

The dates for the Workshop this year are October 30-31. Please let me know your availability for these dates.

To facilitate our planning more adequately, we would appreciate receiving a recent list of officers and members in your department.

An early reply will be highly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Secretary to Mrs. Tilly

/nm

united church women

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

mrs. theodore f. wallace
chairman

mrs. w. murdoch macleod
general director

April 28, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Many thanks through you to Mrs. Morgan for sending the dates of the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop. I have October 30-31 surrounded with red pencil.

I am enclosing the lists at Mrs. Morgan's suggestion. I was not quite clear from her letter just what you want me to include, but assume that it is the chairmen of Christian Social Relations of the southern states and the presidents. Do let me know if this is not correct.

My love to you, and when you have occasion to write next, do give me your evaluation of the Georgia UCW Workshop. I have had very favorable descriptions and comments from Mrs. Weston and Mrs. Milner.

Affectionately,

Eleanor (S)

Eleanor French
Director
Christian Social Relations

EF:as
enc.

by Ira Hirschmann

In Hitler's last mad drive to exterminate the Jews, 250,000 terrified men, women and children were helpless. One man, unknown then, acted to save them. Today, he is known and loved by millions.

The woman on my right was engrossed in sprightly table talk with the man on her right.

We had been introduced as we sat down to dinner, but her name had escaped me in the wave of chatter and the shuffling of chairs. I did quickly notice, however, the evident modishness of her dress and the smartness of her grooming. "Chic" was the word, and to a middle-aged romantic she was immediately designated as a Continental.

I had no desire to eavesdrop, but snatches of her conversation reached me, disconnected words and phrases which despite their vagueness suddenly interested me. There was something in the

one man's humanity

BASED ON AN EPISODE IN TO KNOCK IS TO ENTER, BY MR. HIRSCHMANN, TO BE PUBLISHED IN THE FALL BY DAVID MCKAY COMPANY, INC.

way she flattened certain vowels and thickened her consonants which hinted at an accent that seemed to have meaning to me.

When, finally, she turned toward me, I reintroduced myself and put the question: "Are you from Europe?"

She laughed at the naïveté of my question and answered, "Couldn't you tell by my accent? I'm from Hungary, from Budapest."

"Were you there during the war?" I asked.

"Oh, yes, for most of it."

I remarked that I knew something of the hardships suffered by the people there at that critical time, adding, "Especially the Jews."

By this time our conversation was no longer the typical chatter one exchanges with dinner partners. Her face clouded over with an expression close to pain as she quietly told me, "I should know. I was one of them."

"But you did get out before the end?"

"Yes," she said after a

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moment's hesitation. "Yes, I got out, at the last moment. But if I hadn't been baptized that night, in a bomb shelter, I might not be here today, talking to you."

The words were simply said, but the impact struck me with more force than she could have expected. In that moment I was transported as if in a filmed flashback to another period, years earlier and thousands of miles away.

I was aboard a tiny excursion boat on the Sea of Marmora which separates the Aegean and Black Seas and is practically landlocked by the two halves of Turkey. It was late in the summer of 1944; my companion was Gilbert Simond, the International Red Cross representative in Turkey and we were on our way to the tiny island of Biuyacada to see Monsignor Angelo Roncalli, the Apostolic Delegate of the Vatican in the Middle East.

At that time I was serving as a special envoy for the War Refugee Board, which had been established by President Roosevelt with the express purpose of saving lives wherever and whenever possible. My personal mission was to extricate refugees from the Balkans.

In the months that I had been in Turkey, we had been able to force the closing of the concentration camp at Transnistria in Rumania. Ships of all sizes and descriptions were leaving the Black Sea port of Costanza, loaded with people fleeing to escape the fate suffered by so many others—being driven, in turn, into ghettos, concentration camps and finally the extermination centers. And the flow of these refugees across Turkey and Syria to safety in Palestine had grown to sizable proportions.

But all of us concerned with saving the remnants of European Jewry were horrified and frustrated by the news that was leaking out of Hungary. The reports that came to us from underground sources would have been unbelievable if we had not by that time learned at first hand of the actual existence of the gas chambers, the crematoria and the other implements of Hitler's savage and unrelenting war against the Jews.

We learned that the Nazis, under the personal direction of the infamous Adolph Eichmann, goaded by the knowledge that the tides of the war were racing against them, were determined to complete their grisly task of extermination, their "final solution to the Jewish problem." They sought to accomplish in weeks in Hungary what had taken years in Germany, Austria, Poland and the rest.

The statistics of the charnel house tell their own tragic story. From April 10, 1944, to June 28 of the same year, 516,075 Jews of all ages had been transported from Hungary to Auschwitz and systematically slaughtered. In slightly more than two months all Hungary outside of Budapest had been rendered "*Judenrein*"—free of Jews—the most devastating mass annihilation in the history of mankind.

We didn't know all the grim statistics then, but we did know that the time for rescue had shrunk to a few precious weeks. Something drastic had to be done immediately to save the Jewish population of Budapest—approximately a quarter of a million terrified and helpless men, women and children.

In desperation I turned to Gilbert Simond, a man of great good will who had been instrumental in the saving of thousands of lives. Simond was an influential Catholic layman and I begged him to prevail upon his friends in the church to help us in the name of humanity. He suggested that we see Monsignor Roncalli and arranged a meeting.

The home of the Pope's highest emissary in the Middle East was a spacious old house sitting high atop a hill. Hidden from below by lush foliage, it nevertheless afforded a stunning view of the sea in all directions. Immediately on our arrival on the island, we had been ushered into a well-appointed room where we waited for Monsignor Roncalli.

After a brief wait, he entered, a short rotund man whose good humor was immediately evident in his eyes, twinkling under his black skullcap. Warmly and graciously, he welcomed us in Italian, bidding us be seated. As we did so, I offered a silent prayer of thanks for the Italian I had learned some years back: it established an easy contact between us.

Once Simond and I were comfortably settled, our host turned to a small cupboard from which he took a bottle of red wine. After admiring its color, he poured out three glasses and insisted upon drinking to our health. Anxious about my mission, I discreetly tried to introduce the reason for my visit. But Monsignor Roncalli brushed me aside, saying, "That will come later. First we must enjoy the view, the conversation and the wine."

His personality was so radiant and his conviviality so genuine that I was warmed by his spirit and for the moment let the purpose of my presence escape me. In fact, it wasn't until the dregs of a second bottle had been downed that he would permit any thought of practical discussion. Then, suddenly, he announced, "*Dunque, cominciamo* . . . now, let us begin."

Monsignor Roncalli listened intently as I outlined the perilous plight of the Jews in Hungary. I cited the meager statistics available to me and repeated several of the eyewitness accounts I had received from underground operatives. Then he pulled his chair closer and quietly asked, "Do you have any contact with people in Hungary who will cooperate?"

After my affirmative reply, he hesitated a few moments before asking, "Do you think the Jews there would be willing to undergo baptism ceremonies?"

Not prepared for this suggestion, I equivocated a bit and said that I could only guess or assume that if it meant saving their lives, they would be ready to do so gratefully. I added, "I know what I would do."

He went on to say that he had reason to believe that some baptismal certificates had already been issued by nuns to Hungarian Jews. The Nazis had recognized these as credentials and had permitted their holders to leave the country.

We agreed that he would communicate with his representatives in Hungary and that I would get in touch with our underground connections to arrange for either large-scale baptism of Jews or, at least, certificates to be issued to women and children. It would be up to those who were baptized to decide later whether they would wish to remain in the church or "go their way."

The proposal and agreement had been accomplished in what seemed like a few minutes. It was clear to me that Monsignor Roncalli had considered this plan before my arrival and that he had created an atmosphere in which to test my credentials, my discretion and my ability to put the operation into effect practically. I had no doubt that the wheel would soon be set in motion in Hungary for "Operation Baptism" under the auspices and with the mercy of the Catholic Church.

Simond and I were silent as we sailed back to Istanbul in the little ferryboat. Somehow we were awed by the scope and direction of the events of the afternoon, arrived at so simply and without inhibition, but so heavy with possibilities. In our silence, each of us was taking stock of the implications of our compact. We were approaching twilight, and as our little steamer skimmed over the water the lengthening shadows stretched ahead like moving phantoms. Could this be a portent of the lifting of a curtain to reveal a new freedom for those whose lives depended on our help?

Try as I may, I have not been able to ascertain exactly how many Hungarian Jews were saved or had their lives made easier with those baptismal certificates. They must number in the thousands. And all this thanks to the compassionate intervention of the benevolent Apostolic Delegate to the Middle East.

No other personality I met during those troubled times in Turkey had more sharply etched himself into my memory. How often I have recalled our meeting and remembered his warmth, dynamism and sympathy. It was not within the purview of his pastoral duties to be involved in the rescue of Jews. His action was proof of his humane concern for the welfare of all people.

Is it any wonder that I was moved to tears when in 1958 I read the headlines which announced to the world that Angelo Roncalli had been elected the ruler of the Catholic Church and was from that date to be known as Pope John XXIII? END

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. E. L. GLOSSBRENNER
PRESIDENT
8213 BROOKFIELD ROAD, RICHMOND 27, VIRGINIA

May 1, 1962

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Secretary to Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Fellowship of the Concerned,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth St., N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Morgan:

Thank you for sending me the dates of the Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned. I have already circled October 30, 31, 1962 on my calendar.

Because it is against the policy of the Woman's Division for any member or society to release listings of officers and addresses I am unable to comply with your request for such a roster. If, however, you wish literature or information distributed to members of our executive committee, including the 16 conference presidents and secretaries and chairmen of Christian Social Relations we shall be glad to assist you through our jurisdiction personnel in correspondence with these conference officers and chairmen.

You may either address materials to :

Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox
16 Minnehahda Pl.,
Chattanooga 5, Tenn.

or to me, Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner, address given above.

Please know we are happy to cooperate in any way we may to help in the continuing effectiveness of the workshop.

Sincerely,

Dorothy W. Glossbrenner

Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner

cc: Mrs. Wilcox
Miss Harriet Fralix

The United Christian Missionary Society

Disciples of Christ

A. DALE FIERS, *president*
MRS. MAE YOHO WARD, *vice-president*
MISS MAYBLE M. EPP, *secretary*
FRANCIS W. PAYNE, *treasurer*

A Board of Missions and Education • 222 SOUTH DOWNEY AVENUE • FLEETWOOD 7-1166 • INDIANAPOLIS 7, INDIANA

May 1, 1962

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Secretary to Mrs. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Morgan:

Enclosed you will find the list of Presidents and Secretaries for Christian Women's Fellowship Groups in the southern states. We are very happy to send it to you and hope that a representative group may be able to attend the October meeting.

May I suggest that you also send invitations to two of the national staff - Miss Helen Spaulding, Executive Secretary and Miss Lois Mothershed, National Director - both in the Department of Christian Women's Fellowship, The United Christian Missionary Society, 222 South Downey Avenue, Indianapolis 7, Indiana.

Please extend my best wishes to Mrs. Tilly.

Sincerely,

Lewis H. Deer

Lewis H. Deer

Division of Church Life and Work

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN ACTION AND COMMUNITY SERVICE

Barton Hunter, Executive Secretary • **Executive Directors:** Mrs. Ruth E. Milner, Social Welfare Services; Lewis H. Deer, Social Education and Action; Robert A. Fangmeier, Joint Program • **Administrative Assistant:** Mrs. Virginia M. Clarke • **Departmental Associate:** Miss Loisanne Buchanan • **Coordinator of Relief and Rehabilitation Services:** Miss Ella L. Williams

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
613
WITHERSPOON BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.
Telephone: PENNYPACKER 5-6722

May 16, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I was glad indeed to have the letter from Mrs. Morgan about the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop in Atlanta October 30 and 31.

As in previous years, Mrs. Ben Russell of Greeneville, Tennessee will be our contact person. We are sending her a list of regional leaders in the women's program. We are also asking the area secretaries of the Women's Department to suggest persons who should be invited.

Hopefully, Mrs. Russell will be attending. To my regret, it will not be possible for me to participate because of a conflict in travel dates.

You know Jean Russell and I have been working on the special committee on Assignment: Race set up within the Department of Christian Social Relations of United Church Women. Workshops are being held in different parts of the country. We hope and pray that these are having some effect. Certainly the work of your division and the Southern Regional Council has been most significant. We are eternally grateful for your wise leadership and stimulating power.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Margaret E. Kuhn

Margaret E. Kuhn

MEK:lm

Office of Church and Society

Holston Presbyterial Society

SYNOD OF MID-SOUTH
United PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U. S. A.

824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee
May 22, 1962

Dear Mrs. Morgan:

I have received from our Philadelphia office a letter requesting me to send you names of women to be invited to the 1962 Fellowship of Concerned meeting. In the past I have sent Mrs. Tilly a first list and if she had refusals I have supplied other names, which I shall be glad to do this time.

Ltr sent 6-4-62

Mrs. T. L. Illery, Route 5, Box 111, Sumter, S.C.
Mrs. Mable McLean, Box 246, Carthage, N.C.
Mrs. B. Y. Spare, 340 S. Ridgewood, Daytona Beach, Fla
Mrs. J. M. Cochran, 1637 E. Second St., Maysville, Ky.
Mrs. R. A. Brewer, Olive Branch, Miss.
Mrs. L. G. Parham, 812 Cardova Dr., Atlanta, Ga.
Mrs. Prezella Ellis, 614 Cheatham St., Dyersburg, Tenn.
Mrs. Hugh Wilder, 2300 So. M. Street, Ft. Smith, Ark

I shall plan to attend if I am able to do so and shall be glad to assist in any capacity.

Sincerely,

Jean Russell

Mrs. Ben Russell

May 23, 1962

Mrs. Mable C. Morley
Director
Leadership Education Department
Board of Women's Work
Presbyterian Church, U. S.
341-A Ponce de Leon Avenue, NE
Atlanta 8, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Morley:

As soon as possible, please give us the names of the Presbyterians to be invited from the southern states, especially those working directly in human relations.

I am sorry you were not with us in our meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. ROBERT L. WILCOX
SECRETARY OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
16 MINNEKAHDA PLACE
CHATTANOOGA 5, TENNESSEE

May 23, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Below you will find listed the names and addresses of some of the newly elected Secretaries of Christian Social Relations to be included for the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop:

Louisville Conference: Mrs. Thomas N. Tucker
Marion, Kentucky

Memphis Conference: Mrs. Walter E. Mieschke, Sr.
Murray, Kentucky

Mississippi Conference: Mrs. Karl Stouss
Azalea Drive
Jackson, Mississippi

We will send you the information about the Kentucky Conference as soon as we receive it.

It was good to get a glimpse of you on the platform at the Assembly.

Sincerely,
Margaret Wilcox

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 24, 1962

Send to checked persons

NOTICE RE: Fall Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Dear Friend:

Please circle the dates October 30-31 on your calendar for the Annual Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned, to be held in Atlanta, Georgia, this year.

Let us know if you plan to attend so that further information may be sent to you later.

We have planned to meet at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 671 Beckwith Street, S. W. There are funds available for travel and room accommodations, but not for meals.

If you are not in office at this time, in your organization, please forward this letter to your successor.

An early reply will be highly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. ROBERT L. WILCOX
SECRETARY OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
16 MINNEKAHDA PLACE
CHATTANOOGA 5, TENNESSEE

May 29, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Lilly
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs Lilly:

The Kentucky Conference Secretary of Christian Social Relations is Mrs. H. B. Carr
Pine Crest Apartments
Paris, Kentucky.

I believe this completes our list. When I have the list mimeographed, I will mail you a copy.

Sincerely,
Margaret Wilcox.

Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions of The Methodist Church

CABLE: MISSIONS NEW YORK
FOURTEENTH FLOOR
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
RIVERSIDE 9-0700

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

THELMA STEVENS
Executive Secretary
MARGARET R. BENDER
Executive Secretary
THERESSA HOOVER
Associate Secretary

May 31, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

How wonderful to have your letter of May 23 and the good news that you are discarding your wheel chair and walking on your own power. I doubt if anyone can be more sympathetic and more understanding than I. Please be careful and don't stretch your luck too far. I mean by that, don't try to run yet!

It was such a joy for all of us to see you and have you in attendance at the Assembly. I know that you did it under great strain and stress. I am still heartsick that I did not get a chance to see Miriam at the Assembly. I suppose with some 10 to 13 thousand women milling around that for me to see her or for her to see me was almost like finding a needle in a hay stack. In any case, please give her my love and tell her how sorry I am that I did not get to see her. I was equally disappointed because there was no opportunity for a visit with you. The Assembly is never a place where I have much time to do the things that I so much enjoy doing.

I am asking Julia to enclose with this letter a list of the Secretaries of Christian Social Relations of the Central Jurisdiction. This, of course, will include the Secretaries from Arkansas and Louisiana, since those states also are a part of the Central Jurisdiction.

With my love to you, I am

Hurriedly yours,

Thelma

Thelma Stevens

TS:jc
Enc.

SYNODICAL SOCIETY OF MID-SOUTH
United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee
June 1, 1962

Mrs. Nobbie Morgan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Morgan:

I have received the enclosed supplementary list of women to be considered for invitation to the Fellowship of Concerned meeting. This comes from our National Women's Department, and the other list was from our social action department.

If the other invitations have been extended, you may have to use this as a fill in. However, the UPWSA women have never been adequately represented. At the last minute, they seem not to come, so you would be safe to extend some overlapping invitations.

Sincerely,

Jean R.

Mrs. Ben Russell

COPY

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

To Margaret Kuhn Date May 18, 1962

From Mildred Board Grubbs C. C. To: Emily Gibbes

Subject Fellowship of the concerned meeting - October 30-31, 1962

In response to your memo regarding Women's Division of the Southern Regional Council, we have several names to add to the list:

Mrs. Robert Elly
1509 - 29th Street, W.
Birmingham, Alabama

Mrs. M. E. Mansell
Box 120
Rockwood, Tenn.

Mrs. Tyler E. Glenn
4032 - 35th Avenue, N.
Birmingham 7, Alabama

Mrs. Evelyn Gordon
Netherlands Drive
Raacule Village, Route 5
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mrs. Neola Reese
819 College Street
Knoxville, Tennessee

5

The first three names on the list are key leaders in Mid-South Synodical. Mrs. Evelyn Gordon is a Negro woman who is a minister's wife in Knoxville and also a member of the Executive Committee of the United Presbyterian Women. Mrs. Reese is a Negro woman, a minister's wife, and also a key leader in UPW program.

We are grateful for the opportunity of adding these names.

Ch Fund 6-4-62

STATE CHAIRMEN OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
in the Twelve Southern States

ALABAMA..... Mrs. A. J. McLemore, 242 Felder Ave., Montgomery

ARKANSAS..... Mrs. J. W. Rainwater, 1724 Green Valley, Fayetteville

FLORIDA..... Mrs. David M. Anderson, 5000 14th Ave., N., St. Petersburg

~~GEORGIA..... Mrs. C. M. Weston, 2052 Edinburgh Terrace, Atlanta~~

KENTUCKY..... Miss Mary Lena Wisehart, 25 West Villa Place, Fort Thomas

LOUISIANA..... Mrs. R. R. Eckart, 4547 Mark Twain Dr., New Orleans 26

MISSISSIPPI..... Mrs. J. W. Patrick, Jr., Brandon

NORTH CAROLINA..... Miss Ruth Wilson, 1121 Harvey St., Raleigh — w/d

SOUTH CAROLINA..... Mrs. L. C. M. Smythe, 10 Bedons Alley, Charleston

TENNESSEE..... Mrs. Ben Russell, 824 Tusculum Rd., Greeneville

TEXAS..... Mrs. R. G. Hunt, 926 Linda Lou, San Antonio

VIRGINIA..... Miss Charlotte Crawley, 715 Furnace Rd., Harrisonburg

STATE PRESIDENTS OF UNITED CHURCH WOMEN
in the Twelve Southern States

ALABAMA..... Mrs. R. D. Elly, 1509 29th St., West, Birmingham 8

ARKANSAS..... Mrs. David Driver, 1410 Evans, Arkadelphia

FLORIDA..... Mrs. W. W. Thrasher, 10 S.W. 12th St., Ft. Lauderdale

GEORGIA..... Mrs. Ben Milner, 58 Sheridan Drive, Atlanta 5 — Mrs. Enlow

KENTUCKY..... Mrs. A. C. Johnson, 766 Covington Ave., Bowling Green

LOUISIANA..... Mrs. Jimmie Simmons, 659 McCormick St., Shreveport

MISSISSIPPI..... Mrs. S. C. Meisburg, 1422 Lyncrest Ave., Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA..... Mrs. Harold J. Dudley, 2726 Anderson Dr., Raleigh

SOUTH CAROLINA..... Mrs. Harold L. Timmerman, 1002 Fairfield Ave., North Augusta

TENNESSEE..... Mrs. Harry C. Spencer, 610 West View Ave., Nashville

TEXAS..... Mrs. Luther Holcomb, 6732 Lakeshore Dr., Dallas 14

VIRGINIA..... Mrs. J. Paul Gruver, 1113 Skymont Rd., Staunton

23

united church women

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIVERSIDE 9-2200

J. IRWIN MILLER, PRESIDENT REV. ROY G. ROSS, GENERAL SECRETARY

MRS. THEODORE F. WALLACE
CHAIRMAN

MRS. W. MURDOCH MACLEOD
GENERAL DIRECTOR

July 16, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I found myself thinking about the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned this morning. I know you will like an up-to-date list of Christian Social Relations chairmen and presidents from the twelve southern states. I remember from our telephone conversation that in your original letter to these people you mention the fact that if they were no longer in office, the invitation should automatically go to their successor.

We shall want to hold a meeting as we have in the last two years for the twenty-four hours immediately following your meeting. We shall want to include, as last year, a third person from any state whose president or Christian Social Relations chairman, together, does not constitute an interracial group.

We shall, of course, need to work with the state on the question of expense for any people not already invited to your meeting. It would be my judgment that as far as possible we would want the same Negro women to represent the states as came to our meeting last year if this is agreeable to the state president.

I should, therefore, appreciate your indicating to me which of the following women will be included in your meeting so that we will know what additional arrangements we will need to make expense-wise.

Callier, Mrs. N.B., 850 Fort Wood St., Chattanooga, Tenn.
Clark, Mrs. L. B., 704 East 32½, Houston 9, Tex.
Haughton, Mrs. G. R., 1051 Deepark St., Jackson 3, Miss.
Holley, Mrs. Susie C., 429 Northwest 16th Ave., Fort Lauderdale, Fla.
~~Jarnagin, Mrs. D. M., 1010 Smithfield St., Raleigh, N. C.~~
Parks, Mrs. Eva B., 502 Rockwell St., S.W., Atlanta 10, Ga.
Washington, Mrs. C. G., 1216 North 8th, Fort Smith, Ark. (she is now state C&R chairman)
White, Mrs. G. B., Post Office Box 795, Clarksdale, Miss.

Many thanks to you, and I do hope all goes well with you this summer.

Affectionately,

Eleanor

Eleanor French

EF:as
enc.

P.S. We have just received Judge Kenyon for UCW October Committee meetings. She asked if you had suggested her name — whether you would approve! I said I was sure you would. You carried great weight!!!

STATE PRESIDENTS - UCW - IN THE TWELVE SOUTHERN STATES

ALABAMA..... Mrs. R. D. Elly, 1509 29th Street, West, Birmingham 8
ARKANSAS..... Mrs. David Driver, 1410 Evans, Arkadelphia
FLORIDA..... Mrs. W. M. Thrasher, 10 S.W. 12th St., Fort Lauderdale
GEORGIA ..... Mrs. Ben ~~Milner~~, 58 Sheridan Dr., Atlanta 5
KENTUCKY..... Mrs. Norvell E. Wicker, 2212 Douglass Blvd., Louisville 5
LOUISIANA ..... Mrs. Jimmie Simmons, 659 McCormick St., Shreveport
MISSISSIPPI..... Mrs. S. C. Meisburg, 1422 Lyncrest Ave., Jackson
NORTH CAROLINA....Mrs. Harold J. Dudley, 2726 Anderson Dr., Raleigh
SOUTH CAROLINA... Mrs. Harold L. Timmerman, 1002 Fairfield Ave., North Augusta
TENNESSEE..... Mrs. Harry C. Spencer, 610 West View Ave., Nashville
TEXAS..... Mrs. Luther Holcomb, P. O. Box 9742, Dallas 14
VIRGINIA..... Mrs. J. Paul Gruver, 1113 Skymont Rd., Staunton

State Christian Social Relations Chairman - UCW In the twelve Southern States

ALABAMA .....Mrs. A. J. McLemore, 242 Felder Ave., Montgomery
~~ARKANSAS .....Mrs. C. G. Washington, 1216 North Eighth, Fort Smith~~
FLORIDA .....Mrs. John H. Caldwell, 513 Lake Bonnie Drive, Lakeland
~~GEORGIA .....Mrs. C. M. Weston, 2052 Edinburgh Terrace, Atlanta~~
KENTUCKY .....Mrs. J. Ward Reese, Millersburg
LOUISIANA .....Mrs. R. R. Eckart, 4547 Mark Twain Drive, New Orleans 26
MISSISSIPPI .....Mrs. J. W. Patrick, Jr., Brandon
NORTH CAROLINA ...Miss Ruth Wilson, 1121 Harvey St., Raleigh
SOUTH CAROLINA ...(not appointed yet)
TENNESSEE .....Mrs. Ben Russell, 624 Tusculum Rd., Greeneville
TEXAS .....Mrs. R. G. Hunt, 926 Linda Lou, San Antonio
VIRGINIA.....Miss Charlotte Crawley, 715 Furnace Rd., Harrisonburg

JUL 17 1962

ALA. -	President	Mrs. R. D. Elly, 1509 29th St., West, Birmingham 8
	CSR Chairman	- NO
	3rd Person	
ARK. -	President	Mrs. David Driver, 1410 Evans, Arkadelphia
	CSR Chairman	Mrs. C. G. Washington, 1216 North Eighth, Fort Smith
	3rd Person	
FLA. -	President	Mrs. W. W. Thrasher, 10 S.W. 12th St., Fort Lauderdale
	CSR Chairman	Mrs. John H. Caldwell, 513 Lake Bonnie Dr., Lakeland
	3rd Person	Mrs. Susie Holley, 429 N.W. 16th Ave., Ft. Lauderdale
GA. -	President	Mrs. Ben Milner, 59 Sheridan Dr., Atlanta 5
	CSR Chairman	Mrs. C. M. Weston, 2052 Edinburgh Terrace, Atlanta
	3rd Person	Mrs. Eva Parks, 502 Rockwell St., S.W. Atlanta 10
KY -	President	Mrs. Norvell E. Wicker, 2212 Douglass Blvd., Louisville 5
	CSR Chairman	~~Miss Mary Lena Wisehart~~, 25 West Villa Place, Fort Thomas(substg)
	3rd person	to be appointed
LA -	President	Mrs. Jimmie Simmons, 659 McCormick St., Shreveport
	CSR Chairman	Mrs. R. R. Eckart, 4701 General Early Dr., New Orleans 26
	3rd Person	Mrs. J. A. Thornton, 2746 Abbie St., Shreveport — / —
MISS. -	President	Mrs. Wallis J. Schutt, 955 Pecan Blvd., Jackson 9 (substg)
	CSR Chairman	Mrs. Roy Hulan (substg)
	Third Person	Mrs. Haughton (stubstg) Negro
N. C. -	President	Mrs. Harold J. Dudley, 2726 Anderson Dr., Raleigh
	CSR Chairman	* Miss Ruth Wilson, 1121 Harvey St., Raleigh
	3rd Person	to be appointed (probably Mrs. R. E. Ransom) — Negro
S. C. -	President	Mrs. Harold L. Timmerman, 1002 Fairfield Ave., North Augusta
	CSR Chairman	no chairman appointed in state as yet
	3rd Person	? Mrs. Robert K. Gordon, Box 226, Dillon, S.C. Negro
TENN. -	President	Mrs. Harry C. Spencer, 610 West View Ave., Nashville
	CSR Chairman	Mrs. Ben Russell, 624 Tusculum Rd. Greeneville
	3rd Person	to be appointed
TEX. -	President	Mrs. Luther Holcomb, PO Box 9742, Dallas 14
	CSR Chairman	Mrs. R. G. Hunt, 926 Linda Lou, San Antonio
	3rd Person	to be appointed
VA. -	President	Mrs. J. Paul Gruver, 1113 Skymont Rd., Staunton
	CSR Chairman	Mrs. Ralph Singleton, 1841 University Circle, Charlottsville
	3rd Person	NO

*Mrs. Paul Beatty new CSR chairman will come also. Miss Wilson will pay her own expenses. Has written Mrs. Tilly regarding this.

Attendance at Fellowship of the Concerned,
Atlanta, Ga. - October 31-Nov. 1, 1962

Kentucky Association of Christian Churches
190 MARKET STREET PHONE 2-4983
P. O. BOX 1418
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

JAMES A. MOAK
GENERAL SECRETARY

LYNN H. DRAPER
ASSOCIATE GENERAL SECRETARY

MISS ELIZABETH A. HARTSFIELD
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
CHRISTIAN WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP

EDWARD J. BRUCE
DIRECTOR OF CHURCH-WIDE
LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

CARL R. FLOCK
DIRECTOR OF YOUTH WORK

Ft. Thomas, Ky
113 So. Grand Ave
June 7, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly;

Your letter received, in regard to the Oct 30-31st, meeting of the Fall Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Thank you so very much of giving me the Opportunity to attend. It is greatly Appreciated.

Miss Elizabeth Hartsfield, has taken Mrs. D. D. Dugan's place as Executive Secretary for the Christian Women's Fellowship, of Kentucky. If it is possible for her to be added to your mailing and invitational list, I am sure she would be a most valuable and appreciative attendant, as she not only speaks to our women of

Kentucky Association of Christian Churches
190 MARKET STREET PHONE 2-4983
P. O. BOX 1418
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

JAMES A. MOAK
GENERAL SECRETARY

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EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
CHRISTIAN WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP

EDWARD J. BRUCE
DIRECTOR OF CHURCH-WIDE
LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

CARL R. FLOCK
DIRECTOR OF YOUTH WORK

MET

the Christian Churches over Kentucky but also has been a member of the Board of the United Council of Church Women of Ky. Her address is on the above letter head.

You may not be aware that the Christian Churches are not divided (or ever were) as to North and South, and altho' our national headquarters are in Indianapolis Ind. our national workers deal with our Churches and women throughout the Country.

Do not send - MET

Last year, Miss Lois Mosheshed, a young negro was added to our national Dept. of Christian Women's Fellowship. She is working with both white and negro C.W.F's all over the Country. Her address is, Dept of International Christian

Kentucky Association of Christian Churches
190 MARKET STREET PHONE 2-4983
P. O. BOX 1418
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

JAMES A. MOAK
GENERAL SECRETARY

LYNN H. DRAPER
ASSOCIATE GENERAL SECRETARY

MISS ELIZABETH A. HARTSFIELD
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
CHRISTIAN WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP

EDWARD J. BRUCE
DIRECTOR OF CHURCH-WIDE
LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

CARL R. FLOCK
DIRECTOR OF YOUTH WORK

Women's Fellowship, 222 So. Downey Ave. Indianapolis 7 Ind. Before her work in Indianapolis, she has worked with our national and local youth groups, as Pres. of the Christian Youth Fellowships. Recently I was with her in a Regional Negro meet in ~~Raleigh~~ Winston-Salem N. C.

Forgive me for making this such a lengthy letter. But I thot you might like this information.

Thanking you again and I'm look forward to being with you, Oct 30-31st.

Gratefully
Nancy E. Fowler
(Mrs. Newton B.
Pres. Ky. Christian Women's Fellowship

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. E. L. GLOSSBRENNER
PRESIDENT
8213 BROOKFIELD ROAD, RICHMOND 27, VIRGINIA

June 11, 1962

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

Some time ago I wrote your office confirming our agreement with the dates suggested for the Fellowship of the Concerned and expressing my intention of coming again.

I still look forward to being at the Interdenominational Center 671 Beckwith St. S.W., Atlanta on Oct. 30-31 and sincerely appreciate all you are doing to make this important meeting possible.

May God bless you richly in all you are undertaking in His name & for so many.

Cordially,

Dorothy M. Glossbrenner

National Fellowship of
Congregational Christian Women

LILLIAN S. GREGORY, *Executive Secretary*
MILDRED O. WALKER, *Administrative Assistant*
19 S. La Salle St., Chicago 3, Illinois - State 2-8733
MRS. F. C. LESTER, *Field Secretary*,
906 Chestnut St., High Point, North Carolina

A DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSIONS COUNCIL AND AFFILIATED WITH THE WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGREGATIONAL COUNCIL

MRS. ROBERT W. RENEKER, *President*, 10158 S. Leavitt Street, Chicago 43, Illinois

June 12, 1962

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Morgan:

Your letter of May 28 addressed to Mrs. R. W. Reneker has been forwarded to our office for reply.

Enclosed we are sending a copy each of the Presidents' List and Social Action chairmen, from which you can take the names which you need for your workshop.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Mildred H. Ulrich (Mrs)
Mildred H. Ulrich
Secretary

Mrs A D Harry
Box ~~87~~ 610
West Point, Ga

Enclosures

Vice Presidents of the National Women's Fellowship
MRS. DWIGHT J. DWINELL, 16 Manning St., Reading, Mass. MRS. ROBERT T. HAMLETT, 339 Park Ave., Manhassett, L.I., N.Y.
Secretary, MRS. EUGENE V. HAYNES, 425 Centre Street, Bountiful, Utah

Board of Women's Work

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES
341-A PONCE DE LEON AVENUE, N.E., ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

EVELYN L. GREEN, *Executive Secretary*
MRS. MABLE C. MORLEY, *Director of Leadership Education*

June 13, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

This is to acknowledge your letter of May 23 addressed to Mrs. Morley requesting names of Presbyterian women to be invited from the southern states to attend the Workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned to be held October 30 and 31.

In a letter to you dated April 23 Mrs. Morley suggested that Mrs. J. G. Walsh of our Staff, who is Director of Christian Community Action, would supply the names this year from the Presbyterian Church, U.S. to be invited to this Workshop. All correspondence relating to this has been turned over to Mrs. Walsh and you will be hearing from her with the names of persons who may be invited to participate in this Workshop.

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

Mae Smith

Mae M. (Mrs.P.W.) Smith, Assistant
Leadership Education Department

M
S
:

50 years 1912 1962 of SERVICE STUDY

5000-14th Ave North
St. Petersburg 10 Florida
June 14. 1962.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N. E.
Atlanta 3. Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:-

I have been very slow about writing to send you the name of the new Christian Social Relations Chairman of the United Church Women of Florida. She is

Mrs. John N. Caldwell
513 Lake Bonny Drive
Lakeland Florida.

I did not meet her at the state annual meeting at Sarasota, so sent her all the files, copies of letters, litrature, etc which I had compiled during the year, by way of some of the Lakeland women.

I also wrote her since, and passed on to her the suggestion which had been made to me a year ago, that she, as new state chairman, write and introduce

lts
6-22-62

herself to you. Possibly she has already done so.

Also I forwarded to her recently (for I had been away from home, and just found it in the mail, awaiting our arrival home) the announcement of the dates of the 1962 meeting of the Fellowships of the Concerned.

However, just in case you do not have Mrs. Caldwell's name and address, I thought I had better send them along to the Atlanta Office.

We are looking forward very much to having our new Executive Director of the United Churches — who is coming to us from Atlanta — by the middle of July.

Probably he will have some recent news of Lora you are — I do hope you are making good progress in getting around again —

Sincerely yours

Helen Anderson

(Mrs. David M. Anderson)

6

Nashville, Tennessee
1213 Gartland Ave.

June 17, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your recent letter concerning the fall workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned. I have enjoyed very much those I have attended and wish it were possible for me to again be present, however, I am no longer Chairman of Christian Social Relations for the Tennessee Conference Wesleyan Service Guilds, and have turned your letter over to the new Chairman - Mrs. W. M. Rainey, City Hall, Pulaski, Tennessee.

I do hope Mrs. Rainey can arrange to be present for the Fall Workshop, and I have explained to her the purpose of the meetings and have urged that she attend, if at all possible. I feel sure you will be bearing from her shortly.

Thanks for the experiences I have had in the past and with best wishes for the on going of this worthwhile endeavor, I am,

Sincerely,

Mrs. J. Carl Campbell

Could you

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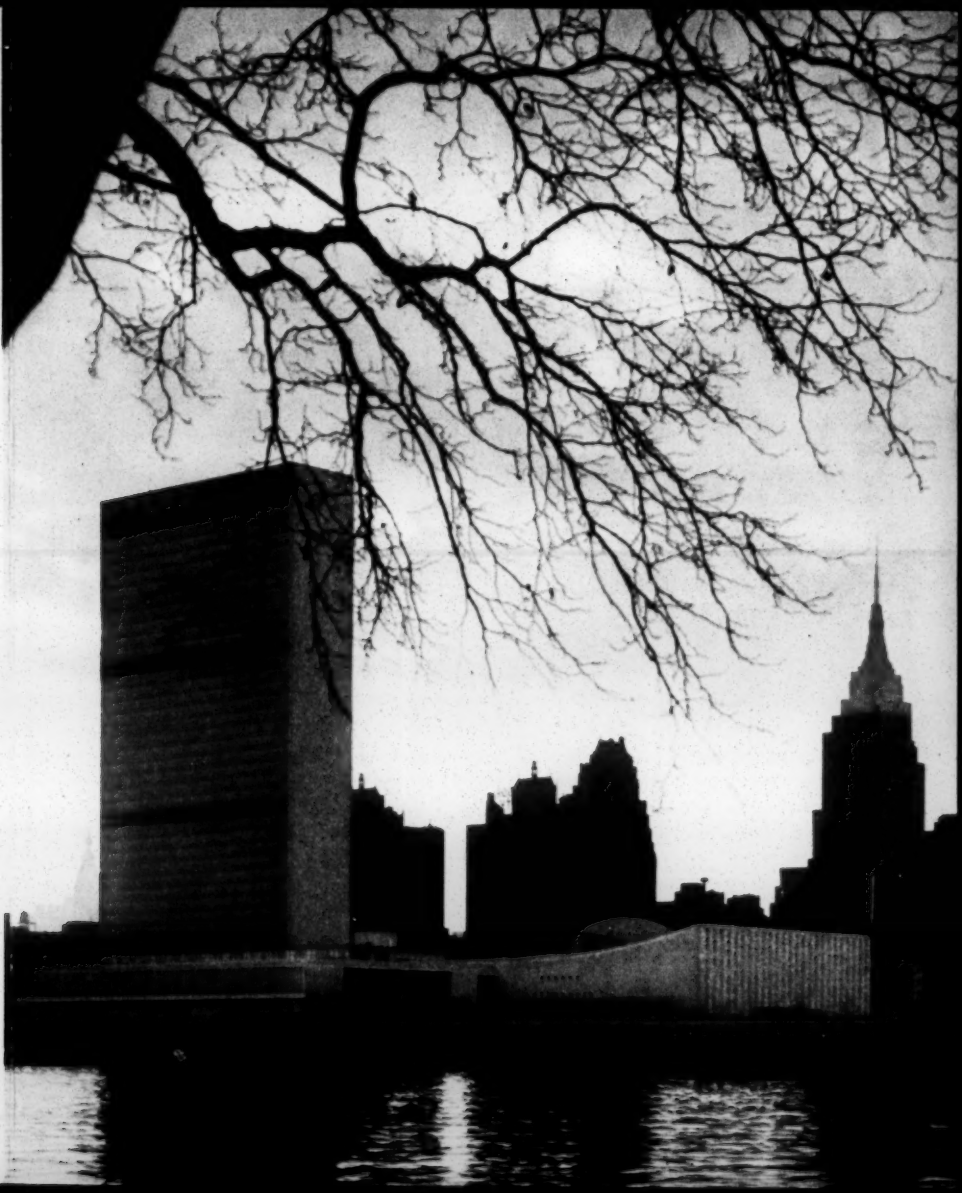

Board of Women's Work

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341-A PONCE DE LEON AVENUE, N.E., ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

EVELYN L. GREEN, *Executive Secretary*
MRS. J. G. WALSH, *Director of Christian Community Action*

June 20, 1962

MET ? all of these ? Yes !

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Mrs. Morley has given me your letter of May 23, asking for the names of Presbyterian Women to be invited to the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

Attached are the names of the Chairmen of Church Extension in each of the synods. These are the women who have the responsibility for social concerns, including Negro work. I sincerely hope that they will be able to take advantage of the opportunity to accept this invitation.

Sincerely,

Edith J. Walsh

Edith J. Walsh (Mrs. J. G.)

EJW/c
Encl.

50 years 1912 1962 of SERVICE STUDY

Church Extension Chairmen in the Synods

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Mrs. B. B. Brier
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Knoxville, Tennessee

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1111 Murta Street
Van Buren, Arkansas

Mrs. Ralph Austin Smith
2021 Park Avenue
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Mrs. James U. Jackson
228 Cave Springs Street
Cedartown, Georgia

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Mrs. H. L. Mulford
9489 Mansfield Road
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Mrs. Henry V. Koontz
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3509 Ash Circle
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6-25-62

NATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN WOMEN June, 1962
19 South LaSalle Street, Chicago 3, Illinois

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Pennsylvania	Mrs. John Day, 519 Tatnall Avenue, Glenolden, Pennsylvania
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Alabama	Mrs. Paul Reynolds, Pleasant Hill, Tennessee
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Ltr Fwd 6-22-62

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Mrs. Clair V. Rhodes, 123 South Madison Street, Allentown, Pennsylvania
Mr. William E. Peterson, 10 West Lockwood Avenue, St. Louis 19, Missouri
Dr. J. Earl Danieley, Elon College, Elon College, North Carolina
Rev. J. Kenneth Kohler, 1720 Chouteau Avenue, St. Louis 3, Missouri
Mr. Theodore R. Schwalm, 715 North Pine Street, Lancaster, Pennsylvania

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Secretary of Promotion	Miss Madeline F. Bach	" " " " " "
Secretary of Promotion	Miss Dorothy A. Nyland	" " " " " "

Mrs. Harriet Fralix, Box 707 - Fayetteville, N.C.
Southeastern Jurisdiction Chairman

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Mississippi	Mrs. Manda Bell Hicks, 133 Camp Grounds, Biloxi, Miss.
North Alabama	Mrs. H. I. Tumlin (Eleanora), Route 5, Box 370-B, Anniston, Alabama
North Carolina	Mrs. Ernest Harding (Grace), 118 E. 4th Street, Washington, N. C.
North Georgia	Miss Kathleen Eidson, 2410 Sewell Road, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia
North Mississippi	Miss Claudia Hopper, 1007 Jackson Street, Corinth, Mississippi
South Carolina	Mrs. Martha Hubbard, Box 754, Anderson, South Carolina
South Georgia	Miss Rena Mae Campbell, 311 W. Gordon Street, Valdosta, Georgia
Tennessee	Mrs. W. Marvin Rainey, 110 E. College Street, Pulaski, Tennessee (cannot attend)
Virginia	Miss Elizabeth Yeoman, 45 Henry Street, Hampton, Virginia
Western North Carolina	

Dear Mrs. Tilley:
The dates of Oct. 30th & 31st suit me fine. This list is only to be used for invitations to the Fellowship of Concerned.
Margaret Wilson

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF CONFERENCE SECRETARIES

OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS

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MEMPHIS Will have a new Sec	~~Mrs. Wayne A. Lamb (Susan)~~ ~~4100 Court~~ ~~Paducah, Kentucky~~	442-8002
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VIRGINIA	Mrs. Paul Hartz Waverly, Virginia	TE 4-2355
WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA	Mrs. W. A. Bales (Carrieleen) 817 North Eugene Street Greensboro, North Carolina	

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

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SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION WESLEYAN SERVICE GUILD

JURISDICTION CHAIRMAN — Mrs. Harriet Fralix
P. O. Box 707
Fayetteville, North Carolina

Please check with Harriet for changes in other chairmen.

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WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA	Miss Joyce Shook P. O. Box 432 Henderson, North Carolina

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Mrs. R. L.Holroyd
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208 N. Main St.
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~~MrsxxRich~~'

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Mrs. Clyde Newman
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Mrs. Carl H. King
515 Carroll St.
Statesville, N. C.

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Fund
7-24-62

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Virginia

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2624 Fairway Drive

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Western North Carolina

Mrs. Carl H. King

515 Carroll Street

Statesville, North Carolina

Cuba

July 24, 1962

Mrs. Rufus D. Wilson
933 So. Church Street
Burlington, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Wilson:

Mrs. Ruth Wilson has given us your name and address in view of your expressed desire to attend the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop this year.

We are indeed happy to know that you want to attend this workshop, and would like to offer you your expenses. However, due to our limited funds, this is not possible. I feel sure you understand how things are with an organization like ours.

Mrs. Tilly is out of the city for a week, and asked me to write you for her.

If you feel that you can attend the meeting at your own expense, please let us know. We will want to prepare literature for you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Nobbie H. Morgan
Secretary to Mrs. Tilly

/nm

Miss Ruth C. Wilson
1121 Harvey Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

July 18, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I regret that I will not be able to attend the Annual Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned to be held in Atlanta, Ga. October 30 -31, 1962. I will have to be in New York attending the National Committee meetings of United Church Women October 21 - 27th and will have to be in Pittsburgh, Pa. November 7th - 12th attending the meeting of Church and Economic Life Comm. for the National Council of Churches. I am forwarding your letter to Mrs. D. M. Jarnagin, 1010 Smithfield Street, Raleigh, N. C., who is co-chairman (State) for May Fellowship Day. She attended the Workshop last year and it will be most beneficial for her and our State for her to attend again this year.

Mrs. Rufus D. Wilson (not a relative!), 933 So. Church Street, Burlington, N. C. has expressed a desire to attend the Workshop this year. She is a past president of the Synod of Church Women of the Presbyterian Church in North Carolina and most recently World Day of Prayer Chairman for United Church Women in this State. She is prominent in the work of the Presbyterian Church and a member of its Synodical Board (Synodical). She is willing to pay her own expenses and I hope you will find it possible to invite her. She is most interested in the total integration in all phases of our life of all people.

Yours very truly,

Ruth C. Wilson

Town House Motel

2ND AVENUE & S. CENTER ST.
IN DOWNTOWN

Hickory, N. C.
July 28,
1962

Lutheran

Dear Mrs. Tillie,

These are the two addresses of the President of the Ky. U.C.W.

Sincerely,

2215 Napoleon Blvd.
Adele B. Siltmann
Louisville, 5, Ky.

P.S. No 6 days can ever excel over the experiences of the last 6 days:-

Our Oneness { in true Love
in The Aim of our lives
in the fellowship of all races, creeds, ranks, and educational opportunities

Wall To Wall Carpet . Room Phones . Free T V . Fully Air Conditioned

Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society

A. M. E. ZION CHURCH
"THE WORLD FOR CHRIST"

Negro

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Washington, D. C.

RECORDING SECRETARY
Mrs. Sallie V. Moreland
Clinton Junior College
Rock Hill, S. C.

July 16, 1962

Mrs. Nebbie H. Morgan
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Morgan:

Several weeks ago you wrote for names of women who might participate in the Concerned Workshop in Atlanta on October 30-31. Your letter came at a very busy time in this office. I have therefore been holding it until we could check on the names we sent you last year.

The names and addresses which we sent you last year are alright with four exceptions as follows:

For North Carolina - instead of Mrs. Lucy Lowery, please substitute Mrs. Allie Clark, 426 Willow St.
Mooresville, N. C.

South Carolina - Mrs. Corrine G. Ward's address should be changed to 2409 Green Street
Columbia, S. C.

Mississippi - instead of Mrs. Ethel Key, please substitute Mrs. Ardella Dixon, Rte. #2, Box 113
Macon, Mississippi

Tennessee - instead of Mrs. Amanda Ballard, please substitute Mrs. S. O. Brown, 389 Lucy Ave.
Memphis 6, Tenn.

I trust this is the information you need.

Sincerely yours,
Margaret J. May
MARGARET J. MAY
Executive Secretary

MJM/mb

July 18, 1962

Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner
8213 Brookfield Road
Richmond 27, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Glossbrenner:

There is a relationship of the Southern Regional Council - the Woman's Division of Christian Service. Mrs. Tillman, our president, is on the Board, and so has every president since it was founded. The Woman's Division shared in the organization of the Southern Regional Council, and makes a contribution of $1,200 each year to it.

We always get a full list from New York, of all the presidents and secretaries of Christian Social Relations. We never use these lists for any purpose except for inviting them to the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop. I am sure you know me well enough to trust me.

I have a copy of the addresses from the year book of the Woman's Division, and most of the invitations have already been sent to them.

I am glad to know that you have accepted the invitation to attend the workshop. I would like very much to have you serve as a leader for one of the groups. Please let me know if you can.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. E. L. GLOSSBRENNER
PRESIDENT
8213 BROOKFIELD ROAD, RICHMOND 27, VIRGINIA

July 12, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Fellowship of the Concerned
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth St., N.W.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Last week at Lake Junaluska Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox asked if I might send to you the names and addresses of the conference presidents so that you might invite them to the October meeting of the FOC.

In May I wrote Mrs. Morgan that we are not permitted by the Woman's Division to supply these lists but that I or Mrs. Wilcox would be happy to distribute whatever information you would wish sent our officers. I had occasion to speak with Mrs. J. Fount Tillman about your particular need of the names. She reiterated the policy and advised me to again offer our cooperation in any mailings to Jurisdiction officers or conference persons not already on your lists.

I will be most happy to mail invitations or announcements - whatever- if you will send them to me -in bulk- and with your directions as to whom you wish these materials sent. We have a number of new presidents this year, seven, in fact. They are a fine, concerned and dedicated lot! I believe it would strengthen them andtheir conferences greatly if they should be able to attend the October meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned.

To be in this position is embarrassing to me but I am sure you know the background and purpose for this Division policy. My prayers and best wishes to you,

Sincerely,

Dorothy W. Glossbrenner

Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner

August 2, 1962

Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner
President
Woman's Society of Christian Service
The Methodist Church
Southeastern Jurisdiction
8213 Brookfield Road
Richmond 27, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Glossbrenner:

Your letter that came air mail yesterday is the most gradious one I have ever received. I wish I could write like that. I am deeply grateful to you. We are sending back your lists, after correcting ours.

Now, about the Workshop. The general theme is "In My Hands" using Toyohiko Kagawa's --a secret plan, Is hid in my hand, etc., along with Bible quotations. I am enclosing a copy of "The Promise of Tomorrow," by our scientist, William L. Lawrence. The last paragraphs are pertinent.

In other words, I hope we can create a sense of responsibility and stewardship.

We will not have so many attending this year. In fact, I did not intend to have as many as we did last year. While I was at home watching Mr. Tilly slipping away from us, I had a new secretary. Often people, on their note of acceptance send in a list they would like to have come - so she invited them - and they came.

I do not regret that they did. I feel that Bishop Smith's speech was something we all needed.

We must look at the rural church, for our troubles in the South, come largely from rural areas. The S. E. Division of the National Council has put Rev. Elbert Jean on the staff to work in rural areas. He is a methodist minister from Arkansas, and his Bishop gave him this appointment.

I want some rural workers to be with him on a panel -- can you suggest one from the S. E. Jurisdiction? We have some fine ones in Georgia, but I want an out-of-state one. The Congregational Church has a splendid one, and I happen to know her.

I will ask the Presbyterians and the Disciples -- but they do not touch rural areas much. If you know a rural worker to suggest, I would appreciate getting her name.

I will keep in close touch with you. Love and best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Woman's Work

MET:nm
Enclosures

Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. E. L. GLOSSBRENNER
PRESIDENT
8213 BROOKFIELD ROAD, RICHMOND 27, VIRGINIA

July 30, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Director of Woman's Work,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Having just discussed with Mrs. J. Fount Tillman the policy of the Woman's Division regarding the issuing of officers' names and addresses and having been authorized by Mrs. Tillman to do so, I am sending, enclosed, the names of the conference presidents and the secretary of Christian Social Relations.

Your need for them, I know, is definitely in line with the Division's program of Christian Social Relations and its interracial concerns. Rather than delay your receipt of this information longer I am sending on two lists just as they were given to me, not even taking the time to recopy.

I do regret my part in this delay up to now and trust that these will still be of some value to you.

With all good wishes and

Sincerely,

Dorothy Glossbrenner

Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner

United Church Women of Virginia
A Department of The Virginia Council of Churches
715 Furnace Rd.
Harrisonburg, Virginia,

August 12, 1962.

Mrs. M.E.Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3
Georgia.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your invitation to the Annual Workshop of the Fellowship of the Concerned on October 30-31 in Atlanta. Attending the Workshop last year was one of the highlights of my life experience so far.

As much as I should like to return, that will not be my privilege this year. However, we are happy to say that our Virginia United Church Women will be well represented by our President, Mrs. Paul Gruver, and by our Public Relations Chairman, Mrs. W.Ralph Singleton, 1841 University Circle, Charlottesville, Virginia. Further information may be sent to Mrs. Singleton instead of to me. I believe you have corresponded with Mrs. Gruver already.

My prayers and best wishes will be there with you, I assure you. It seems some progress has been made during the past year even though there is much more to be done.

Sincerely yours,

Charlotte A. Crawley

Charlotte A. Crawley
Chairman of Christian Social Relations.

CC: Mrs. Singleton
Mrs. Gruver.

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

August 24, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

In Dick Shapiro's absence I am trying to handle some of his activities. Several additional names have come in regarding your request for women who would be interested in the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop. They are as follows:

Mrs. Philip Back
1 Fairfax Terrace
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mrs. David Shapiro
1704 Linden Street
Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Mrs. Raymond H. Kierr
18 Richmond Place
New Orleans, La.

Mrs. Jules Cahn (Attended 3 Versailles Blv. before & New Orleans, La. would be glad to pay her own way.)

Mrs. Harold Gotthelf, Jr.
3837 Montrose Cir.
Jackson, Mississippi

Mrs. Sidney Geiger
2246 Greenbriar Ave.
Jackson, Mississippi

I hope to have some additional names for you in the very near future.

Sincerely,

Monroe Schlactus

Monroe Schlactus

MS:mby

WOMAN'S MISSIONARY UNION OF NORTH CAROLINA

Auxiliary to the Baptist State Convention

MISS MIRIAM J. ROBINSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

301 HILLSBORO P. O. BOX 9523 RALEIGH

August 30, 1962

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your kind letter of August 23. We will be so glad for two of our youth leaders to represent Woman's Missionary Union of North Carolina at the meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned, October 30-31. They will be glad to receive any further information from you. Both of these young women are Seminary graduates. They are full-time, salaried employees, going out from our state office all over North Carolina to work with the leaders of the respective youth organizations and with the young people themselves in various camping and conference experiences. They are:

Miss Sara Ann Hobbs, Director of Young Woman's Auxiliary
(working with single young women 16-25 yrs. of age)
Miss Willa Dean Freeman, Director of Girl's Auxiliary
(working with girls 9 through 15 years of age)

The address for both of them is:
P.O. Box 9523, Raleigh

It is our understanding that the meetings will be held at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 671 Beckwith Street, SW. Please let them know what time the meeting will begin and end so they make travel plans accordingly.

Woman's Missionary Union will pay all expenses for these representatives. We would prefer to do this, leaving whatever funds you may have for the use of those who could not otherwise attend this meeting. They will make their own reservations at the Piedmont Hotel but will certainly want to enjoy the fellowship of the group at mealtime. To me, this was one of the most rewarding experiences of the meeting.

Mrs. Parker and I will miss being with you this year. You may be assured of our prayers for you in the preparation of this meeting, and during its sessions. Our hearts are one with yours in our desire for interracial understanding. It is a joy to unite our efforts with those of others of the "fellowship of the concerned."

Cordially yours,

Miriam J. Robinson

Miriam J.Robinson

cc: Miss Hobbs
Miss Freeman

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

September 7, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Some additional names have come in regarding your request for women who would be interested in the Fellowship of the Concerned.

If it isn't too late, I would like to add the following names to those that you already have:

Virginia

Mrs. Harry L. Cohn
4711 Grandway Road
Richmond, Va.

Mrs. Nathaniel Krumbein
17 Oak Lane
Richmond, Va.

North Carolina

Mrs. Leonard Madans
4222 Sharon View Road
Charlotte, N. C.

Mrs. H. Mandel
2800 Wintergreen Drive
Charlotte, N. C.

If there is any further way that we can be of service to you, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Monroe Schlactus

Monroe Schlactus

ms/bw

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

July 31, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I have circulated our southern offices concerning your request for recommendations of women to attend the Fellowship of the Concerned Workshop. The following are women recommended to date:

Kentucky - As delegates: Mrs. Lewis Cole
719 W. Chestnut
Louisville, Ky.

Mrs. Edgar Bottigheimer
316 W. Market
Louisville, Ky.

As alternate: Mrs. Allen Molin
2142 Glenworth
Louisville 18, Ky.

Florida: Mrs. Shepard Lewis
326 Macy St.
West Palm Beach, Fla.

Mrs. Adele Smith
4702 Leona St.
Tampa, Fla.

As additional recommendations come in, I will be happy to pass them on to you. Kindest regards.

Cordially yours,

Richard M. Shapiro
Associate Director

rms/tg

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Final plans for the Workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned. The sessions will be held at the New building of the Interdenominational Theological Center, 653 Beckwith Street, S. W., in the auditorium. This is about a block from Bumstead Hall of Atlanta University, where we will have our meals.

The Schedule is as follows:

OCTOBER 30 -- Registration -- 9:30 -- 10:00 A. M.

Morning Session -- 10:00 - 12:30 p. m.

Lunch -- 12:45

Afternoon Session -- 2:00 - 5:00 p. m.

Dinner -- 6:00 p. m.

Evening Session -- 7:30 - 9:30 p. m.

OCTOBER 31 -- 9:30 - 12:30 p. m.

Followed by lunch. This year travel and hotel expenses only will be taken care of by the Southern Regional Council. Due to our limited funds you are asked to take care of your meals.

THE GENERAL THEME - "In Our Hands" -- "God's Trust in Us."

We will consider The Church for one thing, with a symposium led by Rev. Elbert Jean, National Council of Churches; and Housing, on which Miss Hatcher of the National Housing Authority will support us. We have some able leaders for our Workshop Groups.

Looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

(over)

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

PLEASE RETURN THIS TO ME IMMEDIATELY:

I will _____ (will not)_____ be present on October 30-31.

B'nai B'rith Women – Fidelity Chapter

Tues –

Millie Copeloff –
Bernice Lipton
Bess Rice (maybe?)
~~Betty Hoter~~
Mrs. Seymour Halper, President, B'nai B'rith Council

Wed

Helene Fischer
Mrs. Sidney Kogan, President, Fidelity Chapter

Tues Evening
Lil Strisch

CONGREGATION B'NAI ISRAEL
P. O. BOX 1326
HATTIESBURG, MISSISSIPPI

RABBI
CHARLES MANTINBAND
808 MAMIE STREET

September 14, 1962

Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsythe Street,
Atlanta, Ga.

Attention: Mrs. Tilley

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

If it is in order and not presumptuous, may I suggest that you include in your invitations for to the Fellowship of the Concerned in late October, the names of the following:

Mrs. George Mitchell,
3809 Montrose Drive,
Jackson, Miss.

X Mrs. Charles Mantinband invite
808 Mamie Street
Hattiesburg, Miss.

X Mrs. A. D. Beittel
Tougaloo Southern Christian College,
Tougaloo, Miss.

These people exercise considerable influence in their respective areas, and have something to contribute, in my opinion, to your proceedings. I believe they would be responsive to an invitation.

It was so good to see you, if only briefly. Stay well and happy.

Yours sincerely,

C. Mantinband

Charles Mantinband

September 24, 1962

Mrs. G. H. Martin
1611 S. E. Second Street
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Dear Mrs. Martin:

Thank you very much for your letter of September 21. We get confused sometime about the united churches. We received one list from Mr. Deer, who gave us the name of Mrs. John Cannon, Box 1114, De Land, Florida.

The date of the Workshop will be October 30-31, and is to be held here in Atlanta at the Interdenominational Theological Center, 671 Beckwith Street, S. W., beginning at 10:00 a. m. on the first day, and closing after lunch on the second day. We hope you will be with us.

I am sending Mrs. Dorn an invitation.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

THE WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP

of the

FLORIDA CONGREGATIONAL
CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE

President
MRS. G. H. MARTIN
1611 S.E. Second Street
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Vice President
MISS GLADYS M. GREEN
2525 Shelter Avenue
Sunset Island No. 2
Miami Beach, Florida

Vice President
MRS. JANE SHELLY
8103 N.W. 1st Place
Miami 50, Florida

Recording Secretary
MRS. C. C. LEVIS
523 North "M" Street
Lake Worth, Florida

Corresponding Secretary
MRS. FREDERICK TILNEY
4104 Ventura Avenue
Miami 33, Florida

Treasurer
MRS. ROBERT MURDICK
Route 2, Box 429
Avon Park, Florida

September 21, 1962.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

Since it is approaching that time of year when the Fellowship of the Concerned meets, I am wondering if the dates have been set. It is important to the women of the United Church of Christ in Florida that they be informed as to what is going on in the south today. If a schedule conflict prevents the attendance of our Christian Social Action chairman or myself, I should like to appoint some one else.

Mrs. Joseph Dorn
P.O. Box 744
Tice, Florida

} Chm of Christian Social Action of Women's Fellowship

Blessings upon you in your devoted work.

Most cordially,

Margery Martin

New South

Dr. Robert Coles

on Two Boys of Conscience and Courage

Arts and Amusements for Southern Negroes

SEPTEMBER 1962

Strictly Subjective

By MARGARET LONG

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THE CYNICISM of our times seems at its glibbest in savant diagnoses of the psychic ailments of Negro protestants and their white allies against segregation. Psychiatrists in learned journals and parlor conversations suggest "a problem with authority" which drives young rebels to public demonstration and foul confinement in Southern jails. Sagacious businessmen and church women, and some puzzled pastors, point out in omniscient understanding that white girls join the movement for lack of dance dates, fraternity pins and steady boy friends. Negro leaders of an earlier vintage speak in gentle tolerance of the "lack of background" of nonviolent fighters who compensate for poverty and obscurity with the blaze of a Freedom Ride or a two-months' stint in solitary at Baton Rouge, replete with TV and newspaper notoriety. Angrier elders cry that "they do it just for attention," or "kicks," "excitement," "youthful defiance."

We are also treated to the fashionable theory that these wild-eyed youngsters and self-seeking preachers—working for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality and in local uprisings all over the South—are primarily, if unconsciously, concerned with "punishing their parents." This analysis is applied with especial care and detailed erudition to young white demonstrators who cast their lot with our revolution, and pain their parents by publicly picketing, sitting in or helping rural Negroes register to vote.

Aside from the possible parents' punishment in economic reprisal and social snubs, one must concede that the young revolutionaries' families are in-

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Separate but Equal Lives

by Robert Coles, M.D.

WE ARE AT GRADUATIONS, high school graduations in Atlanta. We come to see them and are brought to recall the moments of a school year.

John walks down the aisle, tall, self consciously straight, eyes fixed in blinding attention, and calls back last summer of him, quiet, shy, determined calm over uncertain, poised muscles. When I first saw him he was reading a law book on assault and battery. It was a month before school was to open, and he was idling, or would shift to cutting hedges to keep from getting lazy and to keep his body trim and ready and fit. Only because he wanted to become a lawyer did he keep reading this law this summer, he let me know firmly, and then there was silence for both of us. His appetite was down, his sleep unsteady, but by his mother's description and not his. They lived in the dimness and almost dank air of a janitor's place, and while his father sorted trash and was summoned to the daily complaints of a large building, his mother quickly or nervously or wearily fastened rubber balls to small wooden Bola Bola rackets for children. Hundreds of these, counted not in pride but for small money, went from her hands six long days a week. On Sunday they all prayed long and hard.

School officials called his first days of school "normal." Detectives drove him to school, reporters interviewed him and when he came home he watched himself walking on films. The telephone sounded anonymous abuse, annoying or sharply funny by days but bringing choppy, fretful evenings and dazed, enraged early mornings. When he came home from school his mail offered special deliveries of scorn, and it was weeks before his box was empty. By then, he rather missed putting his books down on the floor and sitting on the edge of the couch and looking at his name on those heavily stamped envelopes and reading about all that he was doing and undoing (such as the Southern Way of Life, all by himself), and learning about what others said would happen to him, would come to harm him.

After some weeks John walked to school, and no trouble came his way. He would enter the building a little earlier than most and go directly to his classroom where he would open up again one of his books or lessons, sometimes seeing no distinct words but feeling the protection of sitting at his desk and reading. He was intent on learning, and his teachers found him serious and an eager student. He denied fear and he denied interest in the attitudes of his classmates. He knew that in that building he was a student

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Dr. Coles, a child psychiatrist, is spending two years with the Southern Regional Council in the study of children in desegregating Southern schools. He is the author of papers for journals of medicine and psychiatry and has written for *The Atlantic Monthly*.

whose color evoked constant, anxious notice, a source of fear, of novelty, of uneasy and often guilty respect; but he indicated in gesture and word and deed that he also knew that his survival depended upon work, upon a special disregard of himself and forgetfulness of the feelings of others. He might falter or fall if he stopped to plan or ponder, if he spent time on worry and anxiety.

For a tape one day he recorded his imagery: "Sometimes when I do stop and think about what's going on this year I realize that I'm in a kind of battle, a real tough situation that starts every morning and settles in the evening and then starts again the next day. There's very little rest, and even at midnight one of those people will call you up and breathe heavily upon you. If I didn't react like a soldier does in a war or like someone in a sudden crisis like a fireman or a policeman faces sometimes, I'd get paralyzed by worrying and thinking. I try to forget and just do my work and live from day to day and job to job, and trust my ability and strength, if I have any . . ." What he also knew, what many sympathetic and concerned white people often did not guite grasp, was that the unpleasant or humiliating moments were not new, that he and millions like him had lived a life of them, that they had slowly and unwittingly developed ways of handling their hurt, and that he could now endure them with a sense of purpose and fulfillment which almost made them sweet pain.

He came to this year and his new school feeling like a stalking scarecrow from whom others would fly in unknowing fear. He found refuge in study and in success in study and in the very passage of time. He found comfort from his family and admiration from his community. He silently suffered nervousness, frequent headaches and a few nightmares of gloom and anger. Much of what was hard for him, most unsettling and troublesome, came ironically with his new position of equality, from friendly smiles, shared experience, occasional words or motions of recognition. His toughest moments were with unwonted kindness. And his greatest knowledge, he felt, was of himself, when he was able at last to see and accept what many of his classmates felt for him. The night before his graduation he told me of his final triumph there, when he took the initiative in sitting by some friends in the cafeteria. They were glad, but he was more surprised at himself than at their responses.

John was graduating 14th in his class in a school which sends most of its graduates to college. He had gone to some school basketball games, attended a class picnic, and, upon receipt of his diploma, would soon be at the senior dance. He seemed in late May, for all the year's burdens and troubles, much more casual and relaxed than last summer. His health was good. He had always been susceptible to colds and had had asthma when younger. But, if the year had been stressful, it had not brought physical disease. For the first time in his life he had started taking vitamin pills this winter, because he was anxious not to miss school, and he felt that they gave him the energy he so needed. These pills, he would summarize, accompanied by unusual regularity of study and sleep and a new absence of tiring social activities, made him feel exceptionally well. Somehow, this year, he missed fewer school days than ever before.

The condition of his mind was sound at the beginning and sound at the ending. His spirits were high in May, even as his body moved more easily and spontaneously. He seemed less grim,

less apprehensive. His smile came more readily, lasted longer and seemed more natural. A psychiatrist writing for his medical records would describe him as a well developed, well nourished young man in good contact with his environment, with no signs of moodiness or despair, of good intelligence and ability to communicate his ideas and feelings.

When doctors evaluate health in people they call upon other people for comparisons. Knowledge of contrasts or similarities makes for differential diagnosis. Time offers itself promiscuously to everyone during a year, and gathers uncertain rewards in exchange. One interesting boy comes to mind at another graduation several days later. Jim is tall and lithe, a friendly young man of 17 whose blond hair calls your initial attention. Later you gather his firm gestures of hand and his strong voice which transmits an easy and articulate flow of words and opinions. He thinks that some day he will be a journalist, and the style of his mind and manner support this as more than idle whim or fancy.

Jim told me that he was opposed to the entry of the two Negroes into his high school. His parents were very much against any desegregation, and their son echoed these sentiments firmly and forcefully. He anticipated from these Negroes a rough year, with damage to his education and his enjoyment of school life. He talked of incompatibility and of outrage to customs and traditions. His words reflected strong and deep feelings, and yet these feelings seemed to live apart from his genuine friendliness for the large, dark housekeeper who moved with comfort and considerable competence about his house during my visits there.

During the year Jim learned about the laws of physics and the equalities of algebra his understanding of a foreign language improved; he read some books and memorized some lines from *Macbeth*. Week by week we talked of many things, of school and world events, of his career and those of the two Negro girls in his high school. He has a good eye and a good ear, and these both assert their own strength in spite of vigorous emotional opposition. What was for him the harsh and corrupt shadow of incipient "mixing" vanished into a daily experience with a specific person. His first encounter was with a nameless, faceless suit of dark clothes, in his eyes unkempt, with pockets of harm, treachery, disease and ignorance. But people wear suits and dresses and people show their own characteristics of thought and language, of feeling or even gait.

Jim's eyes were good and his ears were sound. He slowly began to recognize the differences which separated the two dark girls, differences of intelligence, of spirit, of interests and abilities. He saw one to be distant and a bit dull. He saw the other to be keen to please others and quick to comprehend. He saw distinctive and contrasting dresses or coats. He found himself describing the happy manner of one and the heavy, silent manner of her friend. With his friends he now discussed and argued as much about two persons as about their origin and race. His worries slowly began to shift from what damage the two girls might inflict to what harm would happen if all of their dark friends and neighbors would come into the white schools. With an increasing sense of the two Negroes as persons and girls came a cautious sympathy for what they were enduring in silence and often unkind isolation. Indeed, by spring, he could look at them as stubborn and gritty,

grant them a hesitant praise as pioneers with obvious personal courage, and confine his scorn and rancor to the fading fear of what their presence would produce in the future. He never forgot his own role as a white student at school for the first time in his city's history with a Negro, even as he began to talk of working beside them in a laboratory or sitting near them in a class, more in neutral telling than charged and pointed comment.

In truth he was in conflict. The Negro children experienced fear and loneliness, and largely replied with determined endurance. Such persistence could only splinter the responses of the white children. From the start Jim had rejected the few white boys or girls who were immediately friendly or protective toward the Negroes. He watched this small number withdraw their gestures from the Negroes under the pressures of ostracism and unaccustomed rebuke and insult, abandoning the two colored girls to silences interrupted only furtively in cloakrooms or empty corridors. He himself had called the Negroes and these few white classmates the common variety of names, had sent their way the usual jeers, all of which expressed a collective and personal confusion and feeling of betrayal which would yield only slowly to long days of simple if relentless time spent together in rooms and halls and cafeterias.

One long April afternoon he explained to me very carefully how he distinguished his friends at school, engrossed, as many adolescents are, in finding and locating his own identity by looking not only at himself but at those around him.

There were still these few, he reminded me, who came from another land of feeling or experience, or even hope, who seemed strangely unlike him in their willingness or ability to approach colored people and struggle with them for mutual knowledge and concern.

Moving to a majority were those who seemed to care little and notice less, annoyed, most of the time, by what seemed a distraction whose nature was less significant than its occurrence. Many adolescents are chiefly concerned with themselves, their study, their athletics or social life. Race is one more "ideology," one more complicated affair which asks for commitments from them which they reserve for their more immediate world. He described these friends almost wistfully.

Then he went on to those in another direction whom he saw as different from himself, but moved by fears and rage which he could understand, which he may have felt at moments, but which he described as alien to himself. We shared our knowledge of medical syndromes and he told me about the case of a girl friend who became physically sick, who wanted or needed to vomit, when she came "too near" a Negro. She avoided them in buses and shunned them in the classroom as if they were a deadly threat to her very life. "It's a physical thing with her, she's afraid she'll faint . . . I don't get that reaction. I don't want them here, but I'm not afraid of them, either." He continued about another friend who was provoked to words and deeds of dislike and attack which he also felt to be far from his own feelings and increasingly unattractive and upsetting. What puzzled him was not so much the content of their ideas, long familiar to him and also expressed by him on occasion, but the continuing intensity of their attitudes, and their compulsion to translate their impulses into sound and movement. He categorized himself

in perhaps romantic separation from all these children, sensing the desires and troubles of others even as all these touched separate chords of his own life and being.

Now, in this last day of school, Jim joined 18 of his classmates in solemn and surprising notes in the Annual of their graduating Negro companion, a rather bright, if by now weary, girl with a smile which offered her nervous fear disguised as pleasure. In his last month of school he had taken to history and current world politics with his characteristic high vigor, and his note to Sandra mentioned, with hesitant admiration, her part in "a changing world."

It was not that I hadn't felt changes in his sentiments over the months; it was the reminder, again, that each person will find his own way and moment, and that it's easier to analyze than predict what any person will do.

All over the South schools hold in their rooms new faces and old emotions. If we are interested in John and Jim as individuals we may have to abandon some notions which stick fast on groups but fall loose from particular people. There seems no end to surprises or contradictions as we talk with both Negro and white children in Atlanta and New Orleans. Of course, some of the paradoxes in school desegregation succumb in part to such explanations as the year of the event, the city affected, the age of the children involved and the jobs, the amount of money and the position in society of the families concerned. Although young children of six or seven can draw definite ideas and indicate definite feelings about racial identity, at their age games have precedence over ideas. Unless their parents have literally demanded of them the disease of a severe childhood phobia, they will learn about white and black skin, but they will also play together freely in even a harassed New Orleans school not out of naivete but in the natural and predominant playfulness of their age. The segregationist sees truly the risks of the very young of both races together in a school; but he is perhaps too gloomy about his own survival. Desegregation will not destroy hate that is taught at home. Young children, whether Negro or white, will ignore what they learn not because they don't realize it, or because they forget it, but because their age and its nature emphasizes other things. As they grow older and near the world of the grown person they recall all too easily old remarks, shrill threats, soothing or plaintive rationalizations, cries of defeat or despair.

Yet even in adolescence there are forces working both for and against the old traditions and customs, and the new ways which press themselves on each generation. Children gather many harvests from the early years and from family teachings, but adolescents thresh and winnow notoriously, often to the anguish of their settled parents. It is a practiced teacher indeed who is not challenged by the stubborn, often trying, curiosity of teenage youth. They may turn querulous or mischievous, but they are often astonishingly uncluttered by the handy excuses, the profound insights and tempered phrases which mark the matured minds and careful hearts of many of their elders. Teachers gasp in surprise and remind themselves that "his parents would die if they heard what he said," missing, in what seems to them confusion or inconsistency, the logic of the 16-year-old child who abandons centuries of history in the delight and pain of a mind in the labor of birth. Before this tide, racial attitudes have

no special dam, and, given any support at all by friends or officials of the schools or community, eddies of adolescent scrutiny can gather surprising force and direction.

Often over these past months I have heard people wonder at the experience of the relatively isolated Negro child in a school of white children or speculate about how white children receive them. It is a commentary on our time and habits of thought that we can ask some of the broadest questions with the least embarrassed quickness. People pounce with, "What have you found?" as if human nature is in some special way revealed in a desegregated classroom. Whether the question is asked in concern, anxiety, guilt or fear, the answer will always be that here were children who lived their separate lives, each bringing himself and leaving with whatever he became during those months. It is, of course, convenient to carry generalizations about, particularly when so much of our living and our relationships are splintered, guarded, not very lasting and touching. Under such conditions of existence a theory and its language can grant comfort and even offer itself for fixed passion, dissolving feeling and experience between people in its substitutive certainty. Conclusions and theories about human nature are as available today as they are wanted and begged. They may change hastily and contradict one another endlessly, but they abound. Why Man's fate and nature should have to be redefined and worded differently with such frequency and zeal, often for such scant reasons of discovery or experience, is as interesting as the assertions themselves.

Perhaps what we find, therefore, in these classrooms over the South, is our children, once again, like us before them, living with ambiguities, the hopes and fears and perils of what it is to be alive, to be a human being. From each of them we gather a different story, even as there are threads of similar thoughts and emotions through many or all of them. Perhaps their best moments will come when and if they themselves can sense this truth about themselves freely and even gladly.

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Martin,

Man of God,
What message lies within the shadows of your face?
What healing can you bring to this sore-ridden world,—
some anodyne,
some way
to meet a need?

Martin,
model for a people seeking life,
life only found in folding it away—
the seed in God's own bosom buried deep.

Martin,
Do we dare
to love completely?
What if
we cast this one last crust of bread
upon these ancient waters?

Martin,
Let your silence tell us of the song
that hearts can sing that are in love with God.
Let your blackness usher forth the light we need
to splinter blindness from our naked eyes.
Let your greatness tell us of the kingdom hid within.
Martin, help us,
Martin,
Man of God.

— *Sister Mary Augustine*

"Martin," celebrating the Negro lay brother of Lima canonized by the Catholic Church this year, is reprinted from SICK POOR with permission.

Arts and Entertainment for Southern Negroes

A smattering of sociology and ordinary observation suggests that the human being is more than the sum of his food, clothing, shelter and job, that he is also what he can read, see, enjoy and talk about. What then is open to the Negro? What is withheld from him? Does he have a chance to make of himself a whole man?

The Negro's status in the South is more than his economic buying power, his living quarters, his employment opportunities. As important as these are, his status is also his entree to our world of culture.

While citizenship embraces the right to vote, work, speak and think, it also encompasses the rights to see a play or a movie, hear a debate, talk in a discussion, read freely in a library, visit a museum or an art gallery, or relax in a park.

The Southern Regional Council questioned 13 cities in 10 states of the South: Birmingham, Ala,; Little Rock, Ark.; Atlanta and Savannah, Ga.; Jackson, Miss.; and Tulsa,* Okla.; Charlotte and Durham, N. C.; Columbus, S. C.; Nashville, Tenn.; Dallas* and Houston, Texas, and Richmond, Va.

Surveyed were movies, drive-in movies, municipal auditoriums, local theatre groups, summer theatre, and libraries.

We made no effort to assess the quality of culture available to whites and Negroes in the South. However, a single sample shows a disparity repeated countless times in countless places. On September 2, 1962, a day picked at random, the following movies were available to the white public in Richmond:

THE MUSIC MAN

BIRD MAN OF ALCATRAZ

AIDA and
MADAME BUTTERFLY

GUNS OF DARKNESS

THE SPIRAL ROAD

BIG RED

(and 6 others, newly released and of equal quality.) Here are all the movies available that day to the Negro public:

TARZAN GOES TO INDIA

LONELY ARE THE BRAVE and ADA

DON'T KNOCK THE TWIST and THE OUTSIDER

This one example indicates the cultural dearth imposed by segregation.

Three of the survey cities have desegregated theatres (downtown): Nashville, Atlanta, and Tulsa. Recent desegregation in movie theatres has also occurred in Chapel Hill, N. C.; Knoxville, Tenn.; Henderson, Louisville, Covington and Lexington, Ky.; and El Paso and Austin, Texas, though stringent measures have sometimes

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Dallas omitted from movie and drive-in movie surveys.

been taken to restrict Negro patronage to students.

On the whole, movie segregation presents a fairly solid barrier to the intellectual growth and enrichment of the average Negro Southerner. In some places, Negroes are able to go downtown and sit in a segregated balcony of one or more of the "first-run" houses. This lofty perch, sometimes dubbed "The Buzzard's Roost," is often empty since the advent of the sit-in movement.

The movie barrier, as this type of segregation can be termed, is not, however, impenetrable. Negotiations with theatre owners, mayors, and members of the adult and student Negro community are underway in cities in the upper and Deep South, and may open more theatres soon. There have been stand-in protests by Negro students and adults in Knoxville, Nashville, Lebanon and Chattanooga, Tenn.; Hampton, Va.; Charlotte, Greensboro, Henderson, Eatonton, Salisbury, Chapel Hill, Fayetteville, Durham, Winston-Salem and High Point, N. C.; San Antonio, Austin, Houston, Amarillo and Dallas, Texas; Alexandria, Arlington, Falls Church, Hampton and Richmond, Va.; Louisville, Ky., and Tallahassee, Fla.

Although some might have assumed that drive-in desegregation would go easier than others—after all, Negroes and whites would be in their own cars in a darkened lot—this does not seem to be the case. The presence of crowds, the types of people who frequent drive-ins, the intermission eating and the free-wheeling behavior in such theatres seem to contribute to the tension over desegregation. Only in Kentucky has drive-in desegregation been at all successful. The Kentucky Commission on Human Rights reports that 70% of 106 theatres surveyed admit Negroes without distinction. On the southwide scene, however, drive-in desegregation has been negligible, and one of the few attempts to desegregate a drive-in theatre occurred in Columbia, S. C., and erupted into violence.

Where Negroes cannot go downtown, or to a drive-in and cannot stand

TABLE I. MOVIES

City	*Total Movie Houses*	*White*	*White with Segregated Section*	*Negro*	*Desegregated*
Tulsa	9	5	—	1	3
Columbia	7	5	—	2	0
Little Rock	9	8	3	1	0
Jackson	10	8	—	2	0
Richmond	15	12	—	3	0
Nashville	10	4	—	1	5
Durham	6	4	2	2	0
Savannah	7	4	—	3	0
Atlanta	30	15	—	5	10
Charlotte	12	9	—	3	0
Birmingham	11	7	—	4	0
Houston	42	35	—	7	0
Totals	168	116	5	34	18

TABLE II. DRIVE-IN THEATRES

City	Total Drive-Ins	White	White with Segregated Section	Negro	Desegregated
Tulsa	9	4	—	0	5
Columbia	7	7	1	0	0
Little Rock	5	5	—	0	0
Jackson	5	5	—	0	0
Richmond	9	9	7	0	0
Nashville	8	6	—	0	2
Durham	3	2	—	1	0
Savannah	2	2	—	0	0
Atlanta	15	15	1	0	0
Charlotte	5	5	—	0	0
Birmingham	7	6	—	1	0
Houston	17	16	—	1	0
Totals	92	82	9	3	7

the movie price "uptown," many Negro citizens have gone for a year or more without seeing a motion picture at all.

In two of the survey cities—Tulsa and Nashville—at least some drive-in movies have integrated parking. Three cities have drive-in theatres for Negroes. But in seven of the cities, there are no drive-in theatres "for" Negroes, or drive-in theatres with segregated parking areas.

The survey cities reported many local and summer theatre groups which offer a great variety of serious and musical productions. Some of these are amateur, and some staffed with talented professional actors and directors. This is a rich field of culture in the South.

Negroes are not permitted to see productions in three of the 13 cities surveyed. Eight have summer theatre programs, mainly outdoor. Two of these do not permit Negroes to attend.

In many cities in the South, munici-

TABLE III. LOCAL AND SUMMER THEATRES

City	Local Theatres	Summer Theatres
Tulsa	2 not segregated	Indoor, not segregated
Columbia	1, Negroes cannot attend	None
Little Rock	1 not segregated	None
Jackson	5, Negroes cannot attend	Outdoor, Negroes cannot attend
Richmond	3 not segregated	Outdoor, not segregated
Nashville	3 not segregated	None
Durham	1 not segregated	Indoor, not segregated
Savannah	1, Negroes cannot attend	Indoor, Negroes cannot attend
Atlanta	3 not segregated	Outdoor, not segregated
Charlotte	1, Negroes cannot attend	Indoor, not segregated
Birmingham	None	None
Houston	1 segregated, 2 not segregated	None
Dallas	1 segregated	Indoor, not segregated

pal auditoriums offer opera, orchestras, dance groups, as well as all night hillbilly folk songs and wrestling. Therefore, a study of facilities open to Negroes in auditoriums is important, since in some cities the municipal auditorium houses whatever fine arts programs exist or are brought to the city. It should be noted then that the returns of these questionnaires show a considerable advance in the admittance of Negroes as compared with movie theatres.

In six of 13 cities, municipal auditoriums are open to all, and provide no special arrangements for Negroes (no separate sections in the auditorium, or balcony, no special day of the week, or other such stipulation). These are Tulsa, Durham, Atlanta, Charlotte, Houston, and Dallas.

Those auditoriums which do not have "special arrangements," i.e., those which permit seating freely chosen, have not been scenes of riots or incidents. Furthermore, desegregation of auditorium facilities has, for the most part, been the result of voluntary agreements and not court orders.

"Double" concerts—one for whites, and one for Negroes, often on the same day—have been arranged in the stronghold of the still militant Deep South, Birmingham.

On June 1, 1962, an Actors Equity Ruling—that no Equity member of the 54 companies which produce live shows can act in a play in front of a segregated audience—took effect. The southern circuit for these companies has, in the past, included such stops as Charlotte, Atlanta, Birmingham, and New Orleans, as well as smaller cities en route. As of June 1, the only cities in a position to offer an Equity show—on the circuit route—to a desegregated audience may be Atlanta and Charlotte, according to an Equity spokesman.

Libraries

Negroes, or any minority people, may be deprived of movies, or plays, or exhibits in museums or art galleries, and still manage to reach questioning fingers into the world of ideas and

TABLE IV. MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUMS

City	
Tulsa	Not segregated
Columbia	Separate section in balcony (though lessee can require desegregation), special events, dances, sports events predominantly for Negroes but may have white spectators
Little Rock	Separate section in balcony
Jackson	Reportedly, there is a separate section in balcony for Negroes, but few Negroes attend
Richmond	Separate section in balcony depending on lessee, but frequently integrated seating takes place
Nashville	Under construction
Durham	Not segregated
Savannah	Sometimes segregated, depending on lessee
Atlanta	Not segregated
Charlotte	Not segregated
Birmingham	Separate section in balcony auditorium; at times a show may be for whites at one hour, for Negroes at another.
Houston	Not segregated
Dallas	Not segregated

culture if they are permitted to read freely without special rules to follow or special rooms reserved.

Libraries were sources of dispute during the sit-ins, and were often opened by the movement which first attacked seating at lunch counters. In Danville, Va., for example, libraries closed in the summer of 1960 to avoid court-ordered integration. They then reopened on an integrated "stand-up" basis, which continued for three months, after which all facilities were integrated. Protests of students and local ministers occurred in Petersburg. Va.; Jackson, Miss.; Baton Rouge, La.; Albany, Ga.; Greenville, S. C.; and Memphis, Tenn., among others. (In Greenville, the library opened, segregated by sex.)

At the same time, desegregation of library facilities during the past two years has been peaceful in what might be regarded as strongholds of segregation—i.e., in Charleston, S. C.; Savannah, Ga.; Montgomery, Ala.; and in two counties in Mississippi.

Of the 13 cities in this present survey, only two still have segregated libraries: Jackson and Birmingham.

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from page 2)

deed punished with daytime fears and bedtime nightmares when their "unstable" and "neurotic" sons and daughters are instructing and escorting Negroes to register to vote, sometimes to the tune of gunfire and street beatings in deepest Dixie, or are enjoying the Southern Way of Life in a Black Belt jail.

It is not easy for kinfolks to wonder if this tall, laughing son is cowering in black solitary in Terrell County, Ga., with only bread and water, or if their gentle, bespectacled poetry-writing boy has a broken jaw or a ruptured kidney from a jailer in rural Alabama. It is certainly punishing for a white mother and father in Birmingham or a Negro couple in Nashville to wonder if their 18-year-old daughter is shot at from ambush or weeping under the crush of a wrist-breaker in prison in Mississippi.

But is parents-punishing their real "motivation," as we must nowadays term the reasons for faith, purpose and self-sacrifice? Our fancy analysts of personality and motives seem to know far better than Martin Luther King, Jr., Dion Diamond or Miss Ruby Doris Smith, just why, for instance, Dr. King endured house-bombings, arrests and threats on his family's life in Montgomery and jailings in Georgia, why Mr. Diamond chooses to risk street beatings and take on months of solitary in Baton Rouge and why the indefatigable Miss Smith pops up in the most dangerous demonstrations and the most brutal prisons in the South. To be sure, these critics have never met these Negro leaders, but this circumstance by no means impairs their confident judgments. Nor have they talked to Mr. and Mrs. James Forman who quit a $11,000 joint income so he could advance his career as head of SNCC for $60 a week, which the Formans frequently, but not always, collect. Yet these profound students of character and motive will assure us that the Formans and their employes, some of whom labor for an uncertain $15 or $20 a week in rural Mississippi, choose their temporary profession for huge salaries poured from the coffers of the NAACP, rich, South-hating Yankees or Muscovites. Nor do these omniscient analysts put any credence in the Negroes' simple claims

that they push, demand, suffer and imperil their bodies and spirits because they want to win public rights and freedom and to persuade whites to admit colored Americans to the human race.

Those of us who do credit these stated motives as honest ones are, of course, usually smiled away as "sentimentalists" or border-line "neurotics" ourselves.

I cannot, of course, say that every young person in the Movement is a marvel of "security," wholeness and fine emotional balance. Indeed, I met one Freedom Rider who seemed to me as obnoxious a young ass as I've encountered in contemporary life in or out of the Movement. I know one young white girl who seems to me—and here, I reckon I'm entitled to a bit of presumptuous psychologizing myself—quite devoted to hurting her southern parents, and from my brief acquaintance with her parents, I judge this may be a worthy cause.

As to the others, as far as my opportunity to know and judge them goes, they look to me as sound, attractive, gay and "integrated" of personality as any young folks I know who are giving their all on the football field, to dear old Phi Delt, for a degree in business administration or a new career as somebody's secretary or brisk young bond salesman. And they exhibit courage and constancy beyond anything I can detect in the well-adjusted, well-dressed and comfortably cynical youths who behave like everybody else. Of course these boys and girls do seem a bit edgy when they get out of a long stint in a Deep South jail or come fresh from a bus-burning, shooting or street beating. But a long ordeal, like final exams or a weekend of overwork, makes our "normal" young people nervous, too.

It occurs to me—and, again I presume to undertake amateur analysis—that our psychology fanciers are calling the wrong people crazy, and that they're doing so because their own ambitions and moral concerns are somewhat deficient for a best of all possible worlds.

If these critics believe that it is neurotic to struggle against oppression, cruelty and injustice to which their neighbors are subject, then they must cherish money, safety and the good opinion of the arrogant and mean-hearted more than they value freedom, kindness and equality for all Americans, even Southerners. Certainly their accusations against people in the Movement—of need for notoriety, sexual frustration and social failure, greed for money or hatred of parents—are "insights" which suggest vulgar values and petty desires in people who imagine these motives in others.

I am reminded of a more acceptable "insight" of Marion Wright, SRC vice president, in his review of the book, FREEDOM RIDE, in NEW SOUTH. With unprofessional wisdom, Mr. Wright wrote: "A better Freudian than this reviewer must determine why the white riders were the objects of especially brutal segregationist attention. 'Traitors to the white race' is the usual and facile expression. Perhaps the reason is deeper. It may lie in the spiteful and bitter resentment which little men instinctively feel for their betters. They resent manifestations of a nobility they themselves do not possess. In the fury of their assaults may lie secret admiration and envy."

I suggest that in the solemn psychoanalysis of freedom fighters which abounds today there may be, as Mr. Wright has it, secret admiration and envy of braver, stronger personalities.

New South

Integration, Yes, But . . .

"In the North, they're all in favor of integration on a 'yes, but' basis. 'Yes, but not now. Yes, but not here. Yes, but not next door.' I'm not saying there's no difference between the North and South because there's a world of difference.

"But in a way the South is healthier and less frustating. Both sides know where they stand. The white South says 'No!' We say 'Yes!' It's right out there between us where we can all see it and kick at it in public. I get the feeling that when integration comes in the South it will be with eyes open on both sides, and life down here will be healthier than in the North."—*A northern Negro student leader quoted in* "Negro Youths' New March on Dixie" *by Ben H. Bagdikian in* THE SATURDAY EVENING POST, *September 8, 1962.*

USE THIS CONVENIENT ORDER FORM FOR NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS TO NEW SOUTH

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

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Please enter my subscription to NEW SOUTH for one year, effective with the next issue. Enclosed is my check, or money order, for $2.00.

NAME_____

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✝

Prayer for Success of the Ecumenical Council

Eternal Father of mankind, Who hast created us all in Thine own image and likeness, and Who hast destined us to find happiness and peace in the fulfillment of Thy Law; help us, we beseech Thee, to discover in our relations with one another the bonds of union through which Thou dost draw us to Thyself. We have strayed far from Thee in the organization of out human society; we have followed false ideals which have risen up from selfish refusal to recognize Thy dominion over us, and from proud and senseless abuse of the blessing of freedom which Thou hast bestowed upon us.

Have mercy on us, most loving Master of us all, as we now strive to heal the wounds of dissension which have followed upon the misunderstandings of the past. Enlighten our minds with the brightness of Thine Infinite Wisdom and strengthen our wills with Thy divine power which orders all things sweetly. Bring us all together once more in the unity of doctrine in which we shall accept the truth which Thou hast revealed about Thyself; in the unity of discipline in which we shall yield in humble obedience to the authentic expression of Thy Will; in the unity of charity in which we shall find reconciliation of our human grievances and differences, and sustaining strength for our human inadequacy and weakness.

Thy loving and far-reaching Providence, dear Lord, has inspired the efforts which Thy servant Pope John, has begun to convene a new Ecumenical Council. May this Council, which begins in Thee, find in Thee and through Thee its happy ending. May it become a focal point around which all men of good will may turn their hearts towards Thee. May Thine own love of all Thy children, which rises above the narrowness and limitation of human affection and penetrates to the divine goodness which Thou hast placed in the deepest recesses of the human soul, bring us all at length to that unity which Thou hast willed, and within which Thou alone wilt be our Supreme Authority; Who livest and reignest forever and ever. Amen.

His Eminence
Richard Cardinal Cushing
Archbishop of Boston

Distributed by
National Council of Catholic Women
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 5, D. C.

NCCW

Atlanta Diocesan Council of Catholic Women

17 Demorest Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 5, Ga.
October 4, 1962
CE-7-9780

Mrs. M.E. Tilly,
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Attached is a list of Catholic women who might be interested in attending the Workshop of the Fellwoship of the Concerned. I regret that I shall not be able to attend as I shall be out of town on that date.

I strongly recommend that we concern ourselves with taking steps tpward reversing the present trend towards the secularization of society.

I believe that attitudes based on the Judeo-Christian teaching of the unity of all mankind as proceeding from the unity of creation and the unity of destiny are essential to the alleviation of the ills with which we are confronted. We must rediscover an authentic love for our fellow man because we see God in him. Without this spiritual ingredient no formula can possibly resolve our problem; with it our every effort will be blessed by God who is the Father of all men without exception.

This thinking is beautifully set forth in the prayer enclosed. If you care to include one of these cards in your Workshop envelopes, I shall be happy to furnish you with as many as you need.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely,

Gladys Gunning

Mrs. G.J. Gunning, president
Atlanta ACCW

B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN

1640 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Telephone: EXecutive 3-5284

October 11, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Attention: Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Since writing to you in June unfortunately two meetings have been scheduled from Washington from October 24 through the 30th to both of which I have primary obligations. One is the Self-Study Committee for B'nai B'rith Women and the other the Administrative Committee of the Supreme Lodge of B'nai B'rith.

I shall certainly miss being with you at this meeting. I have always found these sessions most inspiring and educational.

My very best wishes for successful sessions and again my regrets at not being able to be present.

Sincerely yours,

Amelia Corkland Strauss

ACS:ve

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Cl 9-0439
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October 12, 1962

Mr. A. I. Botnick
Community Relations
Consultant
Anti-DeFamation League
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Botnick:

We are more than delighted that you will be a resource person for one of the Workshop Groups.

Our sessions will be at Interdenominational Theological Center. The lunches and dinner will be at Atlanta University.

There are two major issues we must and will face. "The Church" and from each denomination (three faiths) there will be a report of the progress made in an open-door policy. (None much has been done -- maybe this will stir us to action.)

The second issue is Housing, which as you know, is the key to the integration of churches, of schools, etc., and also a test of character of the individual. We will have a representative from the National Office on Housing.

I am enclosing a sheet containing the schedule of the meeting. Have you a pamphlet on Housing that should be in the packet we give each participant? Thanking you, I am

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:nm

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

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General Counsel

October 10, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am replying to your letter of September 19th addressed to my colleague Richard Shapiro.

Mr. Shapiro will be out of the city on October 30 and 31, 1962. Because of this, he has asked me to serve as a resource person in one of your workshops on the Fellowship of the Concerned.

If this is satisfactory with you, I will be very happy to render this service. I look forward to your reply.

Thank you.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

A. I. Botnick
Community Relations
Consultant

aib/tg

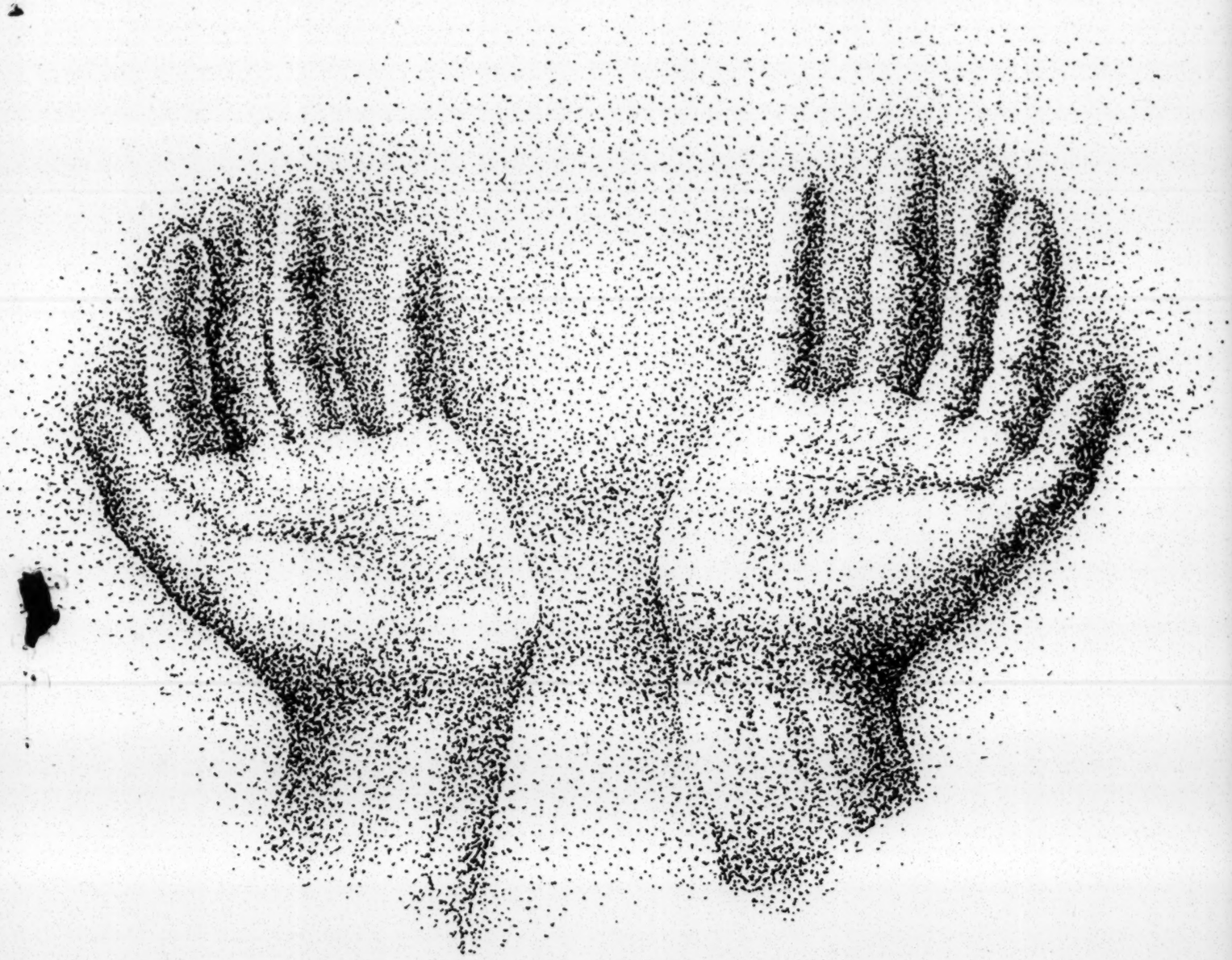
P.S. In a recent letter from our mutual friend Rabbi Charles Mantinband of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, he asked that I give you his warmest regards.

JR 3-1098

IN OUR HANDS

What is man that thou art mindful of him
and the son of man that thou dost care for him?
Thou has given him dominion over the works of
thy hands;
thou hast put all things under his feet.

Psalm 8: 4-6



Work Book of the Fellowship of the Concerned

Southern Regional Council

Atlanta, Georgia - October 30-31

---a Secret Plan
Is hid in my hand
---my hand is big
Big,
Because of this plan,
---God,
Who dwells in my hand,
Knows this secret plan
Of the things He will do for the world.

. . . Songs from the Slums . . .

Poems By -- Toyohiko Kagawa

Man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life . . . .
... from Inaugural Address of President Kennedy

The vast power in the atom, can be used to create wealth in the waste lands and figuratively stretch the surface to the earth, now uninhabitable into fit dwelling places for man.

It could be employed to bring to light treasures of mineral wealth now buried in accessible places; to irrigate deserts and transform them into blooming gardens; to air-condition vast stretches of the tropics and of the Artic sub-Artic continents, thus literally providing more living space for the increasing world population.

In short, man is on the eve of the era, in which he will be able to rebuild his world "nearer to the heart's desire" --- <u>only if he maintains</u> peace with his fellowman.

"The Promise of Tomorrow" -- By, Lawrence Williams

PROGRAM

OCTOBER 30, 1962
10:00 A. M.

SONG — Miss Cecilia Sheppard

PRAYER — Rev. J. J. Sneed, D. D.
Pastor, Haygood Memorial Methodist Church

GREETINGS — Southern Regional Council
Mr. Paul Anthony

Ga. Council of Churches
Rev. Edward Driscoll

Interdenominational Theological Center
Dr. Harry V. Richardson

Dr. Master J. Wynn

Mrs. Harry V. Richardson

INTRODUCTIONS

SONG — Miss Cecilia Sheppard

WORSHIP — "What Is That In Thine Hand?"
Rev. Emilie Pitcock

PURPOSE — Mrs. M. E. Tilly

THE CHURCH IN A - - - "VALLEY OF DECISION"
Leader -- Rev. Elbert Jean

PARTICIPANTS

Mrs. Norvell Wicker
Mrs. Benjamin Mays - C.M.E.
Mrs. E. L. Askren - Congrega'al
Miss Mary Beth Littlejohn - Meth
Mrs. Susie Holley - Baptist
Mrs. Edith J. Walsh - Presby-US
Mrs. C. Hoffman - Unitarian
Mrs. Robert Wilcox - Methodist
Mrs. Seymour Haber - Jewish
Mrs. W. W. Thrasher - Christian Ch.
Rev. Annie Campbell - Congrega'al
Mrs. Ben Russell - Presby - USA
Mrs. Fred Patterson - Sou. Baptist
Mrs. A. H. Sterne - Episcopal

"UNITY OF THE CHURCH" - - - The Reverend Vincent Brannon
Archdiocessan Commission on Christian Unity.

"THESE RIGHTS WE HAVE" - - - Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

PRAYER HYMN — Blessing

12:30 — LUNCH

AFTERNOON SESSION

MEDITATION Think On These Things
-- Mrs. Arthur Styron

Love Thy Neighbor As Thy Self -- Lev. 19:18

Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethern to dwell together in unity!

It is like the precious ointment upon the head that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard; that went down to the skirts of his garments.

As the dew of Hermon, and as the dew upon the mountains of Zion, for there the Lord commanded the blessing, even life forevermore. Psalm. 133:

They helped everyone, his neighbor, and everyone said to his brother, be of good courage.

So the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith, and that smoothed with the hammer, him that smote the anvil, saying, "It is ready for the sodering," and he fastened it with nails that it should not be moved. . . . Isaiah 41:6-7.

Thou shall not respect the person of the poor, nor honor the person of the mighty, but in righteousness thou shall judge thy neighbor.

Thou shall not go up and down as a tale bearer among thy people, neither shall thou stand against the blood of thy neighbor. I am the Lord -- Thou shal not hate thy brother in thy heart.
Lev. 19: 15-17.

Thou shall not bear false witness against thy neighbor.
Exodus - 20:16

Hatred stirreth up strife, but love covers all sins. Prov. 10:12.

Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil, cleave to that which is good.
Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love; in honor preferring one another. .. Romans 12:9-10
Love is patient and kind; love is not jealous or boastful, it is not arrogant or rude.
Love does not insist in its own way, it is not irritable or resentful, it does not rejoice at wrong, but rejoices in the right. Love bears all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things. So faith, hope, love, abide these three, but the greatest of these is love.

"FORGIVE THOSE WHO TRESPASS AGAINST US"
Mr. Freeman L. Nelson

"HOUSING - THE KEY TO BETTER HUMAN RELATIONS"
Miss Flora Hatcher

SONG Miss Cecilia Sheppard

DISCUSSION GROUPS: Miss Eleanor French -- Director
We Seek --
a conviction that will not let us rest
a faith that will not shrink
a courage that will not waver

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 1

Leader	Miss Janet Rogan
Reporter	Mrs. Sadie Barrow
Resource Persons	Mr. R. A. Thompson
	Mrs. Frances Pauley

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 2

Leader	Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner
Reporter	Mrs. Clayton Calhoun
Resource Persons	Mr. Robert Shrider
	Mr. Staige Blackford

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 3

Leader	Mrs. Abbie C. Jackson
Reporter	Mrs. Jane Schutt
Resource Persons	Mr. Paul Rilling
	Mrs. A. R. Hill

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 4

Leader	Mrs. John Patton
Reporter	Mrs. R. R. Eckart
Resource Persons	Mrs. Ralph Williams
	Miss Thelma Stevens

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 5

Leader	Mrs. Eva Parks
Reporter	Mrs. Elizabeth Hartsfield
Resource Persons	Miss Carrie Mears
	Dr. George Clary

DISCUSSION GROUP No. 6

Leader	Mrs. James R. Beach
Reporter	Miss Wilma D. Freeman
Resource Persons	Mr. A. I. Botnick
	Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen

OCTOBER 30, 1962

EVENING SESSION

7:30 P. M.

WORSHIP

SONGS "The Perfect Prayer" -- Steveson
Rev. Moses Pleasure - Tenor
Rev. Edward Norris - Bass Baritone

"Breathe On Me, Breath of God" -- Jackson
Quartet - I. T. C.

Dr. Killingsworth - - - Director

SOUTHERN COLLEGE STUDENTS LOOK AT THEIR REGION--
Dr. Robert Coles

PARTICIPANTS- - -

Lawrence Jefferson - Morehouse College
Martha Holmes - Spelman College
Gordon Patton - Emory University
Joan Browning - Georgia State

REPORTING TIME:

A word from those who came last year.

DISCUSSION GROUPS CONTINUED

9:30 P. M. ADJOURNMENT

OCTOBER 31, 1962
9:30 A. M.

SONG Miss Cecilia Sheppard

PRAYER IN UNISON:

Grandfather, Great Spirit, You have been always, and before You nothing has been. There is no one to pray to but You. The star nations all over the heavens are Yours, and Yours are the grasses of the earth. You are older than all need, older than all pain and prayer.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, all over the world the faces of living ones are alike. With tenderness they have come up out of the ground. Look upon our children, with children in their arms, that they may face the winds, and walk the good road to the day of quiet.

Grandfather, Great Spirit, fill us with light. Give us the strength to understand and the eyes to see. Teach us to walk the soft earth as relatives to all that live.

Help us, for without You we are nothing. Amen. . . . . from, Sioux Indian Prayer, Western United States

* * * * * * * * * * *

"BUILDING A BROTHERHOOD"

B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN - - - - Mrs. Bernard Facher

COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN - - Mrs. Henry L. deGive

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN - - "Assignment Race"
- -Miss Carrie Mears

REPORTS

"Evaluation of the Symposium on the Church --
-- Rev. John Morris
-- Rev. Vincent Harding

The Workshop Groups

"WHAT WE HAVE BEEN SAYING - WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?"
-- Miss Thelma Stevens

CLOSING MESSAGE Dr. Harry V. Richardson

1:00 P. M. LUNCH

WHO's WHO

Mrs. Harry V. Richardson -- Official Hostess

HOSTESSES:

Mrs. Ben Milner, Mrs. Van P. Enloe, Mrs. George T. Gunning, and Mrs. Phil Narmour.

* * * * * * * *

Miss Cecilia Sheppard - Division of Religion - Paine College
Dr. J. J. Sneed, Pastor, Haygood Memorial Methodist Church - Atlanta
Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant, Southern Regional Council
Rev. Edward Driscoll - Executive Director, Ga. Council of Churches
Dr. Harry V. Richardson - President, I. T. C., Atlanta
Dr. Master J. Wynn - President - Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta
Rev. Emilie Pitcock - Minister of Christian Education, Southeastern Convention Congregational Christian Churches, United Church of Christ.
Mrs. M. E. Tilly - Director of Women's Work, Southern Regional Council
Rev. Elbert Jean - National Council of Churches
The Reverend Vincent Brannon - Chairman, Archdiocesan Commission on Christian Unity.
Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar - Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
Mr. Freeman L. Nelson, Dept. of Justice, U. S. Penitentiary, Atlanta
Miss Flora Hatcher, Assistant to the Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington, D. C.
Miss Eleanor French - Director - Christian Social Relations, UCW
Miss Janet Rogan, Council of Catholic Churchs, Atlanta
Mrs. Sadie Barrow, Executive Director, YWCA, New Orleans, La.
Mr. R. A. Thompson, Executive Director, Atlanta Urban League
Mrs. Frances Pauley, Executive Director, Ga. Council on Human Relations.
Mrs. E. L. Glossbrenner, President, Woman's Society of Christian Service, Richmond, Va.
Mrs. Clayton Calhoun, Christian Social Relations, Methodist
Mr. Robert Shrider, Executive Director, Bethlehem Community Center, Atlanta
Mr. Staige Blackford, Director, Research Department, Southern Regional Council
Mrs. Abbie C. Jackson, President, Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, A. M..E. Zion Church, Louisville, Ky.
Mrs. Jane Schutt, Episcopal, Mississippi
Mr. Paul Rilling, Director of Field Services, Southern Regional Council.
Mrs. A. R. Hill, President, Bethlehem Community Center, Atlanta
Mrs. John Patton, UCW, Atlanta
Mrs. R. R. Eckart, CSR, Louisiana
Mrs. Ralph Williams, Bethlehem Community Center, Atlanta
Miss Thelma Stevens, Executive Secretary, Christian Social Relations, Woman's Division of Christian Service, The Methodist Church
Mrs. Eva Parks - Central Jurisdiction - Methodist
Mrs. Elizabeth Hartsfield, Ky Association of Christian Churches
Miss Carrie Mears - National UCW, Director of"Assignment Race."

Dr. George E. Clary - Director - Georgia Methodist Commission on Higher Education
Mrs. James R. Beach, Executive Secretary, Georgia Christian Women's Fellowship, Macon
Miss Wilma D. Freeman, Director - Girl's Auxiliary - Woman's Mission Missionary Union of North Carolina, Baptist State Convention
Mr. A. I. Botnick - A. D. L. - Consultant, Atlanta
Mrs. J. W. E. Bowen, UCW, Atlanta
Dr. Killingsworth, Director Music Department, I. T. C.
Dr. Robert Coles, Southern Regional Council - Research in Student Adjustment
Mrs. Henry L. deGive, Council of Catholic Women
Rev. John Morris, Director, Epsicopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, Atlanta
Rev. Vincent Harding, Mennonite House, Pastor
Mrs. Bernard Facher, B'nai B'rith

THESE -- You asked to be considered.

I. Unwed Mothers.

This we give and ask you to be aware of.

The U. S. Secretary of Education and Welfare, early in 1962, sent a 10-Point reform to State Welfare Agencies.

Point 4 is -- "Intensive Case Work Services. At least one home visit every three months required for relief families with illigetimate children.

The best trained welfare worker must be put on this job."

REFERENCES

The Ladies Home Journal, October 1962, Page 28, has an article "Sometimes Life Just Happens"

McCall's, October, 1962, Page 92, has an article "O Mother"

II. Our Political Campaigns

We give you this to read and ponder over.

From -- The Bench Mark -- used by permission from:

-- Church and Community Press, Atlanta.

> This is the Southern Preacher Speaking 150 years after The Great Revival, and with the same Clarity, the same fearless Insight, the same zeal for Truth, that the crusaders of Wilderness Road spoke in their own way for their own time.
>
> ---- James W. Sells

When Will My South Ask These Questions - -

-- Henry Burton Trimble

I was born in the South. I have lived in the South all my life with the exception of three or four years. I don't want to be a professional Southerner. I want to be an American too. I had much rather think of the things that I have in common with the whole of America than about the points of variation.

We can as a group, I think, feel that we are a family. We are talking about problems of mutual interest to us; some pleasant, some unpleasant. There is a nice thing about talking in the family spirit. You can say what you wouldn't say to a stranger.

As a family, I want to ask some questions. These are real questions to me. They are not frivolous at all. And I have nothing dogmatic to say in answer.

First I would ask: -- WHY HAS THE SOUTH CEASED THE PRODUCTION OF GREAT POLITICAL LEADERS? At least, their greatness has not been rewarded, for example by being elected to the Presidency. Look what we used to do:-- Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Polk, Lee. We haven't produced a man of that magnitude in a century. At least, I do not know of one. Over in Nashville, Tennessee, I served as pastor of the McKendee Methodist Church. James K. Polk was once a member of that church. Just down the street is the First Presbyterian Church. Andrew Jackson was once a member of that church.

Now, why don't we have folks like that now? This is a family question. Could it be that our leaders, to be elected to high office, must commit themselves to principles and ideas that are restricted to our area? And which are necessary to accept? Could that be the trouble?

I can't believe that a section which raised so much of the early leadership of a great nation has lost the knack of producing great men.

Woodrow Wilson began his active life as a lawyer. He hung out his shingle in Atlanta, and practiced here for two years. I suppose he intended to stay here the rest of his life, and be a Georgia lawyer. Would Woodrow Wilson ever have become President of the U. S. A. if he had remained in Georgia? Now, that is just in the family. I don't know. But it is a question that I think ought to arrest our attention.

There is another question that I would like to ask, I direct this -- Well, we are all church people. Here in The Southeast live, I suppose, the greatest solid block of Protestants on earth. It is an area where the church wields great influence. A large percentage of our population are church people. Sometimes we are called The Bible Belt. I don't think we deserve it. WHY IS IT THAT HERE IN THIS CENTER OF CHRISTIANITY, A RELIGION THAT TEACHES HUMANENESS AND KINDNESS AND BROTHERLY LOVE HAS SUCH A HARD TIME? Now, just in the family, I ask the question.

Why doesn't a Nobel Prize winner teach, or research, in a Southern university?

I believe that these are fair questions, and I think that they are of interest to the Southern people. We ought to give them serious consideration because they may be symptoms of something.

Now we talk about our way-of-life and our-South. But when I hear a person say anything about The South, I almost always feel like asking "Which South?" Because, clearly, there are two Souths. They both date back to Appomattox and, I suppose, even beyond that. When it was evident that the South was facing immediate defeat, there were two ideas. One was held by Robert E.. Lee, and his associates. The other held by another group, who didn't want to surrender. They wanted to break up into guerilla bands, take to the mountains, and prolong the desolation that had befallen the country.

We have had both types of successors to these two ideas. We have had the guerillas. We have had them in politics. We have had the guerilla who has been terribly afraid of Yankees and colored people.

But we have had the other school, too -- the school of thought inherited from Jefferson, Jackson and Lee. Now our hope resides in the quality of the education we are able to give our young people. We should all be greatly encouraged by the progress that has been made in all the departments of education in our South land during the last generation. May God grant that it shall never cease. Liberal institutions require the best possible education. To abandon efficient education is to abandon the highest and best type of civilization.

Is our Southern atmosphere a liberal atmosphere? Is it conducive to the development of the highest possibilities of our region?

What do we mean by a liberal atmosphere?

1. It is a situation where Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Press, and Freedom of Assembly are encouraged and actually used.

2. It is a place where problems are viewed objectively, and the mind, as well as the emotion, is employed in solving them.

3. It is a place where differences of opinion are tolerated.

4. It is a place where, in respect to important issues, a balance is maintained. No issue is allowed to be brought up to the point where it's significance is all out of proportion to its importance.

5. It is a place where ideals are popular, and progress is open to all people on the basis of merit.

6. It is a place where you don't use devices and pressures to press all the people into a single mold.

Now, I do not score our Southland on this test. I am not even sure that it is a good test. But I RAISE THE QUESTION AMONG US SOUTHERN PEOPLE AS TO WHETHER AND TO WHAT EXTENT WE NOW HAVE A LIBERAL SOCIETY CONDUCIVE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS TO THE FULLEST EXTENT POSSIBLE?

And now a few words about the church. I am still talking about our Southland, and still asking questions. I quote a familiar passage of scripture. Jesus was asked, "Which is the greatest commandment?" You know that his answer was, "Love God with your whole heart, and your neighbor as yourself."

There is a strange thing about the common interpretation of that passage to me. I go back to the time when we had the "testimony meeting." I have heard a great many people give their religious testimonies. It is puzzling that practically

all of the testimonies were related to the first part of that Commandment -- a man's relation to his God. The other part of it is just as important. But it never seems to be drawn into the Christian testimony.

And yet, it can be. Albert Schweitzer, I think, is the most influential Christian alive. One of the reasons that took him to Africa was to make some atonement for the wrongs done the black man by the white man. He tells a story concerning religious experience in the area that I am asking you to think about, -- OUR HUMAN RELATIONS.

He had not been there too long in his little hospital, when a man came in from the forest suffering great abdominal distress. There was no nurse around. Dr. Schweitzer managed to get the man to sleep. Then he performed the operation and sat waiting by the bed side. After a long wait the man began to move. He opened his eyes in bewilderment. Then he suddenly felt his side, and said, "Oh. What has happened. The pain is all gone. I am not hurting anymore."

Then Dr. Schweitzer tells how he reached out and took the black man by the hand and said, "The Lord, Jesus Christ, sent me to Africa to do this." And he added, "All consciousness of human division vanished from my heart. And I felt myself one with all mankind."

III. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Sorry, but this would require more hours than we have -- go home and form a study group. Refer to The Post -- September 22-29 --"My Life with Juvenile Gangs." by Vincent Riccio, as told to: Bill Slocum.

THE PROMISE OF TOMORROW

WILLIAM L. LAWRENCE

From Collier's Weekly - December 23, 1955

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

On Monday, August 8, 1955, on the opening day of the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, at Geneva, Switzerland, I was one of the group, composed of leading scientist from many nations, including Russia, that stood in hushed silence around a large circular tank filled with some 13,000 gallons of crystal-clear water.

The scene was the special building, directly behind the Palace of Nations, that housed the United States nuclear reactor, the first atomic power plant of any kind ever to be exhibited publicly anyway on earth. All of us present, including the Russians were aware that we were about to become witness to one of the greatest events in history, at which Peaceful Atom, a 20th century version of Atlas carrying a new world on his shoulders was to make public appearance.

Sophisticated men of science, many of them rationalists and even outright agnostics, stood wide-eyed with an air of expectancy and wonder very like that of children around a gift-laden Christmas tree. For consciously or sub-consciously, every one present realized that he was about to witness the arrival of the new Promethus with a richer gift by far than the gift of Promethus' fire that started men on his slow march from the cave on the road to the stars.

There was nothing unusual about the over-sized fish bowl to which the makers referred to as the "swimming pool reactor." The tank was about ten feet in diameter and 22 feet deep, but the lowe 18 feet were buried in the ground. At the bottom of the tank was a bizarre-looking contraption, a grid plate supported from below, about five and one-half feet high. This was the core of the reactor, loaded with some 40 pounds of uranium, enriched to contain about eight pounds of active fissionable variety of the element. Rather a small amount of fuel one might say. Not so small when one realizes that as an explosive the eight pounds would yield the equivalence of 72 thousand tons - yes, tons of TNT, while as a source of power that rather puny amount in terms of concentual fuel would yield a total of well over 100,000 kilowatt hours of energy.

As we stood there the lights went out and we were left in total darkness for a time that seemed very long. Out of the depth of the tank, there emerged a faint blue glow. Slowly, imperceptively the glow became more and more luminious until the reactor lattace was enveloped in whitish blue light. Around it was a halo of unearthly greenish blue that ended abruptly in

a haze of many shaded purple. The haze grew more intense, a purple fire that seemed to penetrate through the ring of steel that confined it, to spread ever outward until it permeated the entire room, enveloping all of us in a mantle of eerie cold purple light, coming, one felt from a source not of this world, from the very bowls of the cosmos as it were.

Outward, outward, the cloud of purple haze spread into ever-widening cirlces, until they seemed to penetrate the very walls of the room into outer space. It gave one the sensation of the eminence of a new dawn, of the rising of a new sun on the horizon of another worldly purple sky. One became aware being present at the birth of a world...

...As the lights were turned on again, we gradually returned to the mundane sphere of every day life, I remembered the other occasions at which I saw the same force from the inner core of the cosmos, the citadel of the atoms of which the material world is made.

I saw once again the purple ball of fire liberated in an uncontrolled burst of purple flamd and concentrating the light of more than a hundred noon time suns, that rose over the desert near Alamogordo, New Mexico, on the morning of July 16, 1945, when the first atomic bomb exploded in the greatest wartime secrecy. I remembered the giant mushroom cloud that emerged out of the super-sun, carrying a deadly radiations that annihilate all life in its path.....

I remember a bit of dialogue between me and one of the scientist who designed the atomic bomb on our way back to Los Alamos from the explosion at Alamogordo, "This was the nearest thing to doomday one can possibly imagine." I heard the voice of the scientist next to me say, though it seemed to come from a distance, "I am sure, I am sure," I heard the voice say, "that at the end of the world milli-second of the earth's existence, that last man will see something very similar to what we have seen."

And out of the silence that ensured, there came another voice=in-my-own-which also sounded from a distance - "Possibly so," said the voice, "but it is also possible that if the first man could have been present at that moment of creation when God said, "Let there be light," he might have seen something very similar to what we have just seen."

Here were two individuals who had just witnessed one of the greatest, if not the greatest events in modern history, one of the most significant in all history. Yet one saw a twilight, while the other saw the vision of a new dawn; one saw the potential end of a man on this planet, whereas the other saw the

vision of a new dawn; one saw the potential end of man on this planet, whereas the other saw the possibly beginning of a new life in a richer, more peaceful and abundant world.

Which of the two visions was nearer to the truth? During the momentous decade which followed there were times when the vision of dooms day seemed the most likely to come true. . . But that day in Geneva in August 1955, and during the two weeks of the historic conference that followed, it became more clear that man had successfully passed the greatest crisis in his history that had at least emerged from a world of night-mares, topped by giantic mushroom clouds into a world holding out the promise of the fulfillment of his most cherished dreasm -- peace, prosperity, and an environment fashioned by himself in which he will have the opportunity for the first time to realize his unlimited spiritual potential, achieved not by only a relative few...

It thus became clear at Geneva Atomic Conference that man was on the eve of the greatest industrial, social and economic revolution in the million years of his evolution on earth. From a civilization controlled by scarcity, he is about to emerge into the green pastures of a civilization build on plenty. From a world torn by strife and war he is about to enter a new world based on peace, a world built to order with no limitations to the realization of his vast potentialities physically intellectually, spiritually.

Ironically enough this great potential future that man may realize only if he maintains the peace with his fellows, came about as the product of the greatest and most destructive war in history, "Out of the eater came forth food, and out of the strong came forth sweetness" -- a modern solution of Sampson's riddle.

The vast power in the atom, can be used to create wealth in the vast lands and figuratively stretch the surface of the earth, now uninhabitable into fit dwelling places for man. It could be employed to bring to light treasures of mineral wealth now buried in accessible places; to irrigate deserts and transform them into blooming gardens; to air-condition vast stretches of the tropics and of the Artic sub-Artic continents, thus literally providing more living space for the increasing world population. In short, man is on the eve of the era in which he will be able to rebuild his world "nearer to the heart's desire" -- <u>only if he maintains peace with his fellowman.</u>

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

What is the Fellowship of The Concerned? It is what its name implies -- a fellowship of the Church Women leaders of both races, and the three faiths, concerned about their South. There are no officers and no membership dues. It is sponsored by The Southern Regional Council. The initiative for action, however, is entirely in the hands of the women.

HISTORY

Whenever there has been a crisis in human relations in the South, Church women have come together to face the issues and work out a program of action. The first call was to a Cause and Cure of War Conference, just before World War II. This answered a national call, under the direction of an appointed Southern leader (Mrs. M. E. Tilly).

Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

When lynching was prevalent in the South, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was formed, under the direction of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The story of their work is well known and saved the South from continued mob violence. (Mrs. Tilly was secretary of this group -- since then she has directed all other of these Southwide meetings.)

Rural Health.

Rural health was the next disturbing situation faced. This began as a Methodist project, but, realizing it was the concern of all the South, the leaders of the groups of the three faiths came together. The U. S. Surgeon-General gave his blessing to the endeavor by his presence and address at the meeting. This health conference was followed by district meetings in the States. In our files we have a letter from the Director of the State Health Department of Georgia, stating that it was entirely through these meetings that the Legislature passed the appropriation of one million dollars for rural hospitals a few months later. This same story could be said of each of the States.

Demobilization Conference.

Realizing that the women had spent a great deal of time in First Aid and Red Cross work, and now that the war was over this time should be mobilized for peacetime action, women were called together in a Demobilization Conference.

Workshop of Civil Rights.

With a member of the staff of the U. S. Department of Justice with us, this workshop was held to study civil rights and to become aware of current infringements of these rights in our South.

Conference on Injustice in the Courts.

At this conference was worked out a program "Know Your Courts as You Know Your Schools." Here the women named themselves The Fellowship of The Concerned, and began sitting in courts, giving courage to judges and juries alike. They presented the sheriffs of two-thirds of our counties with the pamphlet, "Race and Law Enforcement."

Supreme Court Decision on School Integration.

The first conference was held in 1953 just before the decision came and here the women planned what they would do in preparation for the decision. In February of 1955, the women again came together from the States of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina. These have been followed up with State Meetings. On October 30-31, 1956, one-hundred-nine women came from 10 southern states -- this was a gathering of the women of three faiths, of each denomination, and of both races. This meeting is being re-enacted in the states. Altogether about 2,000 women, each year, have been in the South-wide and State meetings on this question. These Workshops have been great by every measure. One is impressed by the deep spiritual nature of them. This is well, for spiritual power is needed. These women are finding the spiritual strength and power to be --

Firm in conviction, never afraid to speak
Persuasive in conversation,
Patient and understanding with those who do not agree..
"Fervent in spirit, serving the Lord."

1957 Workshop was held October 29-30.

The general subject was, "The Challenge of Controversy."

1958 Workshop was held October 16-17.

The subject was "Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world."

1959 Workshop was held November 5-6.

The general subject was, "Roots Of Freedom."

1960 Workshop was held November 15-16.

The general subject was, "Justice Weighed in The Balance."

1961 Workshop was held November 6-7.

The general subject was, "One God, One World, One People."

1962 Workshop - - - October 30-31.

The general theme - - "In Our Hands." We used as a background a part of the 8th Psalm - - also Kagawa's poem, ". . . a secret plan, Is Hid in My hand."

Oct., 1962

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director James M. Dabbs, President

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
ALpine 2-2722 (205)
Exec. Dir.: Norman Jimerson
Chairman: Rev. Powers McLeod

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas
FRanklin 4-4521 (501)
Exec. Dir.: Nathaniel Griswold
Chairman: Rev. Charles C. Walker

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Acting Executive Director:
Dr. Ralph Dreger
2867 Justina Road
Jacksonville 11, Florida
RA. 4-5862 (305)
Chairman: Mrs. Mabel Chesley

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Room 502
Atlanta 3, Georgia
525-6468 (404)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Frances Pauley
Chairman: Rev. Charles Demere

KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Chairman: Dr. Rufus Atwood
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

LOUISIANA: (No state Council)
NEW ORLEANS COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL
Chairman: W. Theodore Baptist
101 S. Wren Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Chairman: Dr. A. D. Beittel
Tougaloo Southern Christian College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
121 E. Third Street, Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina
FRanklin 6-6833 (704)
Exec. Dir.: Harry S. Jones
Chairman: Rev. Henry Ruark

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina
ALpine 6-8808 (803)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Alice Spearman
Chairman: Rev. Fred Reese

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee
CYpress 1-7544 (615)
Exec. Dir.: Miss Katherine Jones
Chairman: George Barrett

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
114-B Broad-Grace Arcade Building
Richmond 19, Virginia
MIlton 9-0872 (703)
Exec. Dir.: Heslip Lee
Chairman: Dr. Thomas Henderson

TEXAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Chairman: Mrs. James S. Crate
8510 Ferris Street
Houston 35, Texas

Local Councils With Professional Staff:

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 207
Atlanta 3, Ga. - 525-6469 (404)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Eliza Paschall
Chairman: Mrs. Clifton Hoffman

HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
3605 Fannin Street
Houston, Texas - JA. 4-5084 (713)
Exec. Sec.: Mrs. George Dumbauld
Chairman: Mrs. E. Pliny Shaw

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have been active since 1919. The Commission was founded in that year by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Through the ensuing years it built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset. It worked to encourage an interchange of ideas and mutual trust between the South's two peoples. The notion of cooperative action by persons of good will, both white and Negro, took firmer root and has continued to grow.

In time the Commission sought ways of expanding its activities to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. This led to the formation of the Southern Regional Council, which was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of the Methodist Church; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation formally merged its program and assets with those of the Council.

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 Southerners, drawn from the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. The Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational.

In 1951, the Council formally committed itself to the aim of an unsegregated society. It did so because it believed segregation to conflict with moral values, with democratic principles, and with the best interests of the country and this region. The Council has, therefore, an announced point of view. It has, furthermore, a single-minded devotion to the method of fair, open, and well-informed discussion. It believes that Southern problems cannot be satisfactorily solved unless Southerners are willing to discuss them frankly, critically, and realistically. The Council's program is planned and its publications are prepared to serve that end.

Financial support for the Council has come from many different individuals and organizations. The latter include national foundations, many church denominations, and various trade unions and business firms.

The Council's present functions may be summarized as follows: 1) it provides consultative services to private and official agencies; 2) it carries on research and publishes frequent reports of findings; 3) it publishes a monthly magazine, New South, and works with the press, radio, and television; 4) it is a clearinghouse and coordinator for other agencies concerned with Southern problems.

The Southern Regional Council seeks to be a practical organization, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. It is an educational organization. It believes that each community in the South must find its own answers to social issues within the framework of law and conscience. It offers no blueprint, no panacea for the South's human problems. It does offer a method--that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

* * *

Present officers of the Southern Regional Council:

President

James M. Dabbs
Planter and Author
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Vice-Presidents

Josephine Wilkins
Athens, Georgia

Dr. Albert W. Dent, President
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Marion A. Wright
Attorney and Past President, SRC
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Chairman, Executive Committee

John H. Wheeler, President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Executive Director

Leslie W. Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

6/24/61

PRAYER

Grant us brotherhood, not only for this day,
but for all our years.
A brotherhood not of words but of acts and deeds.
We are all of us children of earth --
Grant us that simple knowledge.
If our brothers are oppressed, then we are oppressed.
If they hunger -- we hunger.
If their freedom is taken away,
our freedom is not secure.
Grant us common faith that man shall know bread and peace,--
That he shall know justice and righteousness,
Freedom and security, and equal opportunity,
And an equal chance to do his best,
Not only in our lands, but throughout the world.
And in that faith, let us march toward the clean world
our hands can make . . . . Amen.

. . . . Stephen Vincent Binet

Written for and read by:

President Franklin D. Roosevelt to the United Nations
on Flag Day, June 14, 1942.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

The Saturday Evening POST
FOUNDED IN 1728 BY B. Franklin

Confessions of a Block-Buster

A Chicago real-estate agent who moves Negro families into all-white blocks reveals how he reaps enormous profits from racial prejudice.

By NORRIS VITCHEK as told to Alfred Balk

Not long ago in an all-white block on Chicago's West Side, a FOR SALE sign appeared in front of a modest frame bungalow. Immediately a wave of fear swept across the block. A Negro family already was living several blocks away. Not far beyond that was the western edge of Chicago's "Black Belt." Every year its border had been moving closer, enclosing blocks like this one along the way. Suppose the bungalow came into possession of a Negro? What would happen to the rest of the block?

All the residents were plainly worried. Among them were a widow who had been living alone and had no assets but her home, and the parents of four young children who feared what "change" might mean to the youngsters' safety. "Relax," said the bungalow owner. "I'm selling this through a white real-estate man. I won't even talk to a Negro."

Imagine their shock, then, when the FOR SALE sign came down and the new owners moved in—Negroes. And consider the impact of what happened next. Three more buildings, which were already owned by property speculators, "turned" immediately. Other Negro families arrived to look at homes in the block. Real-estate men, both white and Negro, swarmed in.

Almost overnight the family with four children sold out at a sizable loss. So did six other homeowners in quick succession. "We'll stay," a few owners said. "We're broad-minded." But the situation was out of their control. Finally the last of the whites left—whether or not they could afford to move. Like hundreds of others who have been similarly blitzed, they never really knew what had hit them.

I knew. I triggered the whole sequence of events by buying the bungalow and quickly selling it to a Negro. I am a block-buster. Another and perhaps slightly less odious name for my craft is real-estate speculator.

Cornering a Share of the Harvest

I specialize in locating blocks which I consider ripe for racial change. Then I "bust" them by buying properties from the white owners and selling them to Negroes—with the intent of breaking down the rest of the block for colored occupancy. Sometimes the groundwork—the initial block-busting—has already been done by some other speculator by the time I arrive on the scene. In that case all I have to do is to work on the remaining whites and reap my share of the harvest.

I make my money—quite a lot of it, incidentally—in three ways: (1) By beating down the prices I pay the white owners by stimulating their fear of what is to come; (2) by selling to the eager Negroes at inflated prices; and (3) by financing these purchases at what amounts to a very high rate of interest. I'll have more to say about these techniques later.

Block-busting is a relatively new business—only ten to fifteen years old actually—but already it is a crowded field. Block-busters also operate in Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Philadelphia,

Movers carry out the belongings of a couple who had lived for twenty-two years in southwest Chicago. They left when the first Negroes to come into the block bought the house next door.

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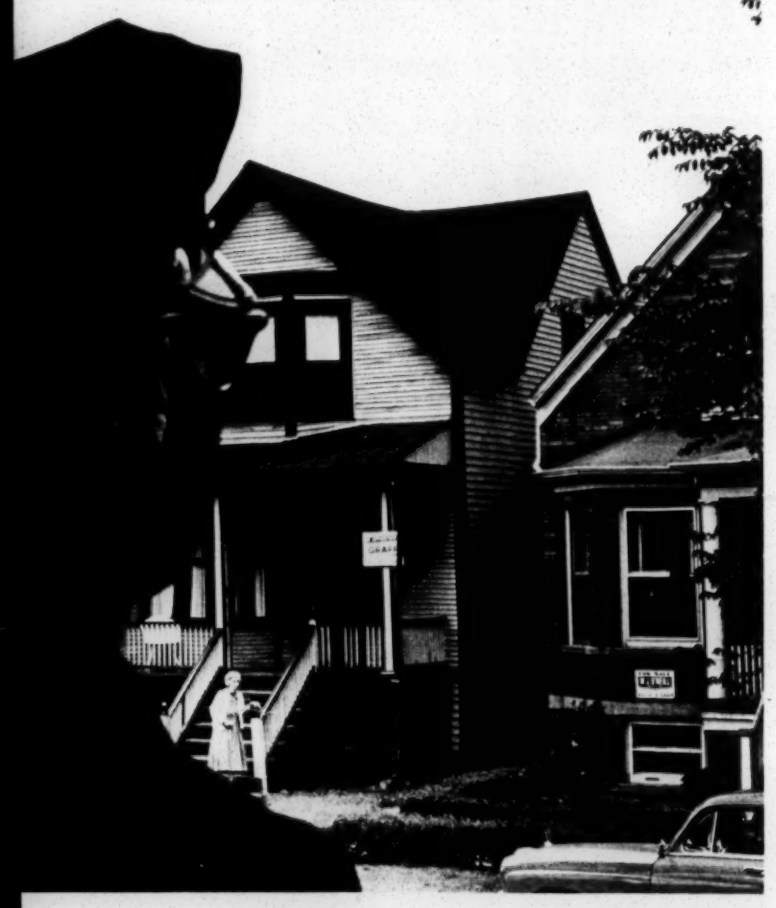
"My function is to drive the whites from a block whether or not they want to go—then move in Negroes."

Photographs by Arthur Shay



A policeman guards a Negro-owned house that "busted" a May Street block. Along the street, FOR SALE *signs are already up.*

New York City, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, St. Louis and other cities and in some of their suburbs. Chicago alone has more than 100 of us. Because few Negroes can command the necessary financing to enter this occupation, most of us are white, as I am. Over the past ten years we have helped "change" an average of two to three blocks a week in Chicago. Even now, with the overall housing market rather quiet, we bust a new block in Chicago every four to eight days.

With the nation's Negro population exploding and continuing to concentrate in urban areas, the demand simply never lets up. More than half the citizenry of Washington, D. C., is Negro. Philadelphia is one fourth Negro. In Chicago the Negro population, now one fourth of our citizenry, has nearly doubled in the past ten years and probably will double again in the next thirty, rising to 1,700,000 persons, or half the city's present population. Even its suburbs, now mostly white, are expected to contain nearly 700,000 Negroes by 1990.

Average Citizens, Average Prejudices

If you are an average white citizen, with average prejudices, you may regard all this as the ruin of metropolitan neighborhoods. I think of it merely as more business for what already is a growth industry. My attitude stems from the fact that few white neighborhoods welcome Negroes who can afford to buy there; yet the need for homes for Negroes keeps growing. I assist in the solution of this problem. My function, which might be called a service industry, is to drive the whites from a block whether or not they want to go, then move in Negroes.

You might think it would be difficult to bust a block, especially your block. It isn't really. In most blocks someone almost always is being transferred, wanting a larger or smaller home, or moving away for his health. If I offer enough money, I can buy any building I want—if not directly, then through a front. It doesn't matter whether Negroes now live nearby. The shock effect of the block-busting, plus my ready financing, can cave in enough of the block to make my efforts successful.

But I prefer blocks near others where Negroes already live—especially old, middle-class blocks with a mixture of frame homes and walk-up apartments. Whites already there have been conditioned to insecurity by the inexorable march of the color line in their direction. This makes these blocks setups for the quick turnover, large volume and the large profits I like. The case of a South Side block I busted is typical.

Twenty-five years ago when most of the block's residents moved in and Chicago's population was only 8 percent Negro, none of the whites imagined they might be "endangered." All this racial business was somebody else's problem. Then one day reality began to dawn on them. All-white streets along which they drove to the Loop suddenly "turned." Fairly distant stores and theaters they had patronized, friends' homes they had visited, or churches they had attended were being swallowed.

"We'll organize," some residents said. "We'll keep the niggers out." But other speculators and I already were buying buildings in adjacent blocks and holding them until we thought the area was ready to be turned for maximum profit.

You can't appreciate the psychological effect of such a color-line march unless you have seen it. First, Negro students begin enrolling in neighborhood schools. Then, churches and businesses in the area quit fixing up facilities as they normally might. Parks which have been all white suddenly become all Negro. A homeowner applies to his bank for a home-improvement loan and is turned down. "Too close to the color line," he is told.

Small businesses begin to close. New whites, if they move into the area at all, are apt to be of lower economic class than before, and they are tenants, not owners. Because lending institutions always blacklist an area for regular mortgages when change appears imminent, whites can't buy there if they want to.

So it went in my typical South Side block. But the residents still thought they were safe because everyone had agreed not to sell to Negroes. Hence they weren't too disturbed when a bluff, friendly accountant who was retiring and moving to Florida announced to neighbors that he was listing his three-flat building for sale. As weeks passed, however, and no buyer was found, their suspense grew, and the owner became desperate. "We're stuck," he told his wife. "We told everyone we wouldn't sell them out. But we have to."

Up to this point only a few Negro real-estate men rather tentatively had rung doorbells in the block. Now we speculators and brokers, both white and Negro, really went to work. One paid several Negroes with noisy cars to begin driving up and down the street a few times a day. He also paid a Negro mother who drew aid-to-dependent-children payments to walk the block regularly with her youngsters. Another arranged to have phone calls made in the block for such people as "Johnnie Mae." Sometimes calls would consist only of a whisper, a drunken laugh or a warning—such as, "They're coming!"

I didn't participate in these vicious tactics. Few large speculators do. If I operated so crudely, frankly I wouldn't have consented to write this report, even under the fictitious name in the byline. I just use psychology.

I began my work in this case by sending a postcard to everyone in the block and others in adjacent blocks. The cards said, "I will pay cash for your building." That was all except for my phone number. The word "cash" was the key. It assured homeowners they could get out quickly and reminded them that their neighbors could too. Then a canvasser and I headed for the block to repeat the offer in person.

Best Price for First Building

My first stop was at the home of the retired accountant who owned the three-flat building. "How much are you asking for your building?" I asked him.

"Twenty-two thousand," he said.

"Well," I said, " you might get that if you wait. But you know what is happening in the neighborhood. If you want a quick cash deal, I'll give you $18,000." But, knowing that we speculators often pay proportionately more for the first building on a block to go, he would come down only $1000 in price. At that point I got a break. My canvasser, who had been talking with other owners, rang the doorbell and called me onto the porch to tell me something.

"His neighbor in the one-story brick just sold for $14,000," he told me.

"Sorry," I told the accountant. "Negroes will be moving in next door. Eighteen thousand is tops." His quick call to the neighbor confirmed my canvasser's report, and he accepted my offer on the spot.

The moment I make a deal, I always place a "Sold by" sign in front of the building. A few

such signs—the gaudier, the better—show that events are moving. So does the ringing of doorbells. And with thirty other real-estate men working a block, including regular dealers as well as speculators, those bells ring often.

Changing the rest of this block, as in most other blocks, was easy. After posting my signs, I merely sent a man down one side of the street and up the other punching doorbells.

When a delivery driver who had two young daughters in school said he "probably would leave for the good of the kids," but wanted to think about it, my man discussed the pros and cons in a friendly way. "If you take my quick deal," he concluded, "you'll have no worries about the kids. You can give them a nice yard and have them in a good suburban school next week." The man and his wife, obviously troubled, decided my canvasser was right. They sold at a $2000 loss.

To an elderly couple who hesitated, saying their home and neighborhood were the only ones they had known throughout their marriage and they would "stay around and see what our new neighbors are like," my man said, "I know what waiting has meant to people like you in worry and strain. Waiting never makes it easier. If you take my cash deal while I still can offer it, you can begin looking for a new retirement home tomorrow." They sold too.

First "Break" Can Bring Trouble

"No, thanks," several owners told my canvasser. "My own real-estate man is finding me a Negro buyer."

Some owners on every block consider this. If they can close a deal directly with a Negro, usually it is for a price close to the property's book value—thus benefiting both. But most whites are reluctant to bargain with a Negro over so large a sum. They know that, in the sixty to ninety days before the closing date, he is more likely than a speculator to have to cancel the deal, despite having earnest money down. Many times, although the owner has listed his property with a neighborhood agent, the real-estate man ends up by arranging a deal with me—with the seller not only accepting a depressed price but also having to pay a broker's commission.

And so day by day, week by week, month by month, the block collapses further, until the last white finally moves away.

Now admittedly, although somebody would perform this economic function if I did not, these dealings are not always pleasant. In the first place, the Negro able to buy property usually doesn't want trouble. Yet, being the first to "break" an all-white block, or even second or third, can and often does bring trouble.

For example, there was the case of a Negro salesman who had just been promoted to a supervisory position in his firm. He came to a speculator seeking an income property into which he could move with his family. The speculator told him about a three-flat building he had just bought from whites. "The place we're renting is bad," the Negro said, "but we don't want any trouble. Has the block been busted?" The speculator owned another building there, but the block hadn't been busted, in the sense that Negroes already were living there. However, knowing the three-flat building would be a good investment for the Negro and that he should be able to carry it financially, the speculator told him, "It's OK."

In the first few days after the Negro moved in, a bottle was thrown through his front window, his wife was insulted by several whites who lived in

"Nobody who has lived in a neighborhood for years, seen his children grow up there, become accustomed to nearby school, church and shopping facilities, likes to be uprooted."

Three housewives who organized to fight block-busting tactics in their Peoria Avenue-95th Street neighborhood have now sold to Negroes: Mrs. Helen Sullivan (left), Mrs. Bernie Brown and Mrs. Diane Bishop. As Mrs. Sullivan puts it, "... pretty soon one sells, then another, then you do too."

the block, and his two children were harassed on their way home from school.

Few Negroes or whites on Chicago's West Side have forgotten the riots involving thousands, three summers ago, after a speculator's sale of a building to Negroes on West Jackson Boulevard. Luckily only the building got hurt. And, fortunately, any incidents connected with the move-ins I handle are so minor in comparison to what Negroes already have experienced that they soon are forgotten.

"You've Sold Out Your Own Race"

Actually, block-busting probably is tougher on the whites than the Negroes. Nobody who has lived in a neighborhood for years, seen his children grow up there, remodeled his home exactly to his liking and become accustomed to nearby school, church and shopping facilities likes to be uprooted. This is particularly true if it happens so suddenly that he has no new neighborhood in mind, if he has to accept less living space and a higher-interest mortgage than he previously had and if he must sell his property at a loss. Several elderly persons have died because of the anguish and upheaval involved.

As a result of my business dealings, I have been cursed, called "nigger lover," "vulture," and "panic peddler," had doors slammed in my face and even been chased by an irate woman with a broom. "You're Communist and un-American!" one owner shouted at me. "You've sold out your own race!" others have yelled.

It is hard to forget, too, how even long-time neighbors and friends may become jealous, suspicious and antagonistic toward one another. After one middle-aged couple had built a suburban home and sold their former home to a speculator—and the speculator had "turned" it—several former neighbors hired a sound truck and drove to the couple's new home. They cruised the block, shouting, "Be sure and meet your new neighbors, the Joneses. They sold out their old block to Negroes."

Once a block has been busted, some white owners simply stare, almost dumbfounded, as we draw up sale papers for them. Others break down and cry. Some say, "It's OK to show the place to Negroes before we move, but we don't want to be in the house to watch it when you do."

But no matter how emotional or awkward some situations may be, there is one compensation for it all—money. Some brokers or investors make a good return only on some deals. I make it on every deal in the three ways I mentioned earlier.

You may believe your home is worth $15,000, for example. If I bust your block, I will expect to buy it for $12,000 cash. The odds are that eventually you will sell for that price, if not to me, then to another speculator. If you and your white neighbors did not run, you probably would gain, rather than lose. More than four fifths of the white neighborhoods into which Negroes move hold their own or enjoy an increase in value, according to a five-year Fund for the Republic study of 10,000 transactions in Northern interracial neighborhoods. But the myth that "Negroes lower property values" persists—so whites run, and we block-busters clean up. Within a few days comes profit No. 2: I advertise and sell it to a Negro not for $15,000, but for $18,000. Financing the deal myself, I will accept $500 to $1500 down, with the remainder on contract. The easy-payment plan, I believe it is called—that is, $150 to $200 a month until the contract is fulfilled. When is that? This is profit No. 3, the big one. The contract is fulfilled when I have been paid principal and interest totaling $36,000.

These terms, I am told, force Negroes to overcrowd and overuse their buildings by renting out part of them, or to skimp on maintenance, starting the neighborhood on the way to blight. (In most Negro neighborhoods in Chicago the population density is five times that of white areas.) The contract burden, I also am told, forces Negro mothers to work, despite the presence of youngsters at home, compels fathers to take two jobs and can lead to numerous other problems because of the financial strain and anxiety.

Even so, the number of Negro buyers who default on their payments is small. When it does happen in my own business, it is no loss to me, since I retain title to property until contracts are completed. I keep all the payments made until that time, evict the owners and either rent the building or resell it on about the same terms.

The Urban League of Chicago says we speculators make nearly $1,000,000 a month in our city in "abnormal" profit from Negroes who buy former white property on contract. This could be. I know that I make four times the profit I could for the same amount of effort in all-white real estate. If anybody who is well established in this business in Chicago doesn't earn $100,000 a year, he is loafing.

"A dirty business," you say? One that whites should fight?

White people in dozens of neighborhoods have tried fighting. They have pressured neighborhood banks and savings-and-loan associations to quit blacklisting their areas, resulting in token concessions. They have held block meetings to warn homeowners not to deal with those of us who advertise "Quick Cash Sales" in newspapers or the classified phone directory, have passed out leaflets listing speculators' names and have ripped up "Sold by" signs which were of larger size or were posted longer than city ordinance allows. They even won a fraud-and-misrepresentation case against two block-busting brokers in Chicago, thanks to several blunders which no established operator would have made. Despite all such resistance, once a block has been busted, only rarely has its complete breakdown been halted. Too many forces are working for us speculators.

Ordaining the "Cave-in" Method

The Chicago Real Estate Board, an organization of the city's most prominent realtors, all but ordained the "cave-in" method in a policy laid down in 1917: "It is desired in the interest of all that each block shall be filled solidly (with Negroes) and that further expansion shall be confined to contiguous blocks. . . ."

The board, which is all white, no longer makes a copy of this statement available in its office, but the policy never has been rescinded or repudiated. None of the board's 1700 members violates it. No member, if he deals with Negroes at all, is likely to arrange for a sale to them in a white neighborhood that is not next to a "Negro block." Once a neighborhood begins changing, none will show homes there to whites.

Lending institutions' "no-Negro" or "no-integrated area" loan policies further perpetuate the trend, restricting Negroes to blocks we bust and forcing them to rely mainly on our contract sales for financing.

The City Council and Mayor Richard J. Daley, who, like his two immediate predecessors, comes from the all-white Bridgeport area of the city, also help. They regularly table every request for

"If anybody who is well established in this business in Chicago doesn't earn $100,000 a year, he is loafing."

Undisturbed by the quarrels of their elders, children play in an integrated block where a Negro's house mysteriously caught fire.

open-occupancy ordinances, which by opening up any neighborhood to Negroes who could afford to buy there would take the pressure off the few collapsing ones which are open.

The police put down violence promptly in any blocks which are busted in a "permissible" area. Yet, if a Negro is leapfrogged into a home beyond this zone, the protests somehow always get out of hand. In one case a policeman guarding a Negro's new home was seen showing several youths how to make a Molotov-cocktail incendiary bomb.

Some churches accept all this, often serving as rallying points for whites trying to "hold the line." One parish even has acted as an agent in the purchase of twenty-two buildings which normal turnover otherwise might have placed in the hands of speculators. When change begins, most churches then simply close up shop and sell most or all of their property.

Relentless March of the Color Line

Neighborhood improvement associations actually are usually "all-white" improvement associations. One, the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council, has kept its area all white. But it began in the 1930's and has a unique authoritarian control extending through stores, banks, churches and industry in its stockyards neighborhood. Every other neighborhood, including one in which retail businessmen raised a war chest of $100,000, has "gone" when the color line reached it. And associations which opposed me before any breakthroughs end up happy to cooperate—if I will only "go slow" and not change blocks until association officials say they are "ready." I usually do this to keep their goodwill.

Newspapers, too, help prepare the way. Their only stories in this field usually concern the "panic" aspects. If they print stories about Negroes, it's only in connection with crime or welfare problems or population increases, not with Negro church activity or business and educational success or other aspects of normal life in good Negro neighborhoods.

The Board of Education contributes by writing off a school once it begins to change racially, consigning it to overcrowding, double shifts and supervision by the least experienced and lowest-paid teachers—and by giving it the lowest proportion of counselors.

Then there are my financial sources, which are among the most reputable in the city. My credit is good in almost any bank or savings-and-loan association in town. It also is good with insurance companies, including several Negro firms. Merely by placing an ad in a daily newspaper, I can raise cash by selling my contract paper at a discount to some of the most reputable doctors, dentists, lawyers and other business and professional men in town.

With forces such as these on my side, why should I feel guilty? Am I really the basic cause of whites' fleeing? Do I depress their property values and inflate prices for Negroes? When a Negro has been turned away from a bank, do I "trap" him into accepting a contract sale?

And what alternative can you provide for my function? Would you try to influence your bank or savings-and-loan association to begin lending to Negroes? Would you help remove the pressure on "busted" areas by welcoming a Negro family into your block? Do you even care that my business operates as it does? Whatever my faults and whatever the social stigma I endure, I don't believe I am hypocritical about all this. Can you honestly say the same? **THE END**

Angrily resisting the block-busting agents, these women have stayed in their neighborhood to promote reasonable integration.

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. . . Most of the reasons offered for segregation are, upon careful examination, flimsy; we see that the dangers against which it is supposed to protect us are for the most part unreal; we see that some of our attitudes in the matter are simply habits, and others a cloak for selfishness, and still others the result of the confusion of life, which is sacred, with segregation, which is only one of its perishing forms; we see, finally, that these old habits stand in the way of certain positive forces within us struggling for expression, chief among them the spirit of love which Jesus expressed and commanded—and yet—and yet—we are afraid it can't be done. We think it ought to be; we really don't want to defend it ourselves; but we're afraid it can't be—at least not now.

Perhaps this vague fear exists in the minds of many Christians. If so, we should name it for what it is. For its proper name may shock us into a deeper awareness of ourselves, and in the fantastic world we have created in the South, that would be all to the good.

It is lack of faith. Faithlessness. No more and no less. If we had more faith in God, we should have less fear. If we were filled with faith, we should have none. (No man attains, except at moments, this peak. Yet it is the peak toward which we climb.)

As we believe in love—which is to say, as we have love—we do not have fear. As we are afraid, then, we lack love, and lack faith in a God of love. Our fearfulness is the mark of our faithlessness, and simply means that the essential fire of Christianity burns but flickeringly upon the altar of our hearts.

How may that flame be steadied? By placing it alongside the original, the brightest of all its expressions, the life of Jesus. Contemplating that shining example, we shall find his spirit growing within us and the fears that now cling to our hearts like miasma along Southern ditches in summer dispersing before the beams of the rising sun.

As we have faith, we shall develop the institutions of a more Christian society. It is not easy to give institutional shape to love; it means transforming it into justice. Regardless of this difficulty, the source of our strength—and of our weakness—is clear: out of the heart proceed the issues of life. As our hearts are sensitive both to God's presence and to human need, as we yield ourselves to his encompassing love, we shall act well, and shall build, in these changing times, a more Christian society.

From "The Southern Heritage," by James McBride Dabbs (President of Southern Regional Council, Inc.)

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"Why Are You Fearful?"

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Compiled

for

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

by

MRS. M. E. TILLY
Director of Women's Work

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

"Why Are You Fearful"

Behold, the Lord passed by,
A great strong wind rent the mountains,
and broke in pieces the rocks before the Lord,
but the Lord was not in the wind; and after
the wind an earthquake but the Lord was not
in the earthquake, and after the earthquake,
a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; after
the fire a still small voice.—I Kings 19:11-12
And in that still voice onward came the Lord.

Fear not them which kill the body
but cannot kill the soul;
but rather fear him which is able
to destroy both soul and body.
—Matthew 10:28

I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor
angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor
things present, nor things to come,
Nor heights, nor depths, nor any other creature,
shall be able to separate us from the love of
God.—Romans 8:38-39

"Fear Not"

O man, greatly beloved, fear not, peace be unto thee, be strong, yet be strong: and when he had spoken unto me I was strengthened and said, Let my Lord speak; for thou hast strengthened me.—Daniel 10:19

Fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be afraid of their reviling.—Isaiah 51:7

Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

Rejoice, and be exceedingly glad for great is your reward in heaven, for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.
—Matthew 5:11-12

Who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?

But and if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye, and be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled.

But sanctify the Lord God in your hearts and be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear.

Having a good conscience, that, whereas they speak evil of you, as of evil doers, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse your good conversation in Christ.

For it is better, if the will of God be so, that you suffer for well doing, than for evil doing.
—I Peter 3:13-17

Fear thou not, for I am with thee;
be not dismayed, for I am thy God.
I will strengthen thee, yea, I will help thee.
I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteuosness.

For I, the Lord, thy God will hold thy right hand,
saying to thee, Fear not, I will help thee.
—Isaiah 41:10,13

Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father.

But the very hairs of your head are all numbered.

Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows.—Matthew 10:29-31

Be strong, and of good courage,
dread not, nor be dismayed.
—I Chronicles 22:13

Wait on the Lord, be of good courage and he shall strengthen thine heart,
Wait I say on the Lord.—Psalm 27:14

Fear ye not, stand still and see the salvation of the Lord.—Exodus 14:13

Have I not commanded thee?

Be strong and of good courage; be not afrighted, neither be dismayed; for Jehovah thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest.
—Joshua 1:9

I Sought the Lord and He Delivered Me From My Fears

—Psalms 34:4

There is no fear in love, but perfect love
castest out fear.—I John 4:18

What time I am afraid, I will trust in thee.
In God I will praise his word,
in God I have put my trust.
I will not fear what flesh can do to me.
—Psalm 56:3-4

The Lord is my light and my salvation;
Whom shall I fear?
The Lord is the strength of my life.
Of whom shall I be afraid?
Though an host should encamp against me,
my heart shall not fear.—Psalm 27:1,3

God is our refuge and strength,
A very present help in trouble,
Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed,
And though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea.—Psalm 46:1-2

We glory in tribulation, knowing that tribulation worketh patience,
And patience experience, and experience hope,
And hope maketh not ashamed, because the love

of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given us.—Romans 5:3-5

He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High
Shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.
I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress;
My God, in him will I trust.
Surely he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler,
And from the noisome pestilence.
He shall cover thee with his feathers,
And under his wings shalt thou trust.
His truth shall be thy shield and buckler.
Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night,
Nor for the arrow that flieth by day,
Nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness,
Nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday,
Because thou hast made the Lord, which is my refuge,
Even the Most High, thy habitation,
There shall no evil befall thee,
Neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling;
For he will give his angels charge over thee,
To keep thee in all thy ways.
They shall bear thee up in their hands,
Lest thou dash thy foot against a stone.
—Psalm 91:1-6, 9-12

I will lift up my eyes unto the hills,
from whence cometh my help.
My help cometh from the Lord,
which made heaven and earth.

He will not suffer thy foot to be moved;
he that keepeth thee will not slumber.
Behold, he that keepeth Israel
shall neither slumber nor sleep.

The Lord is thy keeper;
the Lord is thy shade
upon thy right hand.
The sun shall not smite thee by day,
nor the moon by night.

The Lord shall preserve thee from all evil;
he shall preserve thy soul.
The Lord shall preserve
thy going out and thy coming in
from this time forth, and even for evermore.
—Psalm 121

The Eternal God Is Our Refuge and Underneath Are the Everlasting Arms

—Deuteronomy 33:27

The Lord thy God in the midst of thee is mighty,
he will rejoice over thee with joy,
he will rest in his love,
he will joy over thee with singing.
—Zephaniah 3:17

Fear not, for I have redeemed thee;
I have called thee by thy name;
thou art mine.
When thou passeth through the waters
I will be with thee
And through the rivers, they shall
not overthrow thee.
When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt
not be burned,
Neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.

—Isaiah 43:1-2

Thou will keep him in perfect peace
whose mind is stayed on thee,
because he trusteth in thee.
Trust ye in the Lord forever,
for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength.

—Isaiah 26:3-4

They shall sit every man under his vine and under
his fig tree,
And none shall make them afraid,
For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

—Micah 4:4

We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed;
we are perplexed, but not in despair;
Persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down but not
destroyed;
Always bearing about in the body the dying of
the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might
be made manifest in our body.

—II Corinthians 4:8-10

Yea, though I walk through the valley
of the shadow of death,
I will fear no evil, for thou art with me;
Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me.

—Psalm 23:4

Watch Ye, Stand Fast in the Lord: Quit Ye Like Men, Be Strong.

—I Corinthians 16:13

"If God be with you, who can be against you."
Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.—Ephesians 6:10

Be strong and of good courage, fear not nor be afraid, for the Lord thy God he it is that doth go before thee; he will not fail thee nor forsake thee.—Deuteronomy 31:6

FORGET NOT THY MAKER

I, even I, am he that comforteth you.
Who art thou, that thou shouldest be afraid
of man that shall die,
of the son of man which shall be made as grass,
And forgetest the Lord thy maker,
that hath stretched forth the heavens
and laid the foundations of the earth,
and hast feared continually every day
because of the fury of the oppressor,
as if he were ready to destroy?
And where is the fury of the oppressor?

—Isaiah 51:12-13

OVERCOME EVIL WITH GOOD

Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil; cleave to that which is good.

Bless them which persecute you; bless and curse not.

If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink.

Be not overcome with evil but overcome evil with good.—Romans 12:9,14,20,21

LOVE NEVER FAILS

Love suffereth long and is kind.
Love envieth not.
Love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up,
Doth not behave itself unseemly,
Seeketh not its own, is not easily provoked,
Thinketh no evil,
Beareth all things, believeth all things,
Hopeth all things, endureth all things.
Love never faileth.—I Corinthians 13:4,5,7

CONTROL THY SELF

Yea, and for this very cause, adding on your part all diligence, in your faith supply virtue, and in your virtue knowledge.

And in your knowledge self control, and in your self control patience, and in your patience godliness.

And in your godliness brotherly kindness, and in your brotherly kindness love.

—II Peter 1:5-8

IN NOTHING BE ANXIOUS

In nothing be anxious but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your request be known unto God.

And the peace of God which passeth all understanding shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus.

Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true,
whatsoever things are honest,
whatsoever things are just,
whatsoever things are pure,
whatsoever things are lovely,
whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.

Those things, which ye have both learned and received, and heard, and seen in me, do and the God of peace shall be with you.

—Philippians 4:6-9

THE REWARD

And my God shall supply all your need according to his riches in glory by Christ Jesus.

—Philippians 4:19

Fear not, little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.—Luke 2:12

Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.—Matthew 28:20

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45 MINUTES OF FILM THAT TELESCOPES A CENTURY OF THE AMERICAN THEATRE'S PROUDEST ACCOMPLISHMENTS AS AN ARTISTIC, DEMOCRATIC FORCE.

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THE OCTOROON

a scene from the pre-Civil war drama on the theme of racial prejudice, with PHYLLIS NEWMAN and RICHARD EASTON.

"My love! My love? (aside to camera)
Alas! He does not know, and will despise me,
spurn me, loathe me, when he learns who,
what, he has so loved."

WAITING FOR LEFTY

by CLIFFORD ODETS with ELI WALLACH

A plea for action about the depression and social problems of the 1930's.

THE MALE ANIMAL

by JAMES THURBER and ELLIOTT NUGENT

with TOM POSTON and HOWARD ST. JOHN

"He was accused of murder, but thousands of people believe he was executed simply because of the ideas he believed in."

CALL ME MISTER

with WILLIAM WARFIELD *singing the famous* RED BALL EXPRESS

HOME OF THE BRAVE

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"I had to get beat up a couple of more times before I learned that if you're a Jew, you're not like other guys . . . You're alone . . ."

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Narrated by FRANCHOT TONE

A Stimulating Salute to Theater

NEW YORK (AP) — Possibly one of the most stimulating shows of the whole TV season turned up at 11:30 a.m. yesterday on CBS with bits from a dozen Broadway shows presented in "A Salute to The American Theater."

This was a purposeful salute, by the Anti-Defamation League, to call attention to the theater's traditional part

A Salute...

"A fine hour, worthy of prime evening time." — ASSOCIATED PRESS

"Glorious . . . splendidly executed." — NEW YORK TIMES

"A tribute to the battle against bigotry." — LOS ANGELES TIMES

"A series of splendidly executed scenes." — ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH

"Excellent . . ." — NEW YORK DAILY MIRROR

"Superior drama." — DES MOINES REGISTER

Imagine selecting from famous Broadway dramatic and musical plays — going back a full century — those scenes which speak out most passionately for democracy!

You remember, or have heard, of them all: *The Octoroon (1859), Waiting for Lefty, The Male Animal, Call Me Mister, Home of the Brave, The Crucible, South Pacific, Raisin in the Sun, and* more.

Imagine selecting your pick of talent from Broadway and Hollywood to act and sing in these scenes: Richard Easton, Phyllis Newman, Eli Wallach, Tom Poston, Fritz Weaver, William Warfield, William Shatner, Billy Tabbert, Claudia McNeil, and many more.

To The...

American Theatre

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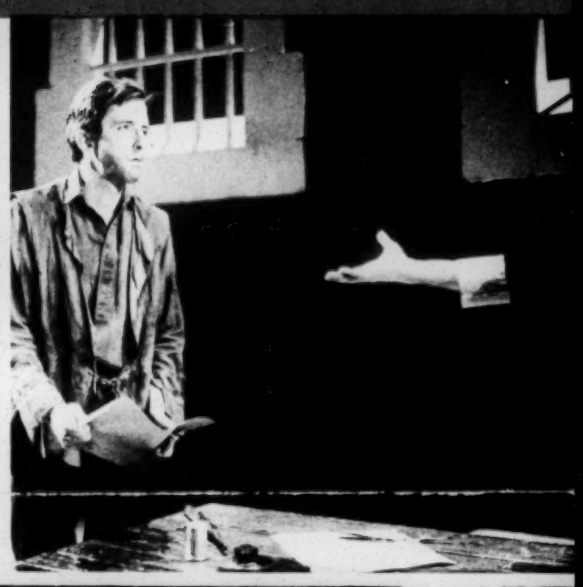
To The...

American Theatre



These scenes and stars have been united in one memorable film *A Salute to the American Theatre,* a dramatic affirmation of democracy, brought to television viewers by the Columbia Broadcasting System in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

A demand mounted for the opportunity for many more people to see *A Salute to the American Theatre.* The result: kinescope-films of the program are being made available for the use of community organizations throughout the country.

Now you may view — and review — what critics have hailed as one of television's most glorious hours.

Prints of **A Salute to the American Theatre** are available for showing to schools, clubs, religious groups, and other community organizations.

The program is available in 16MM, sound, running 45 minutes, nominal rental charge.

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List the organizations to which you belong and approximate membership. This includes your church organizations, but not total members of your church. Your civic and social organizations. Please add your figures.

Write what you will try to do in the next week or this month.
You do not need to sign your name. Bring it to the session tomorrow.

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A·CHARTER·OF·RACIAL·POLICIES

WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

·WE BELIEVE·

1. We Believe that God is the Father of all people and all are His children in one family.
2. We Believe that the personality of every human being is sacred.
3. We Believe that opportunities for fellowship and service, for personal growth, and for freedom in every aspect of life are inherent rights of every individual.
4. We Believe that the visible church of Jesus Christ must demonstrate these principles within its own organization and program.
5. We Believe that the Woman's Division as an agency of The Methodist Church must build a fellowship and social order without racial barriers in every area it may touch.

·WE WILL·

1. Commit ourselves as individuals called by Jesus Christ to witness by word and deed to the basic rights of every person regardless of cost.
2. Unite our efforts with all groups in the church toward eliminating in The Methodist Church all forms of segregation based on race whether in basic structure or institutional life.
3. Create in local churches opportunities for inclusive fellowship and membership without restriction based on race.
4. Act with other groups and agencies to involve families in new experiences with other races and cultures.
5. Share in creative plans that challenge youth, students and young adults of all races to new understanding of the Church's mission and ministries.
6. Interpret and strengthen recruitment and employment practices of the Woman's Division consistent with our belief in the oneness of God's family.
7. Open the facilities and services of all Woman's Division institutions without restriction based on race and make such policies clearly known.
8. Establish all Schools of Missions and Christian Service and all leadership development and enrichment programs on a regional basis without restriction based on race.
9. Seek to change community patterns of racial segregation in all relationships including education, housing, voting, employment and public facilities.
10. Work for national policies that safeguard the rights of all the nation's people.
11. Support world-wide movements for basic human rights and fundamental freedoms for peoples everywhere.
12. Join with others who seek in church and community justice and freedom for all members of the family of God.

As we begin this New Decade, the Woman's Division of Christian Service calls with new urgency on the Woman's Society of Christian Service and Wesleyan Service Guild to study the principles and goals stated in this Charter, looking toward early ratification. Such ratification will constitute a commitment to work for the speedy implementation of those principles and goals within jurisdiction, conference, district and local Woman's Society or Guild.

Woman's Division of Christian Service, Board of Missions, The Methodist Church, Literature Headquarters: 7820 Reading Road, Cincinnati 37, Ohio.
5/62 Price, 5 cents; 6 for 25 cents.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

YOUR CHURCH AND RACE

An Action Guide

> "This is the calling of the Church with regard to race, to witness within itself to the Kingship of Christ and the unity of His people, in Him transcending all diversity . . . Their calling requires Christians to witness to the Kingship of Christ and the unity of all mankind, and to strive through social and political action to secure justice, freedom and peace for all . . . From Report of the Section on Intergroup Relations, Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Evanston, 1954."

Assignment Race 1961-1964 provides the opportunity for church women across the nation to unite their efforts in helping to achieve full participation for all people without distinction of race in

- the local church and denomination
- the council of church women
- the community, concentrating in the area of greatest racial tension and need.

Each participating denomination is taking responsibility for an action program to be developed within its own communion. United Church Women is assuming special responsibility for the interdenominational action program.

This action guide suggests steps to take in looking at the local church. It has been prepared to help us know <u>where</u> we are in our own local church as a basis for plans to further implement our concern.

Although this guide can be used by any group within the local church, it is prepared primarily for the women's group. It is important to recognize at the outset that an assessment of where we are is only a <u>first</u> step in a study-action process. It is on the basis of such a study that a plan of action which is appropriate to each local church can be developed by a group in that situation.

Knowing Your Local Church

<u>Your Denomination's Policy</u>

What are your denomination's pronouncements and resolutions concerning segregation and discrimination in the church and community?

What is the evidence in your congregation of knowledge of such pronouncements and resolutions?

<u>Your Local Church</u>

A. What are the requirements for membership in your local church?

B. Is more than one racial group represented in the membership of your church?

If so, what percentage of the membership is represented by minority group or groups?

What were the circumstances that led to the church becoming interracial?

If not, why is this so?

C. Does your church serve and include in its membership all people in the neighborhood in which it is located?

If the neighborhood is all or predominantly of one racial group, what consideration has been given to ways of broadening and deepening the fellowship through more inclusive experiences?

D. What is your local church doing in the following areas:

1. Making available information concerning race through
   - the church library?
   - literature distribution?
   - literature displays?
   - audio-visual aids?
   - special reports?
   - speakers?

2. Studying and interpreting the Christian basis and responsibility for achieving an inclusive church fellowship and racial justice in the community by means of
   - regular study?
   - fellowship groups?
   - special study action groups?
   - the pulpit?

3. Providing opportunities for sharing in experiences across racial lines
   - through pulpit and congregation exchanges?
   - by bringing age level groups together for worship, study, action, discussion of mutual concerns, recreation, social occasions, etc.?

4. Being sure that the philosophy of Christian education expressed in the teaching, in the materials used, and in the attitudes of teachers reflects the Christian faith and the denomination's intention?

5. Working in the community through Christian witness to make the moral issue clear by
   - supporting movements and legislation toward racial justice, including housing, employment, education, hospital service, recreation, public accommodations, etc.?
   - encouraging and supporting the laity in their witness and work in the community?

E. What is the pattern of church membership in other churches in the community?

What evidence is there of growth toward the goal of inclusiveness?

F. What is the racial policy and practice in local church related institutions such as schools, hospitals, social welfare agencies?

G. Now a look at ourselves and our church

1. What does the review of our practices indicate to me
   - in relation to my concern and commitment as a Christian?
   - in relation to the need for continuous examination of my attitudes and behavior?
   - in relation to my responsibility to witness in the community?

2. What is required of my church for it to become "in reality a racially inclusive 'community of saints'?"

3. Do we as women have a particular contribution to make to our church in fulfilling its mission in this area? If so, how can this be done with greater power?

   Have we initiated or participated in projects with United Church Women, or if no council, then with women's groups from other churches?

4. What action is suggested as a result of this review?

   What constructive plan do we see being initiated, who would participate, what is the first step?

RESOURCES

Some local resources which can be helpful in carrying out this study-action process are your minister, official governing body of your local church, local council of church women, the local or regional denominational body, the local and state councils of churches and the experience of other local churches

Resources in the way of information, literature and consultation are available from the following national organizations:

1) The Social Education and Action Department of your denomination.

2) United Church Women, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York.

3) Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York.

GRAVE ALWAYS OPEN AT FEDERAL PEN CEMETERY

Prisoners Call Burying Ground "Boot Hill" and Tradition Calls for Open Grave

CEMETERY BEGAN WITH WILD WEST FLAVOR

IN FEDERAL PEN'S BOOT HILL SLEEP
SCORES WHO GOT BACK-DOOR PAROLES

* * * * * * * * * * * *

By Frank Veale, Jr.

The Wild West of Billy the Kid, Jesse James and the Dalton boys had its boot hills -- where those who died with their boots on in blazing gun battles at High Noon were buried.

Atlanta has its own Boot Hill -- it's not on the lone prarie but on it the winds blow free and some men from the West lie in its dark red clay.

Boot Hill is the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary's prison cemetery. Prisoners in the penitentiary never visit Boot Hill -- that is, unless they get a back-door parole. That is their sentence, going out the back door of the penitentiary.

Has Buried fourteen.--The winds blew across the lonesome hill as a reporter and Chaplain H. Park Tucker kicked some oak leaves off the slabs of stone.

"I have buried 14 men on Boot Hill," said the chaplain as he looked sadly at the graves. On the side of Boot Hill in front of the chaplain lay a huge mound of dirt. A grave stood open with a crude ladder leading down its somber sides.

"An open grave on Boot Hill is a tradition at the prison," Chaplain Tucker declared. "When a prisoner is buried here, another grave is dug by the detail and left open."

"No words can describe the horror prisoners have for the prospect of dying in prison," the chaplain added.

Were Homeless.--"You see, the only men buried on Boot Hill are the ones who have no home, no relatives to claim their bodies -- or else their relatives refuse to claim the body and the government buries them," Chaplain Tucker said.

The stillness on Boot Hill suddenly was shattered by rifle fire. Ironically enough, the crackle of gunfire echoes each day over the forgotten graves of those who rest in Boot Hill. The rifle range adjoins the cemetery with only the Southern Railway tracks between.

The prison Boot Hill was started in 1902, the year the Atlanta Penitentiary was built out of Stone Mountain granite. In 1902 inmate No. 5540, born in 1873, died in the prison.

Sixty-Year Old Grave.--In the prison stone shed, prisoners made a headstone for No. 5540, possibly mixing a tear or two of sympathy in with the concrete, and his fellow prisoners buried him on Peckerwood Hill.
Boot Hill was born.

Most of the graves in the old days had the prisoner's name, his number, date of birth, date of death and where he was from carved into the headstone.

Later new headstones were prepared and these had only the name of the prisoner -- no number and no location.

In the center of Boot Hill stands a large monument with an inscription reading: "And in eternal peace thy penance end."

Why the Boot.--How did Boot Hill come by its Wild West name? "Back in the early days," Chaplain Tucker said, "many prisoners were sent to Atlanta from the West. And many of the gravestones were marked originally with I. T. or Indian Territory. It soon became known to the inmates as Boot Hill."

By 1932 Boot Hill had 134 men resting in the hard clay.

"There is only one free man in Boot Hill." Chaplain Tucker said as a train rumbled by on the tracks overhead with a piggyback load of shiny new automobiles.

The chaplain walked over and knocked some leaves off another gravestone. Inscribed on the stone was "Ike Henderson."

He Asked to Stay.--"Isaac Henderson was imprisoned in 1913 and when his time was up he had no place to work, so he asked the warden if he could stay and work at the penitentiary," Chaplain Tucker said. "When he died in 1918 he was buried on Boot Hill -- the only man in 177 who is not an inmate."

Chaplain Tucker, who has served at the Penitentiary for 15 years and has talked to thousands of prisoners in that time, walked slowly back toward the truck.

Recalls 81-Year-Old.--"The man who impressed me the most," the chaplain recalled, was Old Folks. Old Folks never committed a crime until he was 49. After that he spent the rest of his life in penitentiaries off and on and died here at the age of 81."

"No, I'll never forget Old Folks," the chaplain mused as he climbed back into the cab of the truck.

On the way past the rifle range a guard stopped firing and looked our way. "Don't shoot, we're with you," called the chaplain. The guard smiled and waved the truck on.

In 1932 Boot Hill was immortalized in the haunting verse of Capt. John Madden, a guard at the prison:

GOD LOOKED DOWN

They wreathed their graves
with flowers of spring --
Those mounds so long, long here;

And God looked down with
tender smiles, and placed
his blessings there.

Alone, forgotten through the
years, each stone a mark
of shame,
Their epitaph no word of
hope, a number, not a name.

Too long, too long, have we
forgot that God alone must
judge.
Too long within the human
heart, we carry hate and
grudge.

How quick we are to ridicule,
to score, to quick condemn,
When only by the grace of
God we might've been one
of them.
They do not sleep on glory's
field, nor in the hall of fame,
But some of them in words of
gold wrote high and
clear his name.

And each man had a mother
  dear (the same as you and I)
And for her sake we lay a
  wreath, for those who
  slumber by.

Shine softly on each grave,
  O moon, blow gently,
  Southern breeze,
And sing a requiem soft and
  sad, as you sigh through
  the trees;
Then let the dewdrops fall
  upon the unearthed, rugged
  sod.

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Mrs. Fleming Ragsdale
60 Terrace Dr. NE (5)

Mrs. Harry V. Richardson
671 Beckwith St. NW (14)

Mrs. Lester R. Rumble
33 Walker Terrace, NE (9)

Mrs. Frank Steinbruegge
1446 Rainier Falls Dr. NE (6)

Mrs. Steinmetz - 855 Fair St. SW
755-4101
(Ask Mrs. G.E. Anderson
JA-2-4791)

Mrs. A. H. Sterne
132 Westminster Dr. NE (9)

Miss Ruth Stone
1811 Rock Springs Rd. NE (9)

Mrs. G. A. Sewell
74 Ashby St. SW (14)

Mrs. Paul Weir
2572 ~~Normandy Dr.~~ NW (5)
Brookdale

Mrs. W. B. Suddeth
1106 Virginia Ave., NE (6)

Mrs. W. E. Letts
1327 Peachtree St. NE (9)

Mrs. Quinn Wansley
905 Myrtle St. NE (9)

Mrs. Harry C. Hannah, Jr.
823 Clifton Rd. NE (6)

Mrs. Carlton Binns
229 Bolling Rd. NW (18)

49

4/1/26

Mrs Nat G. Long
1226 Ponce de L. Ave NE
Atlanta, Ga

Mrs. A.R. Hill
~~1587 Wilcox, S.W.~~
~~MA 2-0060~~
MA 2-4426

111
Leathers cir N.W

49
13
39
101

Dear

CHRISTIAN WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP

AREA-Capital: D.C., Maryland, Delaware

Area Pres. Mrs. Robert Cassels, 2109 Lukewood Dr., Baltimore 7, Md.

Area Sec'y Mrs. C. C. Slusher, 212 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C.

Alabama

Pres. Mrs. Ed Sivis, 4 Willow Drive, Selma, Alabama 1

Sec'y Mrs. Haywood Bence, 1002 S. 12th Avenue, Lanett, Alabama

Arkansas

Pres. Mrs. Joseph B. Hunter, 68 Berkshire Dr., Little Rock, Arkansas 2

Sec'y Mrs. I.C. Harriman, 4523 W. 25th Street, Little Rock, Arkansas

Florida

Pres. Mrs. John Cannon, Box 1114, De Land, Florida 3

Sec'y Mrs. John Cannon

Georgia

Pres. Mrs. John G. Joiner, Jr., 2767 Sheffield Rd., Macon, Ga. 4

Sec'y Mrs. James R. Beach, 2370 Vineville, Ave., Macon, Ga. 5

Kentucky

Pres. Mrs. Newton B. Fowler, 115 S. Grand Avenue, Ft. Thomas, Kentucky 6

Sec'y Miss Elizabeth Hartsfield, P.O. Box 1418, Lexington, Kentucky

Louisiana

Pres. Mrs. Miles Clark, 1700 Elise Street, Metairie, Louisiana 7

Sec'y Mrs. Miles Clark

Mississippi

Pres. Mrs. H.P. Montague, 729 Chickasaw Ave., Jackson 6, Mississippi 8

Sec'y Mrs. S. J. Allen, Sr., 1619 North West Street, Jackson 2, Miss.

North Carolina

Pres. Mrs. H.D. Moye, 211 E. Horne Avenue, Farmville, North Carolina 9

Sec'y Mrs. Eleanor Smith, P.O. Box 1341, Kinston, North Carolina

South Carolina

Pres. Mrs. W. H. Baltzegar, Estill, South Carolina 10

Sec'y Mrs. W. H. Baltzegar

(more)

Tennessee

Pres. Mrs. E. R. Snyder, 210 Maple Loop Rd., Knoxville 20, Tennessee 11

Sec'y Miss Kathryn L. Schneider, 1802 Grand Avenue, Nashville, Tenn.

Texas

Pres. Mrs. John K. Hackley, P.O. Box 11, Jacksboro, Texas

See Sec'y Mrs. Pauline Thames, 2909 Lubbock St., Ft. Worth 9, Texas

Virginia

Pres. Mrs. Dana C. Sherman, 2923 Argonne Avenue, Norfolk, Virginia 12

Sec'y Mrs. Warren (Vivian) G. Birnbaum, 2200 Monument Ave., Richmond 20, Va.

West Virginia

Pres. Mrs. Mary Young, Box 382, Shinnston, West Virginia

Sec'y Mrs. C.M. Doss, 203 West Virginia St., Beckley, W. Virginia.

Mrs. Stanley I. Harris
790 Briar Park Court N. E.
Atlanta 6, Georgia

Oct. 16

Dear Mrs. Tilly,

Below are the names of the B'nai B'rith Women who will be attending the Fellowship of the Concerned meeting:

1. Mrs. Sydney Marks (Louise) ✓
2. Mrs. Howard Cronin (Shirley) ✓
3. Mrs. Ben Zimmerman (Elaine) ✓
4. Mrs. Fred Hersch (Lillian) ✓
5. Mrs. Mike Kaliser (Sylvia) ✓
6. Mrs. Barbara Weiniger ?
7. Mrs. Bernard Facher (Helene) ✓
8. Mrs. Marvin Senger (Claire) ✓
9. Mrs. Kenneth Kronick (Bernice) ✓
10. Mrs. Milton Parson ? (Gloria)
11. Mrs. Martin Felder ✓ (Irene)
12. Mrs. Beverly Storch ?
13. Mrs. Henry Freedman (Betty)

14. Mrs. Stanley Rawn (Esther)
15. Mrs. A.J. Rubin (Muriel)
16. Mrs. Robert Pearlman (Freda)
17. Mrs. S. Haber (Teddy)
18. Mrs. David Landau (Betty)
19. Mrs. Sylvan Fisher (Helen)
20. Mrs. Seymour Romoff (Selma)

Sorry I cannot attend myself but I have taken a part time job teaching at Smith Hughes Vocational School.

Sincerely,
Judy Harris

REGISTRATION LIST

	PRESENT
? ALLEN, Mrs. J. T. - Cromwell, Alabama ----------	
~~ANDERSON, Mrs. G. E. - 50 Chestnut Street, Atlanta~~ -----	
✓ ANDERSON, Mrs. Howard - 2031 S. Penisula Dr.,D.B., Fla---	✓
~~ANDERSON, Mrs. Leon R. - 1823 Tigers El. Dr. Atlanta,~~	
✓ ANDREWS, Mrs. Earl - 3125 Audubon Rd., Mont, Ala. -------	✓
ASHWORTH, Mrs. Robert - Tuskegee Ala ----------	
O .75 ASKREN, Mrs. E. L., 170 Laurel For Cir., Atlanta 5 - - .75	✓
ATKINSON, Mrs. W. B. - P. O. Box 487, Marianna, Fla. ---	
✓ ARMSTRONG, Desna - 446 N.Main St., Henderson,KY.___----	✓
✓ Anderson, David	✓
BAILEY, Mrs. Seaton G. -P.O, Griffin, Ga. ----------	
✓ BALES, Mrs. W.A., 817 N. Euguen St., Greensboro,NC	✓
BALTZEGAR, Mrs. W.H., Estill, S. C. ----------	
BARKSDALE, Mrs. Hattie G. - Rt. 4,B-135,Spartenburg,S.C.--	
✓ BARROW, Mrs. Sadie B. New Orleans, La. ----------	✓
? BATES, Mrs. Ralph R-1; B-132, Saint George, S. C. -------	
✓ BEACH, Mrs. James R. , Macon, Ga. ----------	✓
✓ BEITTEL, Mrs. A. D. , Tougaloo SCC, Miss. ----------	✓
O BOWEN, Mrs. J. W. E. --- Foundain Drive, Atlanta -------	✓
O BRADLEY, Mrs. Warren H. -------Atlanta ----------	✓
✓ BRESKO, Mrs. Edward , 1638 Mt. Vernon Ave., Petersburg, Va.	✓
✓ BRIER, Mrs. B. B. , Knoxville, Tenn _____ .75	✓
~~BROWN, Mrs. D.O., 389 Lucy Ave., Memphis, Tenn~~ ----------	
BURDETT, Mrs. Arthur, 70 Palisades, Rd. Atlanta	
✓ CALDWELL, Mrs. John ----------	✓
✓ CALHOUN, Mrs. Clayton ----------	✓
✓ CAMPBELL, Rev. Annie R. ----------	✓
✓ CARR, Mrs. H. B. ----------	✓
? CARTER, Mrs. Edith M. ----------	✓
O ✓ CLARY, Mr.. George ----1.75----------	1.75
✓ CLARK, Mrs. Niles C. ----------	✓
✓ COHN, Mrs. Harry, L. ----------.75	✓
✓ CREECH, Mrs. John A. ----------	✓
✓ DANIEL, Mrs. N. V. ----------	✓
✓ DAVIS, Mrs. Eula Mae ----------.75	✓
✓ DAVIS, Mrs. Nellie C. Daughter ----------.75	✓
DENNIS, Mrs. Neva J. ----------	
~~DRIVER, Mrs. David~~	
✓ DUDLEY, Mrs. Harold J. ----------	✓
DURR, Mrs. Virginia ----------.75	✓
✓ ECKART, Mrs. R. R. ----------	✓
~~ELLIS, Mrs. Priscilla~~ ----------	
✓ ELLY, Mrs. R. D. ----------	✓
EDISON, Mrs. Kathleen ----------	
O ✓ ENLOE, Mrs. Van P. ----------.75	✓
EPPS, Mrs. LeRoy ----------	
✓ FLOURNOY, Mrs. J. D. ----------	✓
✓ FOWLER, Mrs. Newton B. ----------	✓
✓ FREEMAN, Mrs. Willa Dean ----------	✓
✓ FRENCH, Miss Eleanor ----------	✓
? ✓ GAY, Mrs. T. Bolling ----------.75	✓
? ✓ GLENN, Mrs. Tyler, E. ----------	✓
✓ GLOSSBRENNER, Mrs. E. L. ----------	✓

~~GREEN, Mrs. William~~ ----------
GRUVER, Mrs. J. Paul ----------
HARDY, Mrs. A. A. ----------
~~HARSFIELD, Mrs. Basil Jr.~~ ----------
HARTSFIELD, Mrs. Elizabeth A. ----------
HENDERSON, Mrs. Charles M. ----------
HOBBS, Mrs. Sara Ann. ----------
HILL, Mrs. R. R. ---------- .75 ---------- .75
HOLCOMB, Mrs. Luther ----------
HOLLY, Mrs/Susie C. ----------
~~HORNE, Mrs. M. A.~~ ----------
~~HUMPHILL, Mrs. Paul C.~~ ----------
Clark - L.D.
~~HUNT, Mrs. R. G.~~ ----------
HUNTER, Mrs. Jospeh B. ----------
? JACKSON, Mrs. Abbie C. ----------
~~JENKINS, Miss Annie Mae~~ ----------
LEE, Mrs. Allen C. ----------
MARTIN, Mrs. Alice ---------- 4.85
? MAYS, Mrs. Benjamin F. atlanta ----------
? McLEOD, Mrs. J. F. ----------
MIESCHKE, Mrs. Walter E. Sr. ----------
MARTIN, Mrs. G. H. ----------
MILNER, Mrs. Ben. ----------
~~NEMBOLD, Mrs. T. S.~~ ----------
ORMOND, Mrs. J. R. ----------
OWEN, Mrs. W. Sheffield ---------- .75
PARHAM, Mrs. L. G. ---------- .75
? PARKS, Mrs. Eva. ----------
PATTON, Mrs. John T. ----------
RAINWATER, Mrs. Roland ----------
RUSSELL, Mrs. Ben ----------
St. CYR, Mrs. Augustine M. ----------
~~STEELE, Mrs. C. A.~~ ----------
SHEPPARD, Miss Cecilia ----------
? SHRIDER, Mr. Robert E. ----------
SIMMONS, Mrs. Jimmie ----------
SIMPSON, Mrs. Ray C. ---------- .75
SMITH, Mrs. Ralph Austin ----------
SMITH, Mrs. Eleanor Smith ----------
SPENCER, Mrs. Mary L. ----------
STERNE, Mrs. A. H. ---------- .75 ---------- (1) lunch .75
STEVENS, Miss Thelma ----------
? STYRON, Mrs. Arthur ----------
SUITER, Mrs. Wm. J. ----------
TAYLOR, Mrs. Louis C. ----------
THRASHER, Mrs. W. W. ----------
? ~~THOMPSON, Mr. Robert~~ ----------
THORNTON, Mrs. M. E. ----------
~~TUCKER, Mrs. Amelia~~ ----------
TUCKER, Mrs. Thomas N. ----------
WACTOR, Mrs. Hildred H. ----------

WALSH, Mrs. Edith J. ----------
WARREN, Mrs. Medis G. ----------
WASHINGTON, Mrs. C. G. ----------
WATSON, Mrs. Paul M. ---------- $1.75
WEBB, Mrs. V. W. ----------
WICKER, Mrs. Norvell, E. ----------
WILCOX, Mrs. Robert E. ----------
~~WILLIAMS, Mrs. Horace~~ ----------
WILLIAMSON, Mrs. Ralph ----------
WISEMAN, Mrs. A. T. ----------
~~WISEMAN, Mrs. William E.~~ ----------

LITTLEJOHN, Miss Mary Beth ----------
GUNNING, Mrs. George T. ----------

90

Mrs. FACHER
Mrs. Hirsch
~~Mrs. Copoloff~~
Mrs. Lipton .75
~~Mr.~~
Mrs. Haber .75
Mrs. Kogan

Mr. Rilling
Mr. Anthony
Mr. Blackford
Mr. Dunbar .75
Miss Janet Rogan
Mrs. Pauley
Mrs. Schutt, 4.00
Miss Mears 4.00
Mr. Botnick ?
Mrs. Bowen
Miss Hatcher 3.25
Mr. Nelson
Dr. Coles
MRS. PATTERSON, (Fred) .75
Mrs. C. Hoffman .75
Dr. Driscoll
Rev. Elbert Jean ?
Rev. J. J. Sneed
Dr. Wynn
Mrs. Weston ?
Rev. Emilie Pitcock ?

37 Atlanta did not eat or pay
17.
20

Mrs. H. B. Fields - $4.00
Mrs. W. W. King. 4.00
~~Mrs. W. A. Schutt~~
Mrs. W. R. Singleton 4.00
Mrs. J. H. Young 1.75
Mrs. T. R. Hunt .75

Mrs. Joseph Moore - 4.00
E. Paschal - .75
Mrs. Fuller - .75
Mrs. McMillen - 4.00

125.

LIST OF SECRETARIES OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS OF THE CENTRAL JURISDICTION

Negro.

Central Alabama Conference	Mrs. Nellie C. Davis 1 304½ Reynolds Avenue Evergreen, Alabama
Central West Conference	Mrs. T. Garrett Benjamin 1277 Sulter Street St. Louis, Missouri
Delaware Conference	Mrs. Della M. Henson 527 N. Robinson Street Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
East Tennessee Conference	Mrs. Maggie Fleshman 1124 Greenbrier Street Bluefield, West Virginia
Florida Conference	Mrs. Agnes Dell 2 717 W. W. 5th Avenue Gainesville, Florida
Georgia Conference	Mrs. A. Morris Hardeman 3 P. O. Box 506 Covington, Georgia
Lexington Conference	Mrs. Margaret S. Wallace 7412 S. Rhodes Avenue Chicago 19. Illinois
Louisiana Conference	Mrs. Augustine M. St. Cyr 4 3217 Lowerlene Street New Orleans, Louisiana
Mississippi Conference	Mrs. C. B. Christian 503 S. 5th Avenue 5 Laurel, Mississippi
North Carolina Conference	Mrs. E. C. Mills 6 1835 4th Street Winston-Salem, North Carolina
South Carolina Conference	Mrs. Hattie G. Barksdale Route 4, Box 135 7 Spartanburg, South Carolina
Southwest Conference	Mrs. C. G. Washington 1216 N. 8th Street Fort Smith, Arkansas
Tennessee Conference	Mrs. Mildred Fields 1403 South Street 8 Nashville, Tennessee

Texas Conference	Mrs. Ruth Campbell 9 1805 Park Drive Marshall, Texas
Upper Mississippi Conference	Mrs. Delma Lawrence 10 612 Fant Street Holly Springs, Mississippi
Washington Conference	Mrs. Sadie Shannon 1016 Abbott Court Baltimore 2, Maryland
West Texas Conference	Mrs. L. L. Haynes 522 Missouri Avenue Ft. Worth, Texas